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2. Royal Academy, London, 1854-55.
PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. III.

1854-55.

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DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M^CGLASHAN AND GILL, 50, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.

1856.



480

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

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P R E F A C E .

ON the completion of the Third Volume of the "Transactions," a few words explanatory of the changes which have been introduced may not be out of place. From the period of the Society's formation, in 1849, to the end of the year 1853, the printing of the "Transactions" was, in consequence of the smallness and uncertainty of the income arising from subscriptions, necessarily deferred until after the close of each session, and, on one or two occasions, unavoidably postponed to a late period in the succeeding year. To remedy this evil, the more cautious mode of proceeding alluded to was abandoned, and the bi-monthly issue of the "Transactions" adopted—the printing being commenced with the year, and a full report given of the proceedings of each Meeting. All arrears have thus been long since cleared off, and the Society is now abreast of its work. The Members have almost universally expressed their approbation of the new arrangement; and it now only remains with themselves, by promptness and regularity in the payment of their subscriptions, to enable the Committee to continue the bi-monthly issue of the Society's Journal.

The Editors have again to thank Richard Hitchcock, Esq., for valuable assistance in correcting the sheets of the work as they passed through the press. The Society also is indebted, for aid

towards the Illustrations of the present Volume, to The Venerable Archdeacon Cotton; Captain Edward Hoare, North Cork Rifles; the Very Rev. Dr. Spratt; the Rev. Samuel Hayman; Richard Hitchcock, Esq.; J. Richardson Smith, Esq.; P. Dixon Hardy, Esq.; Messrs. Hodges and Smith; and the late James Frederick Ferguson, Esq.

Kilkenny, December 31st, 1855.

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1854.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. III.—PART I.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
BY M. H. GILL,
FOR THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
1854.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR 1854.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
Patrick-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 18th (by
adjournment from the 4th), 1854,

PATRICK WATTERS, Esq., A. M., Town Clerk of Kilkenny,
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

The Marquis of Ormonde.	Rev. James Mease.
Robert Curtis, Esq.	J. R. Phayer, Esq.
Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec.	James G. Robertson, Esq.
John Maher, Esq.	John W. Smithwick, Esq.
Thomas B. M'Creery, Esq.	Richard Smithwick, Esq., J. P.

The following new members were elected :—

The Earl of Portarlington, Emo Park, Portarlington : proposed
by Lord Clermont.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen ; the Hon. and Venerable Archdeacon Stopford, Clonmore, Hacketstown ; the Rev. Richard MacDonnell, D. D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin ; David William Nash, Esq., F. L. S., Barrister-at-Law, 9, Vyvyan Terrace, Clifton Park, Bristol ; Denis Kelly, Esq., Castle Kelly, Mount Talbot ; Edward Hoare, Esq., 5, Waterloo-place, Cork : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Thomas Lalor, Esq., D. L., J. P., Cregg, Carrick-on-Suir ; and John Wogan, Esq., Carrick-on-Suir : proposed by the Rev. Charles Harte, Whitechurch Glebe.

The Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, P. P., Keash, Ballymote ; and John Petheram, Esq., 94, High Holborn, London : proposed by R. Hitchcock, Esq.

Mr. M. P. Riordan, Christian Schools, Richmond-street, Mountjoy-square, Dublin : proposed by Mr. J. A. Grace.

Stephen Kelly, Esq., Galway : proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

Charles Arthur Walker, Esq., Tykillen House, Kyle, Ennis-corthy : proposed by Herbert F. Hore, Esq.

Patrick Vincent Fitzpatrick, Esq., 29, Eccles-street, Dublin : proposed by Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, P. L. L.

Henry Malcomson, Esq., C.E., Union-square, Islington, London : proposed by Robert Malcomson, Esq., Carlow.

James Furniss, Esq., Wexford : proposed by Mr. Robert W. Carlton, New Ross.

Alexander Nesbitt, Esq., 9, Oxford-street, London : proposed by Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., British Museum.

Robert A. Duncan, Esq., 4, Limes Grove, Lewisham, Kent : proposed by Mark S. O'Shaughnessy, Esq., Gray's Inn, London.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following Annual Report for 1853 :—

Your Committee, in rendering their account at the close of the fifth year of the Society's existence, feel rejoiced that they are not required to abate one jot of the tone of congratulation used by their predecessors. The year 1853 has been to the Society one of marked and gratifying prosperity.

The very large number of *one hundred and thirteen* new members have been elected during the past twelve months, whilst the loss of names from death and other causes has been, comparatively speaking, very small. The Society has, indeed, lost by death one of its warmest well-wishers, although not actually a member, the late Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-Arms. Your Secretaries must bear testimony to the untiring and courteous urbanity with which every request for information was met by him, no less than to the kindness which threw open his extensive MS. collections on all occasions to their inspection. However widely many antiquaries of the present day may differ from the late Sir William Betham's views, all must agree in sincere regret at the loss which the science has sustained by his removal, and bear their willing testimony to his zeal in the cause of archaeological progress. Sir William's acquaintance with those unpublished sources of Irish history, our national records, was very great; and his name will be handed down to posterity, not so much by his ingenious, though oftentimes wild, philological speculations, as by his able, but unfinished work—"The Dignities, Feudal and Parliamentary, and the Constitutional Legislature of the United Kingdom."

The issue of the Transactions for 1851, which the Committee regret was delayed beyond its proper period by causes which it is hoped are now obviated, took place during the past year, thus completing the first volume of the Society's Transactions. The Part for 1851 extends to upwards of two hundred and fifty pages, illustrated by fourteen plates, and includes a full and accurate index to the Volume. It may be remarked that it nearly equals in bulk the united Transactions of 1849 and 1850, and it is believed

does not sink below them in the interesting nature of its contents. The Transactions for 1852, being Part I. of Vol. II., are far advanced towards completion, as indicated by the sheets laid on the table. As soon as the latter are completed, no time will be lost in putting to press the Transactions for 1853. By a circular already in the hands of members, it will be seen that a change in the mode of publication is contemplated; those who wish for it, by paying the small additional sum of 3s. 6d. to cover postage, and other expenses, will receive the proceedings of each meeting as soon as they can be printed. This bi-monthly issue, although, perhaps, warranted by the present flourishing condition of the Society, could not prudently be undertaken ere now, as it was heretofore necessary to ascertain what balance, if any, of the small income of the Society was available for the purposes of publication. It is hoped by your Committee that the contemplated arrangement will keep up amongst distant members an interest in the Society's proceedings, and that, with an increasing list of members, now close on five hundred, the step may not be an imprudent one.

Your Committee are happy to inform you that the list of subscribers towards the contemplated annual volume of Original Documents is rapidly filling up. This gratifying result is mainly owing to the generosity of our noble patron, the Marquis of Ormonde, who has presented to the first hundred subscribers whose subscriptions were paid, the "Life of St. Canice," ably edited by him, from an unpublished MS. in the Burgundian Library, and privately printed for his Lordship by Mr. Nicol of London, in a style of typography of first-rate excellence. Your Secretaries are informed that only one hundred and twenty-five copies issued from the press. This work forms a valuable supplement to Colgan's great but incomplete undertaking, the "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*."

The Library of the Society has received several donations of books, MSS., and plates, during the last year. The Museum also has acquired several interesting additions both by donation and purchase. From the increase in both departments, your Committee felt that some place, other than that so long kindly granted by the Corporation of Kilkenny, was desirable for their deposit and display, and therefore, in conjunction with the Council of the Literary and Scientific Institution, they have taken the apartments in which we now meet, at a joint rent of £30 per annum, being £15 to each Society. It is hoped that in time the Museum thus commenced will prove a credit to Kilkenny.

The important undertaking entered on by your Committee, viz., the repair and sustentation of Jerpoint Abbey, has been nearly brought to completion, and it is most desirable that those friends to the work, who have not as yet contributed, should at once send in their donations, as the funds in hands do not by any means as yet amount to the sum due to the contractors, and the general resources of the Society are not at all adequate to supply the deficiency.

As one of the effects of the archæological movement in Kilkenny, your Committee would, with pleasure, refer to the first number of Mr. Henry O'Neill's magnificent work on the Ancient Crosses of Ireland. Mr. O'Neill is at present in London, engaged in bringing out the second number, which will complete the pictorial representation and description of all of that most interesting class of antiquities remaining in the county of Kilkenny and its immediate borders. It is hoped that the work will receive the support it so well deserves.

In conclusion, your Committee desire to return thanks to those gentlemen who have exerted themselves so strenuously in enlisting new members, and spreading the knowledge of the Society's objects and acts. Where so many have been active, it would be invidious to name a few. Your Committee feel, that to the warm interest thus exhibited much of the prosperity of the Society is due; and they trust that the like exertions of its friends may not flag during the coming years of the Society's existence.

The Report was unanimously adopted by the meeting.

The Rev. James Graves, Acting Treasurer, then brought up the Accounts of the Society for the past year, as under :—

CHARGE.

1854.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance from last year's account,	80	1	1½
"	303 subscriptions for 1853, at 5s. each,	75	15	0
"	10 do. arrears for 1849, at 5s. each,	2	10	0
"	49 do. do. 1850, at 5s. each,	12	5	0
"	25 do. do. 1851, at 5s. each,	6	5	0
"	62 do. do. 1852, at 5s. each,	15	10	0
"	103 do. to Annual Volume for 1853, at 10s. each,	51	10	0
		<hr/>		
		£243	16	1½

DISCHARGE.

1853.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postage of books, circulars, and general correspondence,	11	8	0
"	Illustrations for the Transactions of 1851,	5	1	6
"	do. do. 1852,	16	18	0
"	do. do. 1853,	8	6	0
"	do. do. 1854,	4	0	0
"	Printing and binding Transactions for 1851,	77	5	3
"	Fuel,	1	14	0
"	Messengers and attendance at meetings,	0	11	6
"	Stationery and general printing of forms and circulars,	10	12	4
"	Commission to agents,	2	1	10
"	Rent of apartments, half year ending September 29, 1853,	7	10	0
"	Carriage of parcels,	2	9	1
"	Sundries, viz.:—			
	By Purchase of Silver Ring-Money,	0	8	0
	" other Antiquities,	0	13	0
	" Books,	4	15	8
	Gratuity to Housekeeper of Tholsel,	0	10	0
	Removal of Museum from Tholsel			
	Rooms,	0	7	0
	Petty cash,	0	8	8
		<hr/>		
		7	2	4
"	Balance in Treasurer's hands,	88	16	3½
		<hr/>		
		£243	16	1½

The Committee and Officers of the former year were then unanimously re-elected as under:—

PRESIDENT:

THE VERY REVEREND CHARLES VIGNOLES, D. D., DEAN OF OSSORY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY.

THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY.

COMMITTEE:

JAMES S. BLAKE, Esq., J.P., Barrister-at-Law, Ballynemona, Thomastown.

REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL.D., Principal, Kilkenny College.

JOSEPH BURKE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, P.L.I.

SAMSON CARTER, JUN., Esq., C.E., M.R.I.A.

REV. LUKE FOWLER, A.M., Prebendary of Aghour.

THE VERY REV. E. N. HOARE, D.D., Dean of Waterford.

HERBERT F. HORE, Esq., Pole Hore, Wexford.

JOHN JAMES, Esq., L.R.C.S.I., Kilkenny.

REV. PHILIP MOORE, R.C.C., Rosbercon.

MATTHEW O'DONNELL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Kilkenny.

REV. JOHN QUIN, P.P., Lisdowney, Ballyragget.

JOHN WINDELE, Esq., Cork.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By John Green, Esq., M.P. for the county of Kilkenny: "The Antiquities of Shropshire," by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, 1853, Vol. I. part 1.

By the Royal Irish Academy: their "Proceedings," Vol. V. parts 2 and 3.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Proceedings and Papers," Session V. 1852-53.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their "Report and Communications." 8vo. series, No. 3.

By the Cambrian Archæological Society: the "Archæologia Cambrensis," No. 16.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 561 to 571, both inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Medical Circular," No. 72.

By the Rev. John L. Irwin, rector of Thomastown: a portion of a very beautiful MS. Missal, apparently of the fourteenth century. The initial letters had been all illuminated, some of them in gold combined with the most vivid colours; the MS. was accompanied by a letter enclosing some of the initial letters which had been cut out by the "young Goths" to whose tender mercies it had been committed.

Mr. Irwin says:—

"I send you for the Archæological Society the fragments—sibyl-leaves-like, of what was in olden time a beautifully illuminated manuscript book, a missal, I think. It will, or ought to be, a recruiting officer for the Society, and make many join your ranks, for most visitors of the Museum will exclaim on seeing it, 'what a pity!' and perhaps agree with me in thinking that if the squire of the parish in which it was found, or the clergyman, doctor, or any respectable person, was an archæologist, the book would not have been thrown as a plaything to children, to be torn to pieces, and in that state discovered by a friend of mine, who, knowing my fancy for such things, kindly gave it to me. It was found a few months since built up in the wall of a very old house in the parish of Asprington, near Totness. I also send you a tile I picked up last summer from a heap of rubbish in one of the aisles of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire."

The names of St. Cedde and St. David have been inserted in the calendar in a handwriting, *temp.* Henry VI. Mr. Irwin's donation attracted the admiration of the members present.

By Mr. John Dunne, Garryricken, an Irish tract entitled "Blaithfleasg na Milsean, Cnuasaighthe o Chaoín-Laoidhthe Cheart-Bhaird na Heirion," Carrick-on-Suir, 1816. Mr. Dunne accompanied his donation by the following observations:—

"I beg to direct the attention of the Society to a class of men who stood conspicuous amongst the peasantry in bygone days, but who, like the few remaining oak trees of our ancient forests, have gradually fallen away, one after another, until scarcely one can be met with in these our days—at least, in the rural districts within the sphere of my acquaintance. Those men, generally Irish poets themselves, were remarkable as possessing strong intellects, energy of expression, a love of romance, and all the other traits of character so peculiar to the old Celtic race. Some of those men were poets by nature, unrefined by education; but Irish bards, otherwise untaught and unlettered, have composed original poems and songs, very 'racy of the soil,' and seldom faulty in metre or measure. In my humble opinion, a chapter devoted to the biographies, and to a catalogue of the poems and songs of persons of this description in the county of Kilkenny, and districts bordering thereon, would be interesting, and deserves the attention of the Society. Another remarkable feature to be found in the character of those *fileadha* and *seanchuidhe* was an early love of travelling through the island for the purpose of obtaining a thorough knowledge of the Irish language, becoming personally acquainted with all the poets and rural antiquaries of the kingdom, and finally returning home to their own districts loaded with a bulky satchel of old Irish MSS. to be the solace of their declining years. This travelling disposition the peasantry designate *pit an mtelect*, i. e. the race, or running of the intellects. Speaking of John MacWalter Walsh, the bard of the Walsh Mountains, I have frequently heard persons say, *cuidís pé aip pit an mtelect*. In like manner did William Meagher, the humble individual whom I am now about to introduce to the notice of the Society, set out at an early age from the 'flags of Coolagh,' his native place, on a literary excursion

through the hospitable counties of Munster, and return home after an absence of several years, loaded, both internally and externally, with all the Fenian lore of the province. He resided at this time in Killamory, where he soon acquired the reputation of being the best Irish scholar of the day in this part of the south of Ireland. Contemporary with him was Mr. O'Neill, of Owning, in the county of Kilkenny, who was popularly known in these localities for his learning, erudition, and antiquarian turn of mind, and in him William Meagher found an ardent approver of his favourite scheme of publishing in one volume his large collection of Ossianic poems, and thereby preserving them from oblivion. At Belline, William Meagher found further encouragement, for its respected proprietor, Peter Walsh, Esq., at once forwarded the project by all means in his power, as did also Mr. Henry White, of the parish of Grangemockler, and all the respectable farmers of Sliabh Dile and Kumshena, each of whom subscribed the sum of five shillings towards the publication of the work in parts. A decent looking and intelligent farmer named Lahay,—residing at Kiletlea, at the foot of Sliabh-na-m-ban, and who surprised me by repeating from memory some of the longest of the dialogues between St. Patrick and Ossian—states that in his opinion several of the old people of Cloran have still safely preserved some of the works of another local *seanchuidhe*, Walsh of the Three Bridges, near Carrick-on-Suir, and that he heard him read *Laoi na mná moipe cap leap*, and other Irish poems, one Sunday morning in a house at Cloneen, on which occasion he was handed thirty shillings by a few farmers who were present, towards defraying the expenses of publishing that and the other Fenian tales in Irish verse. 'The poem of the Great Woman who came over the sea' is the name generally given to 'the Chase of Glean-a-smoil,' both orally and in MS. Now, is it not somewhat remarkable, that this was the first poem the local antiquaries had selected for publication; and does not this circumstance naturally give rise to the inference that it was so selected as having immediate reference to their own valley, bearing as it did, the name of Glean-a-smoil, from time immemorial? After a long and persevering search, I have at length succeeded, through the kindness of Mr. Patrick O'Shea, of Coolhill, in making out the first part or number, published by Meagher, and containing, after a lengthened preface, the said poem on the Chase of Glean-a-smoil. It is, I believe, the first printed copy of that celebrated Chase, and in it will be found the name of Sliabh-na-m-ban, thereby agreeing with Irish MSS. from which I have already quoted in my Fenian traditions of Sliabh-na-m-ban, and clearly showing that the 'Island of the Inch,' in the poem, was contiguous to said mountain. I think it would be hard to find a parallel to the effort made by the rural antiquaries of this quarter of the county of Kilkenny in the beginning of the present century; they attempted to preserve from oblivion an interesting portion of the matters your Society is now engaged in preserving, and in my humble opinion, every fragment of the fruits of their labour that can be collected deserves the attention of the Society. Peter Walsh, Esq., of Belline, to whom it is dedicated, was uncle to John Walsh, Esq., J. P., of Fanningstown. The dedicatory epistle speaks highly of Mr. Peter Walsh's taste and attainments as a gentleman and a scholar, and of his patronage of the fine arts. The preface is lengthy and elaborate, showing the Irish scholar, antiquary, and linguist. The Irish title means,

'the Garland of Honey Flowers, culled from the writings of the most eminent Bards of the Kingdom.' William Meagher composed an Irish song on the occasion of the nuptials of John Butler, Earl of Ormonde. A farmer named Dureen tells me that, when a boy, he had often heard his father chant it at the fireside, but regrets, as I also do, that he did not commit it to memory during his father's lifetime. Dureen recollects having heard another Irish song by said Meagher for some member of the noble house of Ormonde, as also Irish songs on other subjects."

By Edward Hoare, Esq., Cork, several lithographs of a unique silver penannular brooch in his collection. The donation was accompanied by the following observations:—

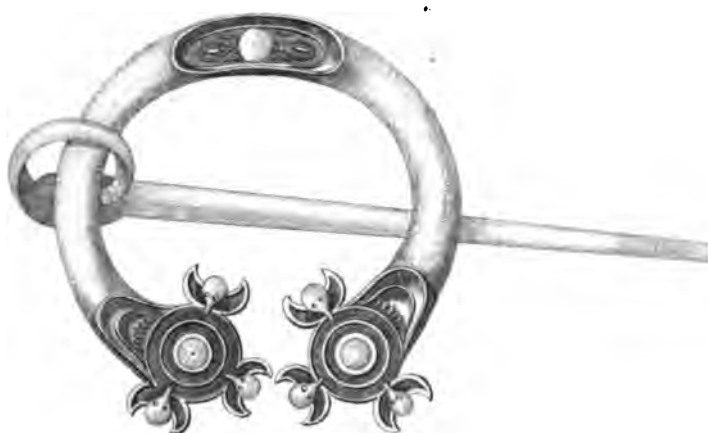
"Attracted by the Exhibition last year, I was resident all the summer and autumn in Dublin, occasionally making little tours, during one of which, in August, I met with this beautiful and interesting relic. It was discovered during the latter part of the month of June, 1853, in removing a large mound of earth, evidently the remains of a tumulus, for the purpose of 'top-dressing' a field. The brooch shortly after fell into the hands of an ignorant and Gothic watchmaker, who, not knowing what it was, or even of what metal it was composed, for it was almost quite black, with a very beautiful encrusted oxide, broke the pin-portion into three parts, and took out the ambers, supposing them to be valuable jewels. Shortly after, I luckily came across it, and purchased it; he in the meantime, and, as it proved, to my cost, having found out what it had been in 'days of yore,' else it would have probably gone to the melting-pot. Since then I have had the pin carefully repaired, and the ambers reset. The ornamentation of the wolves' heads (for I believe them to be such, having compared them accurately, and, in company of a few friends, with several of those animals in the Zoological Gardens in the Phoenix Park, Dublin) is, if so, of very great interest. I am not aware whether wolves' heads are to be found as an ornamentation on any other Irish object of the same, or an early period. Indeed, I rather believe not; but we well know, all through the annals of Ireland, that the entire island was altogether overrun with wolves—that frequently, and almost constantly, very large rewards were offered for their destruction; and the Irish wolf-dog, used for the purpose of their extermination, but now supposed to be extinct, is also well known. Indeed, I believe it was not until within the last two centuries or so, that the Irish wolf was totally exterminated. Can we therefore be astonished that the representation of an animal so well known and dreaded (witness the serpent-ornamentation in example and confirmation thereof) should not also be made the subject of ornamentation and if so, it may perhaps in some measure assist us in proving that the *opus Hibernicum* was really and in fact the work of Irish artificers. This is a subject which has been, and still is, much queried, doubted, and questioned, and I therefore wish this brooch to be more known and made use of, in arguing the subject. A relative of my own is inclined to think, in consequence of the amber, that it may be of Scandinavian workmanship, and that the heads may be those of the Norse whale or seal. This I cannot say, as I am not skilled in zoology, neither do I exactly know the appearance of that animal; however, I think it only right to mention the conjecture. I fancy also the arrangement of

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Actual size of Original.

ANCIENT CELTO-IRISH, SILVER PENANNULAR BROOCH,

Found in the supposed remains of a Roman fort.

About four miles south-east of the town of Salway, Down, the north of Ireland.

And now in the collection of EDWARD HUAFF, Esq. 10, St. James's.

Drawn from the original.

the heads has been derived or borrowed from the trefoil or shamrock—Ireland's national emblem—though perhaps this supposition may be considered as somewhat doubtful. The brooch itself is one of great rarity, and the more so in silver, very few only being known to exist in that metal. They are more known in bronze, and the celebrated Tara brooch is composed chiefly of white bronze. The penannular formation, with the long acua, has been generally considered as peculiar to Ireland or Scotland, though an example or two have been found in England. The workmanship of this brooch, as may be seen by the accompanying lithograph, is very elegant, and the ornamentation has been most cleverly executed: the back portion is quite plain. The silver is much alloyed, and from its long burial in the earth has become quite brittle. As to its age, or even the probable time of its formation, I shall not here dare to speak. That I leave for the investigation of abler antiquaries, and for those more versed in the antiquities of Ireland, who approach subjects in the spirit of true inquiry and study, rejecting all mere moonshine visionary ideas, and the too often fabulous and ridiculous so-called traditions, which have only tended hitherto to make the antiquities of Ireland a bugbear and a laughing-stock, and ultimately rejected;—I merely record the remarks and facts with which I am acquainted—the theories regarding them I leave for future inquiry. The spot in which this brooch was discovered is in the county of Galway, about three miles from the town of Galway, in a south-easterly direction: I have therefore termed it *the Galway brooch*. It has been considered as one of the most interesting and valuable of those rare and beautiful relics hitherto discovered, for while the ornamentation of some of them consists of unknown, nondescript, and heterogeneous animals—mere creatures of the imagination—here, on this brooch, is the head of a well-known and much-feared, and, I might indeed almost truly add, a national animal, once and long the plague and pest of Ireland. The lithographic engraving of the brooch, which is a perfect fac-simile of the original, has been very neatly executed by Mr. O'Driscoll, of Cork."

By Dr. Keating, of Callan, a large whet-stone, measuring two feet long by nine inches wide, and about three and a half inches thick; the sides and angles of the stone were worn into deep hollows by the sharpening, apparently, of knives, and one side exhibited two grooves sunk by the rubbing of some pointed instrument thereon. The stone was of a hard gritty nature, and could only have been used to give a fine edge. Also, by Dr. Keating, an ancient horse-shoe. The donor accompanied the articles by the following communication:—

"Some weeks since the duties of my profession brought me to the eastern slopes of Sliabh-na-m-ban. Chance would so have it (though only at daybreak), that I met a respectable and highly intelligent farmer, Mr. Patrick Hanrahan, of Tirlough, who insisted on my partaking of his hospitality after my night's fatigue at the bed of suffering. On entering Mr. Hanrahan's house, I observed at the door a curiously shaped stone, and on his observing that my attention was drawn to it, he immediately gave me its history, which is this:—In one of his fields, and not far removed from



Actual size of original.

ANCIENT CELTO-IRISH, SILVER PENANNULAR BROOCH,

Found in the supposed remains of a British

About three miles north east of the town of Colmar, France, the month of June 1858.

And now in the Collection of EDWARD GEORGE Esq. F.R.S.E.

From the Collection of the

the heads has been derived or borrowed from the trefoil or shamrock—Ireland's national emblem—though perhaps this supposition may be considered as somewhat doubtful. The brooch itself is one of great rarity, and the more so in silver, very few only being known to exist in that metal. They are more known in bronze, and the celebrated Tara brooch is composed chiefly of white bronze. The penannular formation, with the long acua, has been generally considered as peculiar to Ireland or Scotland, though an example or two have been found in England. The workmanship of this brooch, as may be seen by the accompanying lithograph, is very elegant, and the ornamentation has been most cleverly executed: the back portion is quite plain. The silver is much alloyed, and from its long burial in the earth has become quite brittle. As to its age, or even the probable time of its formation, I shall not here dare to speak. That I leave for the investigation of abler antiquaries, and for those more versed in the antiquities of Ireland, who approach subjects in the spirit of true inquiry and study, rejecting all mere moonshine visionary ideas, and the too often fabulous and ridiculous so-called traditions, which have only tended hitherto to make the antiquities of Ireland a bugbear and a laughing-stock, and ultimately rejected;—I merely record the remarks and facts with which I am acquainted—the theories regarding them I leave for future inquiry. The spot in which this brooch was discovered is in the county of Galway, about three miles from the town of Galway, in a south-easterly direction: I have therefore termed it *the Galway brooch*. It has been considered as one of the most interesting and valuable of those rare and beautiful relics hitherto discovered, for while the ornamentation of some of them consists of unknown, nondescript, and heterogeneous animals—mere creatures of the imagination—here, on this brooch, is the head of a well-known and much-feared, and, I might indeed almost truly add, a national animal, once and long the plague and pest of Ireland. The lithographic engraving of the brooch, which is a perfect fac-simile of the original, has been very neatly executed by Mr. O'Driscoll, of Cork.”

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Mr. Robertson exhibited some architectural prints.

The Secretary laid on the table the prospectus of a projected magazine for the "Kingdom of Kerry." It proposes to be purely literary, historical, and antiquarian, and has the good wishes of all for its success.

It was announced that the good people of Cork were bestirring themselves to obtain casts of the ancient crosses which adorned the National Exhibition last summer, for the Museum of the Royal Cork Institution. Comprising, as these casts do, several from the county of Kilkenny, this Society must feel deeply interested in the success of the movement.

Mr. Graves read a letter from the Secretary of the recently formed but flourishing Surrey Archæological Society, asking to enter into friendly relations with the Kilkenny Society. It was unanimously resolved that this flattering proposal should be accepted.

The Chairman said, that as the abortive scheme of a canal to connect Kilkenny with the tidal waters of the Nore was now nearly one hundred years old, it might be held in some sort as an antiquity. It must, indeed, at all times be an object of interest to Kilkenny people; he would therefore proceed to read to the meeting some extracts bearing on the subject, which he had made from the original books of the corporation in his custody. The extracts were as follow:—

At an assembly of the Mayor and Citizens of the City of Kilkenny, held at the new Tholsel, the 1st day of February, 1755, William Evans Morres, Esq., Mayor. Whereas the City of Kilkenny and County of Kilkenny are making application to the Trustees for putting in execution the Tillage and Inland Navigation Act of Parliament, in order to have the river Nore made navigable to this city. Ordered that the City Seal be put to a memorial addressed to said Trustees for that purpose; and whereas the present Mayor has got said river surveyed, and a mapp of the same affixed to said memorial, and has been, and must be, at sundry expences in relation to said application,—Ordered, therefore, that the said Mayor be, and shall be, repaid by this Corporation the expense of said survey, and such other expences as he has or shall be at in relation to said application. And whereas a principle objection to making said river navigable may be, that the trade of said city on said river will for some years be so small that the duty on boats passing and repassing will not be sufficient to defray the expence of keeping the locks and other works in repair. It is therefore unanimously resolved that in case the said navigation takes effect, that this City will for seven years, from the time the same shall be finished, pay to the said Trustees towards keeping the same in repair, the yearly sum of Thirty Pounds out of the customs of said City, provided the duties payable by boats navigating said river fall so much short of keeping the same in repair.

At an assembly of the Mayor and Citizens held at the New Tholsel, the 29th day of June, 1758, James Percival, Esq., Mayor.—Whereas a navi-

gation is now carrying on from this City to the towns of Ennisteege, Ross, and Waterford, which is in great forwardness, and likely to effect, and will apparently be of great advantage to, and increase trade and promote manufacture in this City. We therefore, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of said City, in Council assembled, having maturely considered of the best method in our power to induce persons of substance and knowledge in trade and manufactures, to come and reside in said City and Libertys thereof. And whereas, the people called Quakers and other Protestant dissenters have heretofore met with some discouragement to their settling in said City and Liberty thereof, which we are resolved and determined to remove as far as in us lyes, and to give all due encouragement and protection to such Quaker and Protestant dissenters as are inclined to come and settle in said city or libertys thereof, and will grant them proper and convenient ground to build Meeting Houses on, rent free, and for their grave-yards also; and it appearing to us that the granting a freedom of trade in this City, will be a great encouragement to such persons to come and reside among us and carry on several trades and manufactures hitherto neglected. It is unanimously resolved and determined that this Board will for the future grant the freedom of trade in this City to all such persons who shall come and reside and carry on trade and promote the manufactures thereof, on their applying to this Board for the same.

At an assembly of the Mayor and Citizens held at the new Tholsel, the 12th day of October, 1759, present Charles Gore, Esq., Mayor.—Ordered that William Ockenden, Esq., Engineer for conducting the Navigation now carrying on from this City to Ennisteege, be presented with his Freedom of this City, and that the said freedom, together with the thanks of this Corporation for the great skill he has shown, and the care and dispatch he has made use of in carrying on the said work, and for his great moderation in expending the publick money thereon, be presented in a gold box, as a testimony of our approbation of his conduct in a work which, when finished, will be of the highest utility to this City in particular, and to this part of the Kingdom in general; and that Sir William Evans Morres, out of the sum of £30 now in his hands, do bespeake and pay for same.

Mr. Dunlevy, Dingle, forwarded a tracing of the inscribed stone alluded to in the report of the November meeting. This tracing the Secretary said he had submitted to Dr. O'Donovan, who informed him that it commenced with the words Mac cu Opaca; but that it would be necessary to examine the stone itself in order to decipher the remainder, or form an opinion as to the antiquity of the inscription.

Mr. Graves said he had received most interesting communications from Mr. Richardson Smith, descriptive of renewed diggings in the Pagan cemetery on Ballon Hill. Mr. Smith had recently found several urns in addition to those discovered last summer. One of the recent finds was a more splendid specimen of ancient fictile art than any yet lighted on.

The Secretary stated that he had received a communication from

Mr. Dunne, bearing on the question of the extent of the district of Sliabh Dile, the ancient name of Sliabh-na-m-ban. Mr. Dunne had taken down from the lips of old inhabitants of Killamory the Irish names of the "Gaps of Sliabh Dile" as follows:—

Seach beapnúigte Sliabh Dile.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. beapna Choill a mheala. | 5. beapna na Gaoithe. |
| 2. beapna Cill-Chaire. | 6. beapna Bhreac. |
| 3. beapna Ráe Cláir. | 7. beapna na Coille léithe. |
| 4. beapna an-t-Sacsanaigh. | |

1. *Bearna Choill a mheala* is among the hills of Sliabh-na-m-ban, on the Clonmel side, and bears some affinity to the Irish name of said city, for *Cluain meala* (Clon-mel) means the glade or open plain of honey, while *Coill a mheala* signifies the wood of honey.

2. *Bearna Cill-Chaise*, "the Gap of Kilcash," is at the foot or among the southern declivities of the mountain.

3. *Bearna Rath Claris* is two or three miles south of Nine-mile-house. The ancient road, which may be still traced along Killamory Hill, passed through this gap, where there are vestiges of it still to be seen.

4. *Bearna an-t-Sacsanaigh*, about two miles from Windgap, on the direct road from thence to Templeorum.

5. *Bearna na Gaoithe*, or Windgap.

6. *Bearna Bhreac* is on some part of *Drom dearg*, Killamory Hill.

7. *Bearna na Coille léithe*, from *Bearna*, a gap; *Coille* the genitive of *Coill*, a wood; and *léithe* the genitive of *liath*, *liath*, gray. This gap is the great dingle or open between the hills at Nine-mile-house. The latter is quite a modern name; the ancient name was *Cill-cuilinn*, *Cill-cuilinn*, "the church of holly."

The following important numismatic paper was then submitted to the meeting.

ON THE ORMONDE MONEY.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, ESQ., M. D., M. R. I. A.

DURING the troubled reign of Charles I. a large amount of silver money, of different types, was issued in Ireland.

It is not my intention, however, to enter into any inquiry, on the present occasion, respecting the events which gave rise to the want of regal money at that period; or to notice any of the types alluded to, except those of the Ormonde money, of which I purpose to give a more particular account than has been published up to the present time.

The Ormonde money has been so called because it was supposed to have been issued during the Viceroyalty of James, Marquis and subsequently Duke of Ormonde, who first received his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the 17th November, 1643, and was sworn into office the 21st January following; on the 19th June, 1647, he delivered up the government to the Parliamentary Commissioners, but resumed his office the 27th September, 1648, and continued to be Chief Governor of Ireland, until the arrival of Oliver Cromwell the 17th February, 1648-9.¹

On the 25th May, 1643, a letter was issued at Oxford by the King, in which he directed his Lords Justices in Ireland to encourage his Majesty's loyal subjects to bring in their plate to the treasury that it might be coined "into small peeces, to the value of five shillings, halfe-crowns, twelve-pences, six-pences, or of any less value, which several small peeces they shall make of the same waight, value and allay, as our moneys now currant in England of those value respectively are, and shall stamp the same on the one side, with these letters, (*scilicet*) C. R. for *Carolus Rex*, with a crown over those letters, and on the other side with the values of the said severall peeces respectively."

On the 8th July, 1643, the Lords Justices, Sir John Borlase and Sir Henry Tichburne, issued a proclamation from the Castle of Dublin, ordering that all money made according to his said Majesty's letter "doe and shall presently after the publication of this proclamation, be currant money of and in this kingdom."

Dr. Cane, in his paper "On the Ormonde and Confederate Money," published in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 442, states "that a call was made, July 8th, 1643, upon the Irish loyalists during the military leadership of the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Ormonde in this country, to send in their plate to be melted down and coined for the royal use," and that, "the King, on the 20th May following, ordered money to be regularly minted, with C. R. &c."

The call here mentioned was made in the King's letter dated Oxford, 25th May, 1643, in which also money was ordered "to be regularly minted," and not "on the 20th May following" the 8th July, 1643, which is the date of the proclamation by which the currency of the new money was established. I must also observe that these proceedings did not take place "during the military leadership of the Marquis" of Ormonde, but while Sir John Borlase and Sir Henry Tichburne were Lords Justices, and who continued in office

¹ Whitelaw and Walsh's History of No. xlvii., p. 116.
Dublin, vol. i., p. 31.

² Simon on Irish Coins, Appendix,

³ Simon on Irish Coins, Appendix, No. xlvii., p. 117.

until the 21st January, 1643-4, when the Marquis took up the government.

By the King's letter of the 25th May, 1643, the Lords Justices were required to appoint commissioners, and empowered to authorize them "to melt down such plate, coyne, bullion or silver, as shall be brought unto them, into small peeces, to the value of five shillings, &c., which severall small peeces they shall make of the same waight, &c." Accordingly, on the 7th July following, commissioners resident in Dublin were appointed, and authorized to make pieces "whereof an eight part is to be in Groats, Three-pences, and Two-pences."¹

By the proclamation already quoted every pound weight of the said coin, was declared to be of the value of "three pounds sterling money, according to the weight of the Tower of London," with a deduction of "the summe of three shillings for every pound weight" to defray the expense of coining. The original Tower pound, which was lighter than the Troy pound by three-quarters of an ounce, continued in use until the 18th year of Henry the Eighth, when it was abolished by proclamation, and the Troy pound established in its stead.²

A Troy pound weight of the Ormonde money was worth "three pounds sterling," or twelve crowns, each of which should weigh one ounce, or the one-twelfth of a pound, less by one penny-weight, or the one-twentieth, which was allowed for the expense of coining, consequently the full weight of the crown piece should be nineteen penny-weights.

Having adduced evidence respecting the type, value, date of issue, place of mintage, and standard weight, of the Ormonde money, I shall conclude by giving a tabular view of all the varieties in my own cabinet, together with the weight of each piece, and references to published engravings.

Crowns.—The weight of the crown should be 456 grains = 19 dwts.

			dwts. gra.	
No. 1.	weight, 464 grains,	=	19	8
2.	" 455·8	" =	18	23·8
3.	" 455·3	" =	18	23·3
4.	" 454	" =	18	22
5.	" 453·3	" =	18	21·3
6.	" 451·2	" =	18	19·2
7.	" 449·5	" =	18	17·5

¹ Simon on Irish Coins, Appendix, No. xlvii., p. 117.

² Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, vol. i., p. 18, 2nd edit. 8vo.

REFERENCES TO ENGRAVINGS

Harris' Ware, vol. ii. p. 203, pl. iii. fig. 26.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vi. fig. 134.

Folkes' Table of Silver Coins, pl. xxvii. fig. 8, weight, 458 grains.

Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, pl. xxvii. fig. 8.¹

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 442, fig. 3.

The varieties of the crown piece are readily distinguished by the form and size of the letter S over the numeral V. The reverses of my seven specimens are from different dies.

The crown on the obverse presents two very distinct forms, one much flatter than the other, and with fewer pearls on the arches. Of the four with the flat crown three are from the same die, and the three with the larger crown are all from one die.

Forgeries of the crown piece, consisting of copper thickly plated with silver, are occasionally met with.

HALF-CROWNS.—The weight of the half-crown should be 228 grains = 9 dwts. 12 grains.

		dwts.	grs.
No. 1. weight,	247 grains, =	10	7
2. " "	229.9 " =	9	13.9
3. " "	229 " =	9	13
4. " "	229 " =	9	13
5. " "	225 " =	9	9

REFERENCES.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vi. fig. 135.

Folkes and Ruding, pl. xxvii. fig. 9, weight, 230 grains.

The varieties on the reverse side are readily recognised by the difference in the form and size of the letters S and D over the numerals, which also present some difference in size.

The obverses present four varieties, particularly in the form of the R under the crown. Two of the obverses are from the same die.

SHILLINGS.—The weight of the shilling should be 91.2 grains.

		dwts.	grs.
No. 1. weight,	88.5 grains, =	3	16.5
2. " "	87.8 " =	3	15.8
3. " "	86.7 " =	3	14.7
4. " "	84.1 " =	3	12.1
5. " "	82.2 " =	3	10.2

¹ The plates of the edition of Folkes' Table of Silver Coins, published by the London Society of Antiquaries, were republished by Ruding.

REFERENCES.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vi. fig. 136.

Folkes and Ruding, pl. xxvii. fig. 10, weight, 91 grains.

Two of the obverses are from the same die. The varieties of the shilling, and the smaller pieces, are distinguished by the difference in the size of the numerals, and the letter D over them, and also by the form of the crown.

SIX-PENCES.—The weight of the six-pence should be 45.6 grains.

		dwts.	grs.
No. 1.	weight, 45.2 grains,	= 1	21.2
2.	" 45 "	= 1	21
3.	" 42.6 "	= 1	18.6
4.	" 41.7 "	= 1	17.7
5.	" 41.1 "	= 1	17.1
6.	" 40.9 "	= 1	16.9
7.	" 25.7 "	= 1	1.7

REFERENCES.

Harris' Ware, vol. ii. p. 203, pl. iii. fig. 27.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vi. fig. 137.

Folkes and Ruding, pl. xxvii. fig. 11, weight, 45 grains.

FOUR-PENCES.—The weight of the four-pence should be 30.4 grains.

		dwts.	grs.
No. 1.	weight, 30.5 grains,	= 1	6.5
2.	" 29.1 "	= 1	5.1
3.	" 28.5 "	= 1	4.5
4.	" 27.9 "	= 1	3.9
5.	" 27.8 "	= 1	3.8
6.	" 27.6 "	= 1	3.6
7.	" 26.9 "	= 1	2.9
8.	" 22 "		
9.	" 18.2 "		
10.	" 12.7 "		
11.	" 12.2 "		

REFERENCES.

Fleetwood's Chronicon Pretiosum, pl. iv.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vi. fig. 138.

Folkes and Ruding, pl. xxvii. fig. 12, weight, 30 grains.

Leake's Historical Account of English Money, 3rd edition, pl. vii. first series, fig. 60.

Trans. of Kilkenny Archæol. Society, vol. i. p. 442, fig. 6.

THREE-PENCES.—The weight of the three-pence should be 22·8 grains.

No. 1. weight, 22·2 grains.

2.	"	21·4	"
3.	"	21·4	"
4.	"	21·2	"
5.	"	21·2	"
6.	"	20·4	"
7.	"	20·2	"
8.	"	14·9	"
9.	"	12·8	"

REFERENCES.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vi. fig. 139.

Folkes and Ruding, pl. xxvii. fig. 13, weight, 22 grains.

TWO-PENCES.—The weight of the two-pence should be 15·2 grains.

No. 1. weight, 15·1 grains.

2.	"	14	"
3.	"	12·8	"

REFERENCES.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vi. fig. 140.

Folkes and Ruding, pl. xxvii. fig. 14, weight, 15 grains.

Trans. of Kilkenny Archæol. Society, vol. i. p. 442, fig. 5.

PENNY.—The weight of the penny should be 7·6 grains.

REFERENCE.

Folkes and Ruding, pl. xxvii. fig. 15, weight, 7 grains.

In the King's commission under the great seal of this kingdom, bearing date the 7th July, 1643, the commissioners were directed to make, of the money about to be coined, an eighth part "in Groats, Three-pences, and Two-pences,"¹ from which it may be inferred that, as the penny is not mentioned, no such piece was coined.

I have made many inquiries among the most distinguished collectors in Great Britain, for the penny, without success, yet I do not believe that Folkes, who states that the penny weighed seven grains, copied the type of the penny from the other coins, for the purpose of completing the series; although a spurious piece might have been imposed on him by a coin dealer of the last century, who was notorious on account of his forgeries, one of which is published in Snelling's first additional plate to Simon, fig. 25.

¹ Simon on Irish Coins, Appendix, No. xlvii., p. 117.

I know that Simon was at one time suspected, by an eminent collector in England, of having invented the representation of the coin of James the Second, in his 8th plate, fig. 177, on no other grounds than that the coin was not known to be in any collection a few years ago. A short time, however, after I heard the charge made against Simon's veracity, I had the satisfaction of obtaining a good specimen of the coin alluded to, which is now in my cabinet.

Reference to the Table will show with how much accuracy the weight of many of the coins was adjusted, and it is a remarkable coincidence that the weight of the different pieces, as originally given by Folkes and republished by Ruding, agrees almost exactly with the standard which I have deduced from the proclamation issued by the Lords Justices.

Of the seven crowns, No. 1 is exactly the same weight as is stamped on the piece commonly called the Inchiquin crown, the issue of which probably preceded the Ormonde money. Nos. 2 and 3 want only a fraction of a grain of the standard weight, while the remaining four are not deficient more than may be accounted for by the loss sustained while in circulation.

Of the half-crowns, No. 1 is singularly fine and perfect, and exceeds the standard weight by nineteen grains, and that of the Inchiquin half-crown by fifteen grains, but the mean weight of the four other pieces is 9 dwts. 12.2 grs. which accords with the standard I have adopted.

The mean weight of the five shillings is 3 dwts. 13.8 grs. Nos. 1 and 2 of the six-pences are very near the standard weight. No. 7 has been clipped. Of the four-pences, No. 1 is full weight, No. 9 is evidently of base metal, and Nos. 10 and 11, although made of good silver, and in good preservation, are lighter than the two-pences, consequently they must be looked on as fraudulent coins. The three-pences, except Nos. 8 and 9, and the two-pences, are genuine.

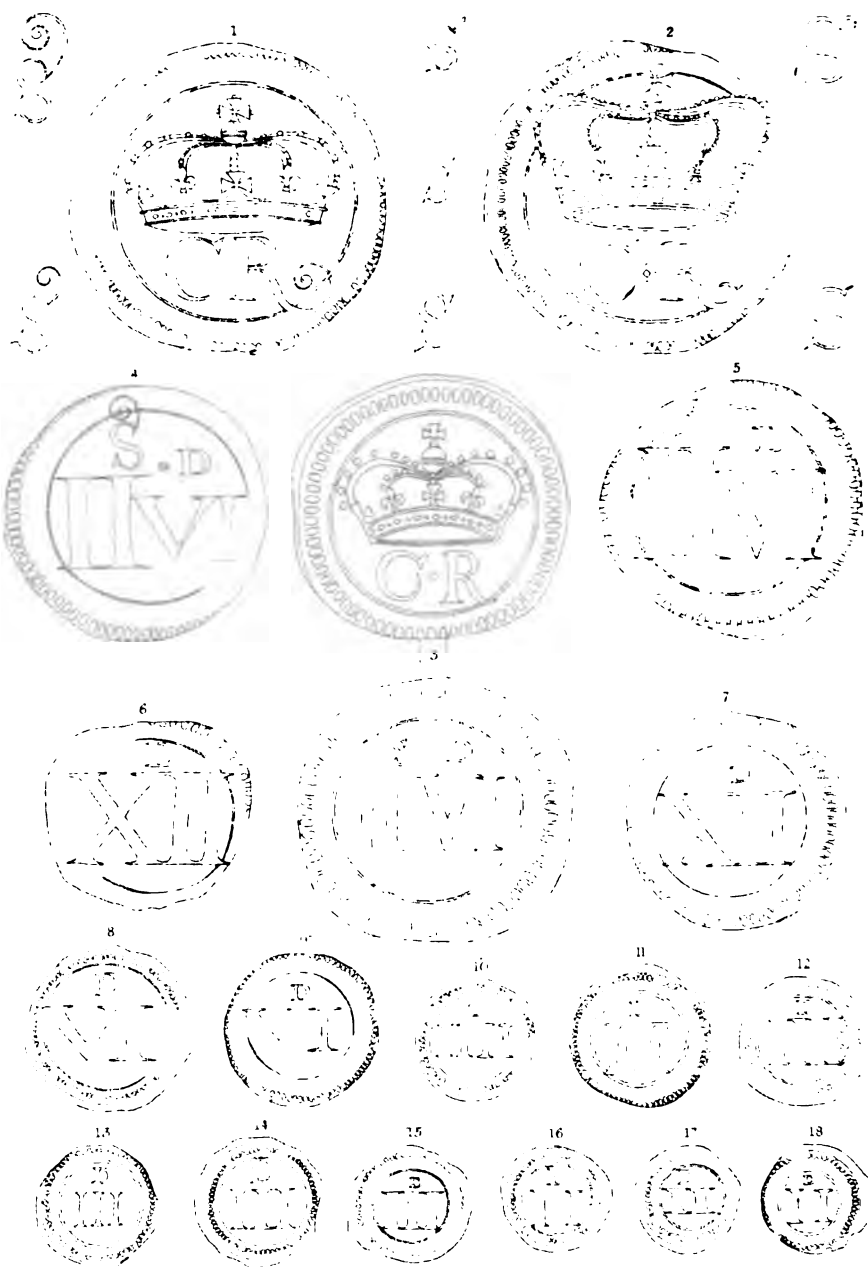
It may be thought that I have given the weights with too much nicety, but having taken the trouble of weighing forty-seven coins, I considered it right to state the result with accuracy.

Simon,¹ on the authority of a work entitled "Chronology of the World" (Dublin, 1743, 8vo. p. 62), says "that about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds was coined" by the commissioners who were appointed by the Lords Justices, July 7th, 1643. Dr. Cane seems to doubt the authority quoted by Simon, for he says "it appears that the call for plate brought in but £1200 worth," a remark which is not at all applicable to Simon's statement, because he expressly mentions the gross amount *coined*, and does not allude to the proportion of the plate or bullion which was contributed by the King's loyal subjects in Ireland.

¹ Page 48, edit. 1749.

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TOR. LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



GERMANE COIN.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE OF THE ORMONDE MONEY.

Nos. 1 and 2 show the marked difference in the form of the regal crown on the obverses of the crown pieces.

No. 3, the remarkably fine and heavy half-crown which weighs 10 dwts. 7 grs.

Nos. 4 and 5 exhibit two other varieties of the reverse of the half-crown.

Nos. 6 to 18 show characteristic varieties of the reverses of the other coins, from the shilling to the two-pence.

No. 12 is a peculiar and rare variety of the groat.

The seven varieties of the letter S distinguish the reverses of the seven specimens of the crown pieces, which are in my cabinet.

Dr. Cane, having quoted Mr. Lindsay's estimate of the rarity, and what may be termed the numismatic value of some pieces of the Ormonde money, I take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the publication of a list such as Mr. Lindsay has compiled.

I fully appreciate the utility of indicating the degrees of rarity, but to enable any person to state with precision, or even with tolerable accuracy, the relative numbers of particular coins which have been preserved by collectors, would require a long and extensive experience, together with a more complete knowledge of the contents of *all* the cabinets in Great Britain and Ireland, than any individual would be likely to acquire.

It may seem that in requiring a complete knowledge of the contents of all the cabinets in the United Kingdom, I am demanding too much, but I do so, because in my own experience, I have met with, in small and apparently worthless collections, a few of the rarest coins which I possess, and which are valuable not solely for their rarity, which too frequently is considered to be the strongest grounds for fixing a high price on a coin, but also because of their historical value, as filling up blanks in the series.

The Cork penny of Edward the Fourth, the half-penny of James the Second, date 1687, and the groat (Simon, pl. viii. fig. 177), are instances of rare coins which I discovered in small and obscure collections.

These remarks are meant to apply only to the difficulties experienced by any one who attempts to give an accurate estimate of the rarity of each particular coin in a long series, and are not intended to discourage future writers from indicating coins of which only one or a few specimens are known, for, by directing attention to particular coins, discoveries will surely be made, as in the instance of the six-pence of James the Second, with the date, May, 1690, which Mr. Lindsay believed to be unique, but it now exists in several cabinets.

Though illiberal and narrow-minded collectors, who only enjoy the possession of what cannot be obtained by others, may be mortified by the discovery of duplicates of their rare coins, the proper object of the study of the history of our coinage will be promoted; and I trust it will be recollected that there are many very rare coins which are not generally appreciated by collectors, yet are of great importance as links in the series, and contribute quite as much to the completion of the history of our coinage, as those pieces which frequently have given rise to keen and angry contests at public sales.

The value attached to rare coins is in a great measure conventional, and liable at all times to be depreciated by the discovery of duplicates. A particular coin may at times be sold at a very high, or even an exorbitant price, owing to the [competition of two or more wealthy collectors, and numerous instances might be cited from priced sale catalogues of one and the same coin having been sold at prices which in common language would be termed high and low.

The knowledge of the rarity and value of coins chiefly concerns collectors and dealers. A few of the latter class consider my friend's "List" the most valuable contribution ever made to the history of the Irish coinage. Shortly after the publication of Mr. Lindsay's work it was procured by some dealers in bullion, and by one itinerant pedlar, and the consequence has been, that when they obtain a coin which appears strange, they immediately refer to the "List," and if there happens to be the slightest accordance between their coin and the description, it is forthwith set apart, and the fixed price obstinately demanded for it, though the coin may not be worth a six-pence.

In such cases argument is unavailing, proof of their mistake is repudiated, and collectors are reproached for not encouraging the preservation of rare coins, and permitting them to be sent out of the country to a better market, where, if the expectation of the pedlar be not realized, his disappointment is never acknowledged. This is no exaggeration; it is only what I have experienced on many occasions.

THE SURRENDER OF ROSS CASTLE, KILLARNEY, 22ND JUNE, 1652.

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE circumstances attendant on the fall of Ross Castle, Killarney, and its surrender to the Parliament forces under the command of General Ludlow in the year 1652, have hitherto been involved in much obscurity.

This fortress stood on an island in the Lower Lake, situated in the bosom of the lofty mountains of Kerry, and being approachable at the period of the war of 1641 only by difficult mountain paths, it might well be deemed incapable of being reduced by any other means than a lengthened siege. Hither Lord Muskerry, then in command of the Munster forces of the Confederate Catholics, retreated after the loss of the battle of Knocknicalashy, and throwing himself into the castle with fifteen hundred men, intended to abide the chances of a siege while awaiting the arrival of succours to be sent over sea by Charles the Second, then an exile in France. So secure indeed was the place deemed to be from assault by reason of its position, that there was a prophecy about it, if we are to believe tradition, somewhat similar to that concerning Macbeth's hold—not to be taken “till Birnam wood should come to Dunsinane.” “The Irish,” writes Smith, in his History of the County of Kerry, published within a century after the event, “had a kind of prophecy among them, that Ross Castle could not be taken, until a ship should swim upon the lake.”¹ The Parliamentary forces were not slow in following their enemy to this mountain retreat, and obtaining a speedy surrender of the castle without firing a shot, the story generally told being, that the commander of the Commonwealth forces having caused a small ship to be launched in the lake, the garrison, recognising the completion of the prophecy, at once surrendered the fortress. The source of this tradition is somewhat more respectable than mere country tales, being plainly traceable to the terms in which the event is recorded in the work called “Gesta Hibernorum” appended to the Annals of Sir James Ware, where the surrender is thus chronicled:—“A. D. 1652. Rosse, in the county of Kerry, a castle in an island, is yielded up to Ludlow, after he had caused a small ship to be carried over the mountains and set afloat in the lough, which terrified the enemy.”

The hold this tale has kept of the mind, evidenced by its general acceptance, is a proof of that appetite of the public for the marvellous which seems ever to prefer the extraordinary and unaccountable to the natural and methodical.

For, in regard to what is marvellous in this tale, that is to say, the smallness of the force to which the garrison surrendered, it is directly contradicted by the actual facts. Ludlow, whose Memoirs appeared a few years later than the Annals attributed to Sir James Ware, has not omitted to mention his proceedings at the siege of Ross Castle, and while his account is somewhat meagre, he yet speaks distinctly of no inconsiderable force when he states that he

¹ History of Kerry, p. 316.

² Annals of Ireland, from the Conquest to the end of the Reign of Queen

Elizabeth, by Sir James Ware:—with a Continuation from thence to the Present Time, p. 183. Folio. Dublin, 1706.

was supplied with boats capable of containing 120 men in each. The following is his account:—

“In the mean time I was not wanting in my endeavour to reduce the enemy in Ireland, and to that end marched with about 4000 foot and 2000 horse towards Ross in Kerry, where the Lord Muskerry had his principal rendezvous, and which was the only place of strength the Irish had left except the woods, bogs, and mountains, being a kind of island encompassed on every part by water, except on one side, upon which there is a bog not passable but by a causeway, which the enemy had fortified. In this expedition I was accompanied by the Lords Broghill and Sir Hardress Waller, major-general of the foot. Being arrived at this place, I was informed that the enemy received continual supplies from those parts that lay on the other side and were covered with woods and mountains, whereupon I sent a party of 2000 foot to clear these woods, and to find out some convenient place for erecting a fort if there should be occasion. These forces met with some opposition, but at last they routed the enemy, killing some and taking others prisoners: the rest saved themselves by their good footmanship. Whilst this was doing I employed that part of the army which was with me in fortifying a neck of land, where I designed to leave a party to keep in the Irish on this side, that I might be at liberty with the greatest part of the horse and foot to look after the enemy abroad, and to receive and convoy such boats and other things necessary as the Commissioners sent us by sea. When we had received our boats, each of which was capable of containing 120 men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the water, to find out the most convenient place for landing upon the enemy; which they, perceiving, thought fit by a timely submission to prevent the danger that threatened them: and having expressed their desires to that purpose, Commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat. A fortnight was spent in debating upon the terms, but articles were finally signed and hostages delivered on both sides, in consequence of which 5000 horse and foot laid down their arms, and surrendered their horses.”¹

This account, while it lessens the marvel in one way by showing what a very considerable force was ready for the assault, increases it in another, it being scarce possible to conceive how such large vessels could have been conveyed to the siege from the sea. Weld,² in his account of the Lakes, very justly remarks that “General Ludlow in this account does not inform us by what means his boats were conveyed to the lake; yet they could not have been brought thither without the greatest difficulty. The river Laune, which runs from Killarney to the sea, is much too shallow, when flowing at its

¹ Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 160. Folio. London, 1751.

² Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney, A.D. 1812, p. 96.

ordinary level, to float a boat capable of containing 120 men, and when it is swelled by floods the current acquires an impetuosity that could only tend to augment the difficulty."

The general interest in this question has been considerably heightened by a very unpretending little work lately published, called "Lake Lore," full of very interesting original historical matter, by, it is believed, the Rev. A. B. Rowan, D. D., where much that has been hitherto written about Ross Castle is discussed, and the tale of the surrender told, according to the legend, in some very pretty metrical verses. The author, as will be seen by the following lines, adopts the river as the channel by which the boats arrived. After describing the confidence of the garrison resting secure in the prophecy that

Rosse may all assault disdain
Till on Lough Lein strange ship shall sail;

He continues,

And closer while that leaguer grows,
Winding round Rosse by wood and brake,
The pent-up garrison repose
On the charmed spell which guards their Lake.

Fools ! not to know the steadfast hold
The English purpose ever keeps—
Sagacious, vigilant, and bold,
It wakes and works while folly sleeps.

And while the warder's careless glance
On the calm lake no danger saw,
Stout hands, with slow but sure advance,
The war-boats through the rapids draw.¹

The river Laune, however, is not easily navigable at any time, and at the period of the siege of Ross, which was midsummer, the water, of course, was at its lowest level. The only other road to the lake was by land, and the way, for a ship of even much less burden than those described by Ludlow as being sent to the siege, whether by land or water, so difficult, that it has been lately suggested that, after all, it was probably not a ship, but a raft, that was employed.

Considering the doubts that have been thus raised as to the amount and nature of the boat expedition sent to the aid of General Ludlow, and the means taken to convey it to the scene of

¹ Lake Lore: or, an Antiquarian lectures of Killarney; by A. B. R.,
Guide to some of the Ruins and Recol- p. 119. Hodges Smith, Dublin, 1863.

action, it may prove interesting to furnish some authentic memoirs, hitherto unpublished, to elucidate these particulars. The documents from whence the information is derived form part of the domestic correspondence of the Commissioners of Parliament, who formed the Commonwealth government of Ireland, of which not many fragments remain.

Ludlow, as we have seen by the extract already cited from his Memoirs, followed Lord Muskerry in his retreat to his fortress in the lake of Killarney, from the northern end of which the river Laune flows in a course of about fifteen miles to the sea at the bay of Dingle. While he was thus engaged in watching the castle of Ross, an expedition was preparing at Kinsale to be sent round to the mouth of the river Laune at Killorglin.

The organizing the materials for this enterprise was committed to the care of a man of no small activity and importance in the war of 1641, the Rev. Dr. Henry Jones, a clergyman who had been captured at his rectory of Kilmore, in the county of Cavan, by the rebels on the 23d October, 1641, but afterwards escaping, took up arms (like so many of the cloth on both sides), and at the time of the siege of Ross filled the office of scout-master general in the Parliamentary army in Ireland. By a letter of the 14th June, 1652, Dr. Jones, writing from Kinsale, announces to the General the readiness of the expedition, and apprizes him that it will sail the following day, requesting at the same time that a force may be sent down to meet the party and protect them in their disembarkation, as there would be no coming to the shore till a force was ready to receive them.

The following is the letter:—

Scout Master Genl Doctor Henry Jones to the Lieutenant-General.

DEAR AND HON^d SIR,

Upon advice taken hereof the best way to furnish you with Boats and other necessaries for the present service, we find that the most expeditious course that can be taken [is] to provide as many materials as may be had here, and send them by sea to the nearest place they may be conveyed for the purpose you intended. To which end there is prepared keels, planks and other materials, and workmen necessary for the making of *two Boats to carry two pieces of Ordnance*¹ in the head of each, manned each with 50 men, which Pinnances are so prepared as they will be sett up in two days.

We intend likewise to send five or 6 boats more, ready made, to land or transport men, each of which Boats will carry 50 men.

Besides we send materials for making of 12 more, on the place, if need

¹ "The words marked, writt in Dr. Jones's character." This observation forms an original note in the manuscript from which the above was taken.

be. All which we are advised by such as know the place very well, that the best way and place to land them is in *Mange Bay in the River Lowne flowing from the N. west side of the Lough at a place called Killorgan,*¹ and to which place the Boats and other materials may be conveyed by water. All these will be under sail to-morrow (if God permit) or before Monday morning at furthest. But there will be no coming on the shore till it appear that y^r forces are ready to receive them; and therefore we desire that upon their arrival (of which you shall have notice) you send such a party as may countenance their landing and conveyance to the Lough. 'The Expedition,' one of the Parliament's Ships of 28 guns and 120 men, shall come along to convey this vessell and shall stay till the provisions be landed. You will have Sawyers, Carpenters, Smiths, Seamen, Gunners, and all other necessities ment^d by you or the Lord Broghill and the Captain that you desired is to come along with them, together with all other necessities we c^d be advised here were necessary with some other provisions we hope may be of some use to you.

The care of all this business we commit to Captⁿ Chudleigh, who we find to be able and fit for this service, and doth come along with the Ship, not having more.

Yours, &c.²

KINSALE, June, 1652.

It thus appears that the number of boats provided for the assault of Ross Castle was no less than twenty, each capable of carrying from fifty to sixty men; two of them pinnaces with two pieces of ordnance in their bows, or, as they would be called now, gun-boats. But these, as being too heavy for the means of transport from the point of disembarkation to the lake, were to be sent from Kinsale in plank, but so prepared as they might be set up in two days. These being embarked at Kinsale on board 'The Expedition,' one of the Parliament's ships of 28 guns, were sent round to Killorglin, where they arrived on the 18th of June, 1652, as appears from the following extract from a letter of the Commissioners for the government of Ireland to the Parliament, dated from Cork, the 24th of the same month:—

The Lieutenant General with his brigade did the 13th instant meet with a party of the enemy and routed them and took some 50 horse and some prey, with an abbey called Killara where they found some four barrels of powder; and in those parts they have been till the boats and other necessities we sent them from Kinsale came to them; and on the 18th inst. we received letters from them that that day they marched up with their party to the fort near Ross Castle and thither have sent their boats and provisions.

¹ "The words marked, writt in Dr. Jones's character." This observation is an original note in the manuscript.

² The original copy is unsigned.

A fuller account of the whole proceeding, together with the intelligence of the fall of Ross Castle, is given in another letter from the same Commissioners, dated from Cork the same 24th June, and addressed to the 'Councell of State' in London.

Letter from the Commissioners of Parliament then at Cork to the Councell of State in London.

TO THE COUNCELL OF STATE.

24 June, 1652.

R^t Hon^{ble},

The Lord Muskerry having refused to accept the Leinster Articles, Lt. Gen. Ludlow and Major Gen. Sir Hardress Waller with 1500 foot and about 700 Horse, marched into his country of Kerry, and there being no way to force the Island and Castle of Ross, being his principal Garrison and strength, but by Boats upon the great Lough or water w^h encompasseth the place, Wee were fain to provide in this town and at Kinsale materials for two Pinnaces to carry guns in them and ten boats more for transportation of men, each Boat to carry about 60 men together with oars, rowers, and about 50 sawyers, carpenters and other artificers, and to send them by sea to the Bay of Dingle, where they arrived on Friday last, the 18th inst. in the morning.

While these were in preparation L^t Gen. Ludlow fell upon a party of the Enemy near the s^d Lough, killed divers of them, and took 60 good horse, a small prey of cows and some quantity of powder and ammunition from them. Likewise the Lord Broghill upon the last Lords day about five in the morning, with that party of the forces that were left to preserve the country, by advantage of a mist fell into their Camp, and although they were accounted 600 Horse, a Reg^t of Foot, an another of Dragoons, and in a posture to receive a Charge, yet the van of our forces being 100 Horse and 120 foot and 20 horse more for a reserve to them being sent before to engage them while the remainder of our forces were coming up, routed both their horse and foot and did considerable execution upon them. They took the officer that then commanded them in chief (one Col. Supple) prisoner, the rest that came to their hands they gave no quarter to. They encamped so near the fastnesses and Rocks that most of them escaped thither; in which escape the mist was advantageous for them, and y^e men having never seen the place could not without much hazard pursue. They took about 100 good horse with many saddles and arms and rescued 200 good fat Beeves, which were taken from the protected people for the victualling of Ross Castle, but by the officers restored to the owners. These baffles and the seasonable coming of the Shipping with provisions into the river to force the place, inclined Lord Muskerry to seek for another Treaty or terms, and by letters rec^d this morning from L^t Gen. Ludlow wee are informed that Muskerry hath agreed to surrender the Castle and Island of Ross on Saturday next, and that the party shall lay down Arms the 5th July next, or before. Muskerry's Son and Sir Daniell O'Brian are to be hostages, and were expected by the L^t Gen^l when the messenger came away.

We have not yet any advertisement of what the conditions are, but all conceive by the expressions of the Letter that they are much like those of Leinster. We hope a short time will settle this South West corner, which indeed is the most knotty and difficult to effect by reason of rocks and fastnesses, and most necessary to be secured by reason of the many excellent harbours that are in it open to any design from abroad.

CORKE, 24 June, 1652.

Your Lo^{pp}
Most faithful and most
humble servant.¹

It must be admitted that these despatches do not detail as clearly as might be desired the course taken to convey the boats from Killoglin to the lake.

Some inference, however, may be drawn from the language of Dr. Jones' despatch to Ludlow, that they were to be conveyed by land. He requests the General to send such a party as may countenance their landing and conveyance to the lough, terms he would scarce have employed if the boats had merely to be launched from the deck of the transport into the river.

It is another circumstance also in favour of the popular tradition, which assigns the land as their road to the lake, that the time of the event was just midsummer, when the lake and river are at their lowest level. And the sending such a large amount of materials not made up would seem to indicate that they were to be carried by land. It will be remembered also that the *Annals* attributed to Sir James Ware expressly state, that the vessel was carried over the mountains. There is fortunately, however, some further evidence.

In Dr. Jones' despatch of the 14th June, 1652, from Kinsale, announcing to the General the readiness of the expedition, it will have been observed that mention is made of one Captain Thomas Chudleigh, of whose services Ludlow seems to have formed a very high opinion, as he was sent expressly on that General's application:—"You will have sawyers, carpenters, seamen, gunners, and all other necessities mentioned by you, . . . and the Captain that you desired is to come along with them;" to whom, he adds, "we commit the care of this whole business."

And in a despatch of the next day, June 15th, 1652, apprizing Ludlow of the expedition having set sail, Dr. Jones gives him the following high character for capability.

To the L^d Gen^l.

We have gotten Mr. Chudleigh to come along with them, who is employed here by the State for the naval business, being formerly a ship

¹ No signature in the copy; but probably written by Miles Corbet.

carpenter, but is one of good estate and good repute amongst the workmen who are the more willing to go because he goeth. We think you will not have the like in giving directions and ordering the making of boates or bridges, and most of the materials now sent came to us by his means.

KINSALE, 15th June, 1652.

Of this Captain Thomas Chudleigh history makes no mention. Ludlow, in his account of the siege of Ross Castle, takes no notice of him. And Dr. Jones' despatches were what would now be called "confidential," known only to the Government.

Yet there lies in the church of St. Multose, in Kinsale, a tomb with a long Latin epitaph in Captain Chudleigh's honour, hitherto much neglected, which, read by the light of these despatches, becomes of historic interest.

It cannot be said to be unknown, for it has always been public there since the time when it was put up, more than 150 years ago. But no public notice seems to have been taken of it in county histories or otherwise, until Mrs. S. C. Hall lately called attention to it in her *Sketches of Ireland*, where, in reference to the tradition of a ship's appearing at the siege of Ross Castle, she brings forward this epitaph, which she had observed in the gloom of St. Multose's church, to confirm that tradition. Often as epitaphs have furnished evidence of pedigree, it is seldom they supply interesting historical facts. But here we find recorded, not only Captain Chudleigh's services in the building of the boats for the siege of Ross Castle, as detailed in Dr. Jones' despatches, but we are further supplied with the fact, which is not related either in General Ludlow's history, or the Government despatches, that the road taken to bring them to the lake was by land, thus confirming the tradition that the ship was carried over the mountains.

The tomb in the church of St. Multose contains the bodies both of Captain Thomas Chudleigh and of his son, who was of the same rank and name as his father, and followed the same profession, and the epitaph seems to have been put up on the death of the latter in 1706. It consists of fifteen Latin hexameter verses,¹ which have been very accurately rendered into the same number of English verses by the author of "*Lake Lore*," as follows:—

Let some in Saints or Angels rest their trust,

JESUS!

There stands the blessed name which makes us just.

Here sire and son, each Thomas Chudleigh, sleep,
For England's kings their vessels ploughed the deep;

¹ For these see "*Lake Lore*," p. 122.

Skilful the sire, but short-lived,—sad the tale,—
 His art once framed a ship on land to sail,
 That “o’erland voyage” Kerry knew full well,
 What time beleaguered Rosse a conquest fell.
 Sing Muse, of son, as sire, the praises still,
 His equal ingenuity and skill.
 He built a royal ship, “Kinsale” its name,
He built! and all the honour others claim—
He built! but, reader, others gained the fame!
 For others thus! the fertile wine-grape grows.
 For others thus! the loaded pack-horse goes.
 For others thus! the grey-hound skims the plain.
 For others thus! the vessel ploughs the main.

}

Apart from the historic interest of this curious epitaph, it affords the proof that was wanting, of the route taken by the boats to the siege of Ross Castle, and shows that the river was not the course:—
 The lines—

Skilful the sire, but short-lived,—sad the tale,—
 His art once framed a ship on land to sail,
 That “o’er-land voyage” Kerry knew full well,
 What time beleaguered Rosse a conquest fell—

are very skilfully and accurately rendered from the Latin original given below, and seem to set at rest the question in favour of the vessel's having been carried over the hills.

The account of the tomb furnished by Mrs. S. C. Hall being very meagre, the following particulars, obtained from actual survey, last December, cannot fail to be of interest.

The inscription or epitaph is painted in black letters on a wooden tablet, nearly six feet in length, and three feet wide, fastened against the south wall of the southern aisle of the church of St. Multose, near the angle formed by the west wall. The inscription is very legibly written, and the tablet in very good order, except the bottom, which is crumbling away. It is a pity that so interesting a memorial is not put into complete repair. It is not known that it has been at any time repaired.

Directly underneath the wooden tablet, in the floor of the church, is the covering of a vault, of coarse brown flag, with the inscription given below, in large capital letters, which were only deciphered after being picked with a knife clear of the mortar they were filled with, from the flag having been used at some time by masons for mixing mortar upon. The flag is three feet and a half long, by two and a half wide. The following is the inscription:—

HERE LIES THE BODY OF M^r
 THOMAS CHYDLEIGH, SHIP
 WRIGHT, WHO DECEASED
 THE 21st OF MARCH 1706.
 AGED 67 YEARS.

From the date of this Mr. Thomas Chudleigh's death, it is plain that it commemorates the son, and not the sire,—the builder of the royal frigate "The Kinsale," not the framer of the ship that sailed overland to the siege of Ross Castle, for he could have been only thirteen years of age at the time of the siege, in the year 1652. We have no further record of either father or son; but there is enough here, it is hoped, to prompt further inquiry. The fate of both would seem to have been unhappy: that of the father untimely, that of the son deprived of his rightful honours. The family is a Devonshire one. In the eighth of Richard II. James Chudleigh was sheriff of the county of Devon; in the eighth Hen. VI. another of the same name was sheriff; and in seventeenth Hen. VI. again. In twenty-fifth Hen. VI. Jeremiah Chudleigh, and in fifteenth Hen. VII., James Chudleigh, were sheriffs; another in fifteenth Hen. VII.

They were possibly settlers in Ireland during the plantation of Desmond, in Queen Elizabeth's time.

They continued to reside at Kinsale till a Major Chudleigh, within the last twenty or thirty years, removed to England, where he died, leaving a son and daughter, the former of whom is dead. The representatives of the family are still possessed of an estate near the town of Kinsale.

For these latter particulars about the tomb and family we are indebted to Mr. G. Digby Daunt, of Kinsale, a gentleman of great historical acquirements, who also took the trouble to furnish us with a copy of the Latin inscription from the tablet, which follows:—

Spem Reponant alii in sanotis et angelis.

Jesus!

En nomen venerandum quod liberavit nos.

Cvm genitore jacet Thomas cognomine Chudleigh
 Regibus Anglorum strvxit vterque rates,
 Ars genitoris erat præstans: hev! hev! brevis ætas.
 Causavit terris velificasse Ratem.
 Velificasse Ratem terris bene Kerria novit:
 Rossensis Tvrris capta labore probat.
 Pergito Musa, precor; natum cantare studeto.
 Ingeniosus erat præditus arte pari.
 Ille Ratem Regi cui dat Kinsalia nomen
 Condidit, ast alii laus data magna fuit.
 Condidit Hanc: inquam: lector: tulit alter honores,
 Sic alii, Sibi non, dulcia vitis habet.
 Sic alii, Sibi non, grandia portat equus.
 Sic alii, Sibi non, cursitat arva canis.
 Sic alii, Sibi non, navigat ipsa RATIS.

The wooden slab, which is curved at the top, rests against the south wall of the church. It is about 50 inches long, 38 inches wide, and is 75 inches from the centre of the curve. It rests on the raised vault underneath it.

QUERY.—Is it known who was St. Múltose, the patron saint of this church of Kinslae?

Having applied to a friend in the county of Cork, a clergyman formerly of Kinsale, we have learned this much :—

“It appears that St. Multosia was a saint of the masculine gender, and rumour has it, that, being offended with the good people of Kinsale (and himself a bachelor), he inflicted the curse of barrenness on any couples hereafter to be married in his church at Kinsale. The consequences may be easily anticipated. Down to the present day the neighbouring church of Rincurran is much more favoured with weddings than Kinsale church.”

A CALENDAR OF THE CONTENTS OF THE RED BOOK OF THE IRISH EXCHEQUER.

BY JAMES FREDERICK FERGUSON, ESQ.

THE Red Book of the Irish Exchequer has been adverted to by several writers. Each has selected some portion of its contents to which his remarks have been confined, but the entire record has not hitherto received that full description to which, from its nature and antiquity, it is undoubtedly well entitled. Sir John Davys refers to it in his “Historical Relations.” Patrick Darcy in his “Argument delivered in 1641 by the express order of the House of Commons,” makes mention of it also. Parts of it have been long since transcribed, and will be found in the MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, entitled E. 3. 20. Gorges Edmond Howard, in his “Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland,” Dublin, 1776, vol. i., p. 14, makes mention of it also, but merely states that the chief remembrancer “has in his custody the Red Book of the Exchequer,” and adds, in the Appendix, No. 1, vol. ii., p. 47, the oaths of the officers and ministers of the Court of Exchequer, and of some others, taken from the same book. In the year 1820 Dr. Henry Joseph Monck Mason, in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, gave a fac-simile of an ancient drawing of the Court of Exchequer which appears upon one of the leaves of the Red Book, accompanied by a short and, I think, an inaccurate description of it. Lynch, in his “Feudal Dignities,” refers to this book, and to many of the entries appearing in it. William Henry Black, Esq., has

recently published amongst the "Transactions of the Chronological Institute of London," the memorabilia, which are inserted in the old Calendar; and the writer of this paper has on two or three occasions transmitted to the Editor of "Notes and Queries" copies of several entries therein, calculated to throw light upon some of the many interesting questions from time to time appearing in that wide-spread publication. This book is also referred to in the English Record Reports, and transcripts of Statutes have been made and published from it.

There can be little if any doubt, that the earliest entries in this book have not been made at a later period of time than during the reign of King John or of Henry III. It is probable that the Canon of the Mass and the Calendar are not of a later period. That the Magna Charta Hiberniæ of the first year of Henry III. was therein recorded at the time that it was made, is, I think, unquestionable, and, therefore, it is not going too far to say, that the Red Book of the Exchequer, as a national muniment, from its nature and antiquity, takes precedence of all other records in Ireland.

The ancient pagination has been erased, and a more modern paging has been substituted by some rude and unskilful hand, whence it becomes somewhat difficult to say in what form this record originally stood. The binding of the book (as I have been informed by a gentleman whose opinion is of value) is not of an earlier date than George III.'s time, and consequently it is not now presented to us in its original form. The book is written partly on vellum and partly on parchment, and consists of 179 pages.

As it requires more time and attention to decipher a large portion of the handwriting of this manuscript, which is much defaced through time and careless guardianship, than I have as yet been able to devote to it, I feel that justice is scarcely done to so valuable a record by giving to it a hasty description, but as, each day that passes, it is liable to many casualties, and as hitherto no attempt has been made to elucidate its contents, the following short description is now submitted, in the hope that at some future time the entire book, or at least the greater part of it, may be published.

I am inclined to think that the Red Book originally consisted of two separate parts, and I shall therefore now describe it as if it were divided into two distinct portions, namely, Parts I. and II.

PART I. Folios 1-6.—Upon these folios are written an ancient Calendar, similar to one which has been published by the Archæological Society of Ireland.¹ As each folio consists of two pages, each month occupies a page, i.e. there are six folios, or twelve pages, being one page for each of the twelve months. At the top of each

¹ "The Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin," pp. 60-74.

of these pages, Latin lines have been written, descriptive of unlucky days, and these lines will be found in a recent number of "Notes and Queries." Scattered here and there throughout the entire Calendar, there have been from time to time inserted memoranda of remarkable events: these have been transcribed by one who has done more to rescue valuable records from decay and obscurity than perhaps any other in modern times, and whose antiquarian skill and ability are well known (William H. Black, Esq., of London), who has published them, as I have already mentioned, in one of the papers of the Chronological Institute. At the foot of one of the pages of this Calendar, namely, the second page, which is devoted to the month of February, the following Latin lines have been written:—

Post nonas Februarii novam Lunam quere
Inde quartam feriam proximo venere,
Ibi festum Cinerum prudentes fecere
Nunquam per hanc regulam tu dissipiere.

It is probable that the foregoing lines contain a rhythmical direction for the finding of Easter.

The ancient Calendar to which I have adverted is followed by the Canon of the Mass, and as it is a perfect as well as a very ancient copy, it is well worthy of the examination of those who take an interest in the early ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. The Canon of the Mass occupies sixteen pages, namely, from page 49 to page 64.

This Canon of the Mass is followed on page 64 by two lines, which cannot be deciphered by the writer of this paper at present, and these lines are followed by other Latin lines descriptive of the meaning attached to the forms of taking an oath upon "the book" (*librum*), having reference, as I presume, to the Bible, and not to the Red Book. As these lines have recently appeared in "Notes and Queries," I conceive it to be unnecessary to repeat them here. Upon the same page is given, in the Norman French, the oath taken by the members of the King's council, but so much defaced that it is scarcely possible to decipher the greater part of it.

Assuming that I am correct in the opinion I have formed, that the Red Book originally consisted of two distinct parts, I would say, that the above-mentioned Calendar, and Canon of the Mass, and also the above-mentioned oath of the King's councillors, as well as the oaths of sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, of the judges of the several courts, and of the treasurer of the Exchequer, and of the escheator, were also included in that first part, and I am also inclined to think that the Magna Charta Hiberniæ of the first year of Henry III. also formed a portion of the original book.

The several oaths to which I have above adverted are written in Norman French, and a transcript in what is usually called "long

Latin," of the Magna Charta, will be found in the Appendix to the first volume of Leland's History of Ireland : it is also referred to in a publication called the "Law Reporter," wherein a short account was many years past given by the writer of this paper of the points of difference existing between this and the great Charter of King John for England.

Various entries which appear in the Books of Orders of the Court of Exchequer show that the officers of the Crown in Ireland were sworn upon the Red Book, and the form in which the oaths were administered is manifest by the present appearance of many of its vellum leaves, which have been partly worn away by the frequent pressure of the lips of high officials ; so much so that many of the memorabilia of the Calendar cannot now be deciphered. One of the entries to which I have above alluded, descriptive of the mode in which the oath of office was administered to a Lord Mayor of Dublin, has been read at one of the recent meetings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

PART II.—As the first part consisted, as I conceive, of the above-mentioned records or documents, so does it, of necessity, follow, that the remaining records of which the book is also now composed must have been added to it, and these additions appear to me to have been made from time to time, at various intervals, between the reigns of Edward I. and Charles II. I shall now enumerate and briefly describe these additional records, not taking them in their order as to dates, but as they follow each other in the book.

Page 1.—The first page does not contain anything more than mere scribbling, amongst which the only perfect line appears to be

Anglorum regi scola scribit sola.

Page 2.—The second page contains seven Latin couplets reflecting in unmeasured terms upon the English nation (*gens Anglorum*), the sense whereof merely can be discovered, in consequence of their having sustained much injury through carelessness or other causes. Amongst other things they are accused of occasioning loss to French property, and they contain a statement that God would sanctify whosoever [would punish] them. It is somewhat curious that the name William Black here appears in the margin, and the name of Alison Aylmer is also here inserted.

The above lines are followed by a memorandum that nothing was answered (probably by the escheator) of the rents and issues of the estates of Richard de St. Michael, at Waspaileston, county of Dublin, because they were granted in fee-farm to Geoffrey le Botiller, and his wife, the daughter and heir of the said Richard. This record bears date in the September of the second year of Edward II. Immediately under it are these lines :—

Donec mare erit siccum
Nunquam pauper habebit amicum.

And then these verses :—

Tempore felicii multi nominantur amici
Dum oportune periit nullus amicus erit.

The above are followed by a memorandum of the second year of Edward II., that the village of Castlemore, in the county of Cork, had accounted for a sum of £69 6s. 8d., the arrears of murage which had not been expended upon the walls (in opere posito). Then follows a memorandum of the twenty-fourth year of Edward III., that by letters patent from England it appears that no officers or ministers, the treasurer excepted, should be admitted to any office in Ireland under English patents, unless found to be fit and able (*idoneos et habiles*), by the justiciary, chancellor, treasurer, and council of Ireland.

The above is followed by a memorandum of the same date, that *magnates* of England having lands in Ireland should find men at arms.

Then follows a memorandum of the forty-third year of Edward III., being a note of a Statute of that date, chap. 8, relating to the manner in which sheriffs and bailiffs of franchises should render their accounts.

This is followed by a note stating, that it appears by the memoranda roll of the forty-sixth year of Edward III., mem. 16, that William [] and his wife Johanna, owed the King £20 9s. 4d.

Page 3.—This page commences with the Statute passed at Dublin in the eleventh year of Henry II., whereby it was enacted that sheriffs should be thenceforth elected by the people. This Statute is *not* to be found amongst the *printed* Acts of Ireland.

This Statute is followed by a memorandum whereby it appears that in Hilary Term, in the forty-sixth year of Edward III., Isabella, the widow of John Wogan, was charged with two marks, being the profits of certain sessions held before him as a justice of the peace of the county of Kildare; by another memorandum of the same date, relating to the fruits and emoluments of Ambrosetown, due to the King in consequence of the owner's absence; by another entry to the effect, that it appears by the Memoranda Roll of the twentieth year of Richard II. that certain evil-doers had carried away certain goods and chattels, value ten marks; and by a further memorandum, stating that it appears by the rolls of the collectors of the customs of the city of Cork, that something had been done, which cannot be deciphered, with some horse-skins by a man named Shorlyng.

Then follow, upon the fourth page, the Acts or Ordinances made in a Parliament at Westminster, and enrolled on the Memoranda

Roll of the fifth and sixth years of Edward III., consisting of eight clauses, the three last of which are much defaced. By an English writ or mandate which precedes these Acts, it appears that the justiciary, chancellor, and treasurer of Ireland were directed to cause them to be held and observed here towards the quieting and tranquillizing of the country.

As the Red Book is now bound, the oaths of sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, of judges, of the treasurer and escheator, here follow. These, as I have already mentioned, formed, as I conceive, part of the Red Book as it stood originally, and are therefore included in Part I. In the vacant spaces between two of these oaths, the following Latin verses and lines have been inserted:—

Ecce modum mirum femina que fert breve Regis
Non tangendo virum convictum robore legis.
Nasceris et moreris, quod preterit inter utraque
Crede supervacuum preter amare Deum.
Proximus extremus quibus intimus adde suppressus
Infimus addatur duplex gradus hiis tribuatur. [Et declinatur.]

These are followed, on the sixth page, by the degrees of comparison of the words "prope," "extra," "intra," "supra," "supremus," "infra," and "infimus."

Page 8.—At the commencement of this page, there is entered a writ or mandate tested at Westminster by the King himself, and dated the 17th of December, in the first year of Henry IV., which recites the Act of Absentees passed in the third year of Richard II., and commands the Lord Lieutenant and the Chancellor and Treasurer of Ireland, to cause the Act to be observed in all its articles. This writ is followed by a memorandum that the Statute of Absentees, upon which the following writ was founded, was entered in the White Book of the Exchequer. The writ, which is set forth *in hæc verba*, is dated at Drogheda, the 28th of June, in the fourth year of Richard II., and bears the teste of Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, the then Lord Lieutenant. It recites very fully the Act which was passed at Westminster in the then last Parliament, and directs the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to search the rolls, writs, and memoranda of the Exchequer in their custody for the purpose of obtaining more full information as to the lands, rents, offices, benefices, &c., of those who were absentees in the time of Edward III., and in the hands of that King by pretext of the ordinance made by him at Guildeford, and also to inquire, by the oaths of good and lawful men, what lands, &c., belonging to absentees, have not been seized, on behalf of the Crown, in consequence of their not sending people to occupy their places, and to return inquisitions thereupon, so that two-thirds or one-third of the profits of their estates might

be applied towards their defence as the Ordinance directs. A memorandum is added at the foot of this writ, stating that the above-mentioned patent and writ remain amongst the writs from England of the third year of Richard II., being in the custody of the Chief Remembrancer.

Upon the ninth page there is an entry or enrolment of the Statute passed at Westminster (27 Edw. III., chap. 1), entitled in the margin the "*Custuma Hiberniæ*," directing the payment to the Crown of customs upon wool, woolfells, lead, and so forth, and this Act is concluded upon that page, but is much disfigured by the injudicious use of tincture of galls.

Page 10 is devoted to part of a mandate or writ tested by Thomas de Burgh, the Treasurer, and dated the 17th of January, in the seventh year of Edward II., reciting a grant of the small customs, called the three-penny customs, made to Edward I. by foreign merchants, and that the King had appointed two collectors to receive the said customs at the town of Ross; and directing all persons to aid the collectors in such their duty.

At the foot of this mandate there is a memorandum that the Statute above referred to is enrolled upon the Memoranda Roll of the thirty-first year of Edward I.

Page 13 commences with the Grievances which were laid before Edward III., on behalf of the people of Ireland, by John Archer, the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, and Master Thomas Wogan, in the sixteenth year of that monarch's reign. This very interesting and curious state paper occupies seven pages of the Red Book, but as they are to be found fully set forth in Rhymer, vol. ii., part ii., p. 1193 (the last edition), as well as in Prynne's "*Fourth Institute*," p. 35, it is unnecessary to advert to them here at any greater length.

At the foot of page 20 there is an entry of the Statute passed at Westminster, on Monday next after the feast of Easter, in the thirty-first year of Edward III., making the chancellor and treasurer, aided by the barons of the Exchequer, judges of appeal in cases of error arising in that Court. This is followed on the same page by an entry of the Act passed at Westminster, on Monday next after the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, in the twenty-eighth year of Edward I., in relation to the duty of escheators in cases of livery, being the "*Statute for Escheators*," which is printed with the Statutes of the Realm (p. 142), and is dated in the twenty-ninth year of Edward I.

Page 21.—This page commences with a copy of a writ tested by the King at Westminster, and dated the 20th of February, in the forty-first year of Edward III., whereby the King states that, considering the constant fealty of his prelates and other magnates, and also of his people of Ireland, and the losses they had sustained by reason of the wars for a long time arisen in that land, whilst they

had endeavoured to preserve the King's honour, and to defend the land against his Irish enemies, thereby exposing themselves to various perils; and being desirous, as becometh the royal majesty, to increase their estate so that they might in future be more prompt in their services; the King states that he has pardoned all their debts due to him, and which had been incurred prior to the 13th of October, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, excepting, however, from the benefit of this grant all treasurers, escheators, sheriffs, and other ministers and farmers who had received money to the King's use out of the chattel property of the Crown's debtors.

Page 22.—Upon this page there is entered a memorandum that by virtue of the above-mentioned pardon, on the 23rd of November, in the forty-ninth year of Edward III., it was accorded by the Treasurer and Barons that a sign equivalent to the word *pardon* should be placed upon the Pipe Rolls opposite to the names of the debtors thus exonerated by this grant.

The same page is devoted also to a copy of the Statute of the thirteenth year of Richard II., to restrain admirals and their deputies from holding their courts within franchises, and restricting them to questions as to things done upon the sea. Another Statute of a similar kind, passed the fifteenth year of Richard II., immediately follows, whereby the power of admirals is also limited and defined.

Page 23.—Upon this page there is entered the Statute of the fourteenth year of Richard II., chapter 10, relating to customers and comptrollers. This Statute is followed by these lines, which were probably written in the year 1627, by Robert Kennedy, Esq., the then Chief Remembrancer, whose name is added to them :—

Illum nullus amat, qui semper
da mihi clamat.
Qui facit contra conscientiam,
edificat sibi Jehemiam.

Page 24.—On this page the following lines have been written :—

Ludens ignorans me defendendo docendo,
Prelati jussu si præmonitus ferat arma,
[Si] cum conjuncta michi reperio muliere,
Percussi clericum sine pena casibixistia.

Sedens sede ista, Judex inflexibilis sta.

Sint tibi lucerna, lux, lex, pellisque paterna.

The above lines are followed by the Latin verses which describe the four causes why the cross should be adored, and which verses have already appeared in one of Mr. Prim's papers, on Way-side Crosses, printed in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

The following three couplets are then given, but many of the words at present are scarcely decipherable :—

Mane greca gens incipit, astra sequentes
In medio lucis, Judeus vespere sancta
Inchoat . . . medio sub tempore noctis.

Quicquid centorum series fecit ovidiorum.
Continet iste liber tam paucorum foliorum.

Page 25.—This and part of the succeeding page are devoted to the Statutes or Ordinances of the third year of Edward II., passed at Kilkenny (as is stated in the Index), consisting of eleven chapters. By the last chapter of these Ordinances the Irish archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, were directed to cause them to be read and published in every cathedral church, and, amongst other things, to excommunicate all who should disobey them. At the foot of these Ordinances there is entered a certificate stating that by their authority the Archbishop of Cashel, Bishops of Ossory, Emly, Lismore, Leighlin, and other prelates, on the 12th of February, in the great church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, in the presence of Richard, Earl of Ulster, John Wogan the Justiciary, Richard de Clare, John Fitz-Thomas, John de Barry, Maurice de Rupe, and many other magnates, and with their assent, pronounced a sentence of excommunication (which is also here set forth), whereby the said prelates, by the authority of God, of His Son, of the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, St. Michael, of all Angels, Saints Peter and Paul, and all the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, excommunicate, anathematize, damn, and exclude from the rights of holy mother Church all who violated or disturbed, or caused to be violated or disturbed, the King's peace, or gave counsel or aid to the disturbers and violaters of the said peace. This sentence is followed by an additional piece of legislation, whereby the said Justiciary and Council make an Ordinance relating to sheriffs, but the entry appears to be incomplete;¹ and thus ends the 26th page.

Page 27.—The Statutes enacted in a Parliament held at Dublin in Easter month, in the thirteenth year of Edward II., before Roger de Mortimer, the then Justiciary, are set forth upon this and the two succeeding pages. These Acts are *not* to be found in the

¹ Upon an examination of these Statutes with the printed Acts of the third Edward II., being the first to be found in the authorized edition of the Statutes of Ireland, I find the variances to be so great that it appears to be scarcely possible that they are the same Acts. At present I am inclined to think that the Statutes entered in this part of the Red

Book are *not* printed. Mr. Hardiman has given, from the Red Book, a transcript of the sentence of excommunication above referred to.—“Statute of Kilkenny,” p. 120. Printed by the Irish Archaeological Society, in a volume entitled, “Tracts relating to Ireland,” vol. ii.; probably the most interesting of their entire series.

authorized edition of the Irish Statutes, but are included in the "List of public General Acts, not found in the printed edition," which was published by the Chancery Record Commissioners in the year 1830.

Page 30.—Upon this page the following Latin verses have been written :—

Linco coax Ravis Ora corvis navar navis,
Ad logicam perge mortem non tunc eris.

Verte retro roma melius duravit tua poma.

Arbor inest silvis que scribitur octo figuris,
Inde tribus demptis, vix unam mille videbis.

Est verbum sine p, quod servit nocti dieique,
Si cum p, poteris tunicam facere tibi si vis.

Lex est defuncta, quia Judicis est manus uncta.
Propter unguentum, jus est in carcere tentum.

The foregoing verses are followed by the oath taken by collectors of customs, set forth in the Norman French.

Page 31.—Upon this page has been entered the Statute passed in Dublin in the eleventh year of Henry IV., called the Statute of Labourers. It prohibits the exportation of husbandmen from Ireland by mariners without license; and it also enacts, that sheriffs shall be chosen by the commons of counties. This Statute is *not* printed, but is included in the List of the unpublished General Acts to which I have already adverted.

Page 32.—At the commencement of this page there is entered an Act which is called "A good Statute for the people"—"Bone Estatute pur le people." It, as well as the above-mentioned Statutes, is written in the Norman French, but, being much defaced, is scarcely decipherable. It seems, however, to give power to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer to "atterminate" debts due to the King which are less in amount than £300. I do not find this Act either amongst the printed Statutes, or inserted in the List of those that are yet unpublished.

A pen-and-ink sketch of the Court of Exchequer occupies the remainder of this page. A fac-simile of this sketch accompanies this paper, taken from a copper-plate in the writer's possession. A short description of it has been already published in "Notes and Queries." With respect to the several human figures appearing in this sketch, it appears to me to be probable that the six persons who are placed at the top are officers of the Court; that the three figures to the left are judges; that the three to the right are suitors; and that a sheriff is seated at the bottom. To the right, at the top of the sketch, is the crier, who appears to be in the act of adjourning the Court, by exclaiming, "A demayn," a form of adjournment still

observed by the same officer, who says, "To-morrow, God save the Queen," when the Court is about to rise. The officer to the left is probably the second remembrancer, who holds in his hand a membrane of parchment containing the words, "Preceptum fuit vicecomiti per breve hujus scaccarij." The figure at his right hand is perhaps the chief remembrancer. He is in the act of examining his pen, and holds in his hand a slip of parchment whereon are written the words, "Memorandum quod x^o die Maij, &c." At his right hand we perceive an officer who is in the act of writing upon a piece of parchment which is placed upon his left knee, while his left foot rests upon the table. This person is probably the clerk of the Pipe, who is preparing a writ commencing with the words, "Henricus dei gratia." The figure to the extreme left of the picture holds in his hand a slip of parchment containing the words "Exiit breve vicecomiti." This may be the marshal of the Exchequer, and the officer he is addressing is probably the usher. With respect to the judges, it is difficult to determine whether they are all barons, or whether two of them are the treasurer and chancellor of the Exchequer. One of them says, "Soient forzez," and the other, "Voyr dire." Madox tells us that "accounts were to be rendered at the Exchequer upon oath. When the accountant had been sworn *de fideli compoto reddendo*, he entered upon and went through his account. In some records mention is made of the accountant's answering at the Exchequer *per fidem* or *per verumdictum*. Whether this *fides* and *verumdictum* was the same with an oath, or in what respect different from it, I am not prepared to determine; but I am inclined to think it was rather a *voire dire*, or a declaration upon their faith or allegiance, than an oath." This passage may explain the meaning of the words, *voyr dire*. Placed before the judges are the "Baga cum rotulis," the Red Book, and the counters which Madox says "were sometimes used at the Exchequer in the way of computation." And there is also placed upon the table a King's letter, or a petition, commencing with the words, "Ceo vous." Three suitors are standing at the right of the picture—onesays, "Oy de brie," another, who is extending his arm as if he were in the act of challenging some person or statement, exclaims "Chalange," and the third says, "Soit oughte." One of the most prominent figures in the sketch is a suitor, who may be easily distinguished from the rest by his laced boot, ample sleeve, the buttons upon his coat, and his sword, which, by the by, is placed at his right side. It will be perceived that the hands of this person are placed in a somewhat striking position, i.e. the thumb of his left hand is placed between the fore and middle finger of his right. And this may be explained by the following extract from Johnson's Dictionary. "To *fig*, in Spanish, *higas dar*, is to insult by putting the thumb between the fore and middle finger. From this Spanish custom we yet say in contempt,

A fig for you." A sheriff, who is seated at the bottom of the sketch bears upon his head the leathern cap which was placed upon that office at the time that he was undergoing an examination in Court in relation to his accounts. Such is, I fear, but an imperfect description of this sketch of the Court of Exchequer, which, as Mado informs us, was in the olden time fitted up "with a square chequer board, and seats about it for the treasurer, barons, clerks, and ministers, and with a bar for those who plead and attend there." Some lines which appear to have been written at the bottom of the sketch are altogether obliterated, but the Latin verses that have been written upon the three remaining sides may be still partly deciphered. Of some of these lines transcripts have been here already given, inasmuch as they appear upon other pages of this book, as, for instance, the lines commencing with the words—"Propter unguentum"—"Lex est defuncta," and "Sedens sede ista," and the remaining line is as follows:—

Judicium recti non munere nec prece flecti.

Page 33.—At the commencement of this page there is entered a memorandum that on the 4th of May, 17 Edward II., the King commanded the Chancellor of Ireland to cause to be published and observed in Ireland the Statutes that had been lately edited at Lincoln and York. The writ thus referred to, which is witnessed by the King himself at Nottingham, on the 20th of November, in the seventeenth year of his reign, is then set forth *in hæc verba*, and the writ is followed by the Statutes therein referred to. The Acts passed at York terminate at page 36. The Act passed at Lincoln will be found amongst the printed "Statutes of the Realm" (9th Edw. II., page 174). Those of the twelfth year of Edward II., passed at York, are also to be found amongst the same printed Statutes at page 177.

Upon the same page also is entered the Statute against Protections of the tenth year of Henry IV., followed by an Act of the sixth year of the same King, apparently confirming the Statute of Westminster the first, and to the effect that, when application by petition is made to the King for any fee or annuity, the petitioner shall state the value of the thing he prays for, so that the King may not be deceived in his grants.

The 37th page of the Red Book, as it now appears, was, as is evident by the old pagination, which is still to be traced, the first page of some book, and this may have been the commencement of the first part of the Red Book to which I have already alluded.¹

¹ From page 37 to page 64 are entered the ancient Calendar and the

Canon of the Mass which have been already described.

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Page 65.—This page commences with a statement in law Latin of the sums received by the “Register” of English money for the making and stamping of coin; which is followed by a statement in the Norman French of the proper weights of pence, half-pence, and farthings. Then follows a letter, or probably part of a letter, written in the Norman French, whereby the writer (whose name is not given) informs the person to whom it is addressed (whose name also does not appear) that he has sent to him by Lapé, the money changer (*le changeur*) of London, certain “strong” and “weak” pence, and also some half-pence and farthings. The above is followed by a memorandum, that on *Sunday* (*die Dominica*), the 7th of November, in the twenty-second year of Edward I., Master Wm. de Wymundham, the Keeper of the King’s Exchanges in England, by the directions of W. Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Treasurer, had sent to the Treasurer of Ireland, Lord W. de Esendene, twenty-four pieces of coin to make money thereof (which are here described) by John the miner, Thomas Doul, and John of Mhordich (the Moorditch), of the Society of Moneyers in the London Exchange, to make such money; and that in the presence of Roger de Chykewelle, Barthw. of St. Albans, Jno. de la Donne, John Cleinehand, Adam of Mhordich, William of Brehon, and Peter de Hardres, the said twenty-four pieces of coin were delivered to the said John, Thomas, and John, under the sign (*sub signo*) of the said Keeper.

The preceding memoranda are followed by another, stating, that on Friday next before the feast of St. Patrick, in the thirtieth year of Edward I., the petition which follows in *hæc verba* was delivered to Friar William of Ross, Prior of St. John’s of Jerusalem and Deputy Chief Justice in the council chamber. Of this petition nothing more can be discovered than that the applicant is a female named Johanna, and that she appears to complain of the bailiffs of Dublin.

¶ Page 66.—There then follows on page 66 a small portion of a memorandum to the effect (as I presume) that the Statutes which are thereafter set forth in *hæc verba* were transmitted from England to the Lord Deputy J. Wogan. These Statutes relate to the base money called Pollards and Crocards, and are *not* printed in the authorized edition of the Irish Statutes; they are, however, to be found amongst the printed Acts of the Realm, at page 131. The writ transmitting these Acts to Ireland is dated the 15th of May, in the twenty-seventh year of Edward I.

Pages 67 and 68.—The above are followed on pages 67 and 68 by the oath of the justiciary, the oath of sheriffs and bailiffs, and the oath of the judges; and these three oaths are in Norman French.

Page 68.—To this page there is attached an original writ tested by the Treasurer of Ireland, J. de Rees, on the 26th of

October, in the eleventh year of Edward I., and directed to the sheriffs of Dublin, wherein it is stated, that by reason of the urgent necessity the King had for money in Ireland, as for the keeping of the King's peace and other arduous business specially relating to that country, the King had directed the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer at Dublin to collect all debts due to the King, with the greatest diligence and despatch, notwithstanding any "atterminations" made; wherefore the treasurer commands the sheriff to levy, without delay, all the debts that were then due to the Crown within his bailiwick, bringing into the Exchequer, day after day, the money paid to him. The endorsements upon the writ made by the chief serjeant, the bailiff of St. Sepulchre's, and the sheriff, are not material, and it is therefore not necessary to do more than say that they appear.

Pages 69 to 73.—The Magna Charta Hiberniæ, to which I have already adverted, is inserted (as the Red Book is now bound) between the oaths lastly above mentioned and the following memorandum, which is entered on page 73 :—

Be it remembered, that the letters which came from the Roman Court for the Kings Bailiffs lest they might be excommunicated are [deposited] in the great trunk or coffer in the Tower.

And then follow these lines :—

*Res est grata senem juveniliter esse jocosum,
Gracius est juvenem moribus esse senem.*

*Inconstans animus, oculus vagus, instabilis pes,
Hec hominis signa sunt, de quo nulla boni spes.*

*Gratia nulla perit nisi gratia grey (whyt) monachorum
Est et semper erit unthoug in fine laborum.*

*Tempus preteritum, tempus presensque futurum
Discretus recolit, fatuus nullum nisi presens.*

*Sunt tria nigrorum devastant res monachorum,
Renes et venter, et pocula, sumpta frequenter.*

Pages 74 and 75.—The Articuli Cleri Hiberniæ are entered upon these pages. A transcript of these, as well as of other parts of the book, has been made by the writer, who conceives that these Articuli Cleri, as well as the other unpublished portions of this volume, are well worthy of publication.

Page 76.—There is entered upon this page a memorandum in the law Latin, commencing with the words, "Walter de Lacy gives the Lord the King 4000 marks for having his land in Ireland." There is no date to this record. It is referred to by William Lynch, Esq., in his "Feudal Dignities," and is also printed in the first volume of the Irish Record Reports, p. 160.

Page 77.—Upon this, and part of the following page, are entered the Statutes of the twenty-first of Edward I., which are not printed amongst the Statutes of Ireland, but are included in the List of the unpublished Statutes to which reference has been already made. The writ that was transmitted from England to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer here, whereby they were directed to cause the said Statutes to be observed, is also entered upon this page, and bears the date of the 12th of July in the same year.

Page 78.—A writ of the 11th of March, in the thirteenth year of Edward I., tested by the then Lord Deputy Thomas Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kildare, at Dublin, and addressed to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, is entered on this page. It states that the Acts recently passed at Naas were therewith sent to them, and directs that they should be observed. This Act is included in the List of unpublished Statutes.

Page 79.—By the MS. Index to the Red Book the Statute enrolled on this page is called the Statute of Rutland. It is the English Statute of the twelfth year of Edward I., as to "Provisions made in the Exchequer," and is printed on page 69 of the published Statutes of the Realm.

Page 80.—The oath of sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs in the Norman French is entered on this page.

Pages 81 to 91.—Upon these pages are entered the Statutes of Westminster the first, which are to be found amongst the printed Statutes of the Realm, page 25, by which it appears that they were taken from the copy which is entered in this Red Book, affording undoubted evidence of its value and importance.

Pages 92 to 96.—Upon these pages the Statutes passed at Gloucester are enrolled. These Acts are printed, and will be found amongst the Statutes of the Realm, at page 45.

Pages 97 to 119.—Upon these pages are entered the Statutes of Westminster the second. These are also printed amongst the Statutes of the Realm, and will be found at pages 71 to 95. Upon page 119 are also given several Latin lines (which appear also in another part of the book), with these additional lines:—

Semper est et erit similis, similem sibi querit.

Vocativos oculos, ablativos loculos, gerunt mulieres.

Si dātis fueris genētis eris quocumque veneris.

Hiis diebus jam transactis nulla.

*Fuge cœtum feminarum,
Namque status omnis harum,
Parva dat stipendia.
Si sit virgo, quam tu gliscis,*

Dampna rerum concupiscis,
 Cordis et incendia.
 Maritam si tu amas,
 Pacem spernis te defamas,
 Incendis periculum.
 Vidua hæc est elata,
 Fraude plena, delicata,
 Eris ei ridiculum.
 Monialis hec si placet,
 Semper petit, nunquam tacet,
 Radit ut navicula.
 Si bagute facieris
 Mox per eam diffameris,
 Linguam fieret ut facula.

Page 120.—There is nothing but scribbling upon this page.

Pages 121 to 127.—Upon these pages is entered a calculation table in the handwriting of the time of Charles I. or II.

Page 128.—This page commences with a transcript of what appears to be an Act of Parliament relating to the privileges claimed and enjoyed by the officers of the Exchequer. At the close of the Act mention is made of the Great Council held at Dublin, on the Friday next before the feast of St. Luke, which was confirmed in the Parliament held at Drogheda on (Monday) next before the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, in the twenty-eighth of Henry VI., being the same year in which the said Great Council was held. The latter of these Statutes is inserted in the list of *unpublished Acts*, with, however, this note:—"N.B.—*Some of these are printed.*"

The above-mentioned enrolment is followed by a writ tested by W. T. (William de Tynbegh), the Chief Baron, and dated the 18th of March, but the year of the King's reign is not given, relating to a proceeding or action of trespass brought against one Richard Hill, a minister of the Treasurer in the King's Bench, contrary to the privileges enjoyed by Exchequer officers, and directing such suit to be presented in the Exchequer Court. This writ is directed to the Justices of the King's Bench; and as William de Tynbegh was Chief Baron between the years 1414 and 1419, this writ was, of course, written at that time. A paper copy of it is at present bound with the rest of the Red Book.

Page 133.—At the commencement of this page there is entered a Statute, apparently of the date of the twenty-eighth year of Henry VI., relating to verdicts given at inquests, but I do not find it amongst the printed Statutes.

This is followed by another copy of the above-mentioned writ, tested by Chief Baron Tynbegh.

Page 134.—Upon this page there is written some music in score and of ancient date, followed by a Latin hymn to St. Nicholas.

Page 135.—Upon this page there is also written a Latin prayer, commencing with the words, “Eterne Rex altissime redemptor et fidelium.” This is followed by eight lines beginning with the words, “Ut queant laxis resonare fibris mira gestorum famuli tuorum solve poluti.” Then follow two lines commencing with “Fuit homo missus a Deo.” Eight Latin lines succeed the foregoing, which is apparently a prayer addressed to the Virgin Mary; and two lines very indistinctly written complete this page.

I am inclined to think that the music and prayers upon pages 134 and 135 have some connexion with an ancient custom that is still observed in the Court of Exchequer, namely, the singing of an anthem and the repeating of some prayers by one of the ministers, and by the choristers of Christ Church, once in every Term. It would occupy too much space at present to give in detail a history of this singular custom; it may, however, be stated, that whenever this ceremony was performed, an entry was made in one of the rule-books of the Court to the effect that “the chauntor of Christ Church brought into Court the viccars choralls and performed their accustomed service and homage due to his Majestie, by singing an Antheme and saying certain collects and prayers, which being done they had warrant under the Barons hands directed to the Vice Treasurer for receiveing their wonted fee of ten shillings sterling.” The music in the Red Book is not formed, as at this day, of round dots, but of perpendicular dashes or strokes; neither is it divided by bars. The supposition that it was that which was sung by the choristers of Christ Church at the time of the rendering of their homage is in some degree strengthened by the line which is placed beneath it, namely, “et debet incipi a secundario Rememoratori;”—that the second remembrancer (one of the principal officers of the Court), who was in all probability a *clericus* or clerk, should commence the anthem (if such it be); and as the words “Eterne Rex altissime” are also placed beneath the music, it is not unlikely that the words of the prayer given below, which is evidently addressed to our Saviour, were those by which the music was accompanied.

The hymn to St. Nicholas which follows it, and which was probably written in the time of Henry IV. or V., is as follows:—

Sospitati dedit egros olei perfusio,
Nicholaus naufragantum affuit presidio,
Relevavit a defunctis defunctum in binio,
Baptizatur auri viso judeus judicio,
Vas in mari mersum patri redditur cum filio.
Ergo laudes Nicholao concinat hec concio,
Nam qui corde possit illum pro pulsato vicio,
Sospes egrediatur.

To this hymn succeeds, upon page 135, these lines:—

Eterne rex altissime redemptor et fidelium quo mors soluta,
Deperitidatur triumphus gratie scandens tribunal dextero patria,
Potestas omnium collata est Jeshu oelitus que non erat humanitus,
Ut trina rex machina celestium terrestrium et infernorum condita,
Flectat genu jam subdita tremunt videntes Angeli versa,
Vice mortalium culpat caro purgat caro regnat deus dei caro,
Tu esto nostrum gaudium qui es futurus premium sit nostra in te gloria,
Per cuncta semper secula. Gloria tibi domine qui scandis supra,
Sidera cum patre et sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula.

Page 136.—A Tabula Regum is entered upon this page. This Table has been printed in "Notes and Queries."

Page 137.—This page consists of four separate writs, probably of the reign of Edward IV. It is scarcely necessary to describe these writs at present in detail.

Pages 139 to 142 are either blank or contain but mere scribbling.

Pages 143 to 146 appear to have originally formed a portion of the old cover of the Red Book. They are supposed to be part of a very old treatise on the laws of motion.

Pages 147 and 148.—Upon these pages the oath of allegiance is written, in the handwriting of the time of James I. or Charles I.

Pages 149 and 150.—These pages are blank.

Pages 151 to 177.—These pages contain the oaths of public officers and ministers, which are printed in the second volume of Howard's "Revenue and Exchequer."

Page 178.—This contains the names of those who were the officers of the Exchequer in the year 1626.

Page 179.—This, which is the last page, contains the oath of a Commissioner of Appeals, and a memorandum, that on the 26th of September, 1662, Sir James Ware, Sir William Ussher, John Povey, Esq., and Peter Wybrants, Alderman, came before "the Lord Cheefe," and severally took the said oath.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, March 15th (by adjournment from the 1st), 1854,

JAMES GEORGE ROBERTSON, Esq., Architect,
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

Robert Cane, Esq., M. D.	Rev. Philip Moore, R. C. C.
Rev. Thomas Dawson, A. M.	Thomas E. Murphy, Esq.
Abraham Denroche, Esq.	M. O'Donnell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
John James, Esq., M. R. C. S. I.	J. R. Phayer, Esq.
John Maher, Esq.	John G. A. Prim, Esq.
Thomas B. M'Creery, Esq.	

The following letter was read from T. L. Cooke, Esq., Parsonstown, proposing the Earl of Rosse :—

“ A few days ago I had pleasure in forwarding to you a list of some gentlemen, clerical and lay, who wished me to propose them members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society at its next meeting. An additional and very gratifying employment, of a similar nature, now devolves on me.

“ I am honoured by being permitted to propose for insertion on our roll of members the distinguished name of the Right Hon. William Earl of Rosse, Knight of St. Patrick, Lord Lieutenant of the King's County, President of the Royal Society, M. R. I. A., &c., &c., &c.

“ Writing as I am to the Secretary of a learned Society, it is needless to say that Lord Rosse's reputation is known all the world over; and that our country may be justly proud of having such a son. I therefore conclude by giving expression to the great satisfaction and honour I feel in proposing that the Earl of Rosse be admitted a member of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society.”

The Noble Earl, and the following new members, were then elected :—

George Garvey, Esq., J. P., Parsonstown ; the Rev. John Parsons Wetherelt, A. B., Parsonstown ; the Very Rev. John

Egan, V.G., P.P., Parsonstown; the Rev. Frederick William Wetherelt, A.B., Loughcrew Glebe, Oldcastle, county of Meath: proposed by T. L. Cooke, Esq.

Lieutenant-General Sir Jeffery Prendergast, 19, Brunswick-square, Brighton: proposed by John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Sir John Bernard Burke, Ulster King-of-Arms: proposed by Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Robert Hamilton Stubber, Esq., D.L., J.P., Moyne, Durrow; Patrick Keating, Esq., M.D., Callan; William Sim, Esq., Elgin Crescent, Kensington Park, Notting-hill, London: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

George Drevar Fottrell, Esq., 57, Lower Dominick-street, Dublin: proposed by William Dickson de Rythre, Esq.

Joseph Fisher, Esq., 2, Exchange-street, Waterford: proposed by James Palmer Graves, Esq.

Taylor T. Chapman, Esq., 8, Pearmount, Rathgar, Dublin; and Robert Chapman, 105, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin: proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

Mr. Patrick M'Gragh, Millstreet, county of Cork: proposed by Mr. Michael Molony.

The Secretary then laid on the table the printed Transactions of the Society for 1852, now ready for delivery to the members, extending to one hundred and seventy-six pages, with numerous illustrations; he also announced that the Part for 1853 was in hands, and would shortly be ready.

The arrangements for expediting the issue of the Society's publications having been completed, the Secretary said he had much pleasure in laying on the table the first instalment for this year (1854), containing the Proceedings and Transactions of the Meeting of January last, extending to fifty-two pages, with three illustrations. Members had now an option of getting the Transactions either in this form, in which case they would receive the Proceedings and Transactions of each Meeting as soon as they could be printed, on paying 6s., or, where transmission by post was desired, 8s. 6d. (instead of 5s. as formerly), in advance, to cover the additional expense of making up and transmitting six books instead of one. Those, however, who preferred waiting till the end of the year would get their book as usual for the payment of 5s. He hoped that the members would at once signify their wishes to the Secretaries on this matter.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: "The Archæological Journal," No. 40.

By the Editor: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 5.

By the Author, Richard Caulfield, Esq., Cork: "Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ Illustrata," Part 2.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 572 to 579, both inclusive.

By Miss M. Magrath, per Rev. P. Moore, R. C. C., Rosbercon: a six-pence of James II., another of Queen Anne, and a Bristol shilling.

By the Rev. M. Meagher, Tullagher, per same: a stone amulet, a gun-money six-pence of James II., and a brass weight of the standard of Ireland, *temp.* William III.

By the Rev. T. Doyle, Ramsgrange, per same: an impression from the ancient monastic counter-seal of Dunbrody Abbey, exhibiting an abbot bare-headed, and with pastoral staff in hand, seated under a canopy of tabernacle work, the inscription in black letter as follows:—*contrasigillum: domus: de: portu.* The seal seems to bear date about the early part of the reign of Henry the Seventh.

By Joseph Rogers, Esq., Rosbercon, Rev. James Graves, and Mr. Richard Preston: specimens of ancient tobacco pipes found at Rosbercon and Kilkenny.

By Dr. Ryan, Callan: a six-pence of Queen Elizabeth, turned up in a garden at the reere of Mill-street, Callan.

By James S. Blake, Esq., J. P., Ballynemona: the head of an ancient Irish pastoral staff of unique and most curious form. This interesting relic had been in Mr. Blake's family for a long time; nothing had, however, been handed down as to its previous history, or as to the church to which it had originally belonged. Mr. Blake had given it to his brother-in-law, Joseph Ronayne, Esq., of Cork, and by both gentlemen this most interesting remain of Irish antiquity had been deposited in the Museum. Mr. Graves intimated that he hoped at the next Meeting of the Society to be able to lay before the members some observations respecting this most important addition to their collection.

By Richard Hitchcock, Esq.: the proof-sheets of the Transactions for 1852, bound in two volumes.

By the same: "The Home Companion," Part 6, new series, and a wood engraving of the Hall of Ancient Irish Art in the Great Exhibition of 1853, mounted on card. Mr. Hitchcock accompanied his donation by the following observations:—

"In sending you for the Library the part of the 'Home Companion' (trifling as it may be) which contains the only engraving I have seen of the interior of the Hall of Irish Antiquities in the Great Exhibition of 1853, and an excellent article on Irish antiquities, I beg leave to accompany my very small present with a few observations on the engraving.

"The 'Athenæum,' of October 22, 1853, contains a very valuable article on the Museum of Irish Antiquities, then in the Exhibition, in which the

room containing them is thus described:—‘The apartment in which these antiquities are exhibited is on the south side of the building, and is of oblong form, about 24 yards long and 10 wide. A remarkable ancient architectural character has been imparted to it by the introduction of casts of portions of some of the most singular religious edifices in the country. The apartment is indeed, as it were, divided into a nave and chancel, by the great six-times-recessed chancel-arch of Tuam, with its strange Egyptian-like sculptures; and the east end is lighted by the three still more curiously ornamented round-headed windows from the same building. The three entrances are casts of curiously carved and inscribed doorways of ancient churches; and over the west door is inserted the circular window, assigned to the eighth century, from Raham Church, figured in Petrie’s ‘Round Towers,’ p. 241.’ This is language of much interest to the antiquary, as well as to many others who have visited the Hall of Antiquities; and the brief description is a faithful outline of the architectural part of that building. Indeed, the great taste, good arrangement, and knowledge of the subject, displayed in the fitting up of the Museum of Irish Antiquities in the Great Exhibition of 1853, reflect very much credit on the Committee intrusted with the work.

“Let us now see how many of the features enumerated in the ‘Athenæum’ are presented to us in the ‘Home Companion’ engraving, which is extremely accurate, and cannot but possess a deep interest for all who have visited our Hall of Irish Antiquities last year. The sketch seems to have been taken from the inside of the end doorway leading from the Picture Gallery, the artist taking his position in the south-west corner of the room. The apartment is seen spanned by the noble ‘six-times-recessed chancel-arch of Tuam [Cathedral], with its strange Egyptian-like sculptures;’ nearer to us, to the left, we see the doorway of the church of Freshford, county of Kilkenny, originally erected in the seventh century, with its two lines of an ancient Irish inscription (see Petrie, pp. 282-5); while at the extreme end, in the distance, we see ‘the three still more curiously ornamented round-headed windows’ from Tuam Cathedral. Amongst the most prominent of the minor objects seen in the engraving are four of the Ogham stones which formed so important a component in the collection of Irish antiquities in the Exhibition, standing against the doorway of Freshford Church. The Ogham inscriptions may be said, in the words of the ‘Home Companion’ as to the Round Towers, to be ‘one of the many mysteries, which more or less prevail, in relation to the original character and condition of the Irish race.’ The little which has been written on them seems unsatisfactory to some of our antiquaries, and to have rather increased the difficulties attending the investigation of the subject. No doubt, various inferences will be drawn from the circumstance, which, whether accidental or otherwise, is certainly curious, of the whole of the collection of Ogham stones in the Exhibition having been placed standing against the doorway of Freshford Church and the chancel arch of Tuam Cathedral. Next to the four Ogham monuments depicted in the engraving, we see, in the recess, a little of one of the most tastefully and judiciously arranged cases of Irish antiquities in the Exhibition—that of Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., of Parsonstown. This is the horizontal case, of which only a small portion is seen, and must not be confounded with the vertical one over it, which belongs, I believe, to the Royal Irish Academy. Farther on,

in the distance, we see the Boiroimhe(?) Harp, the small stand supporting Her Majesty's magnificent Gold Torque, and the Shrine of St. Manchan. Passing our eye round to the right, we see the upright glass cases, containing some of the most precious relics in the Exhibition, or perhaps in the world—such as the Cross of Cong, the Bell of St. Patrick, the Book of Armagh, the Domnach Airgid, the Reliquary of St. Lachtin, the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand, the Dunvegan Cup, the Tara Brooch, the Waxed Tablets found in a bog near Maghera, &c. The glass cases in the centre and around the room contain the gold and silver articles, consisting of torques, bracelets, brooches, rings, bullae, boxes, discs, or crescent-shaped gold ornaments, &c. The other cases contain a very extensive series of silver, bronze, and enamelled works of great antiquity. Others again, as well as several trays which are placed round the apartment, contain a general collection of stone, iron, bronze, and other articles, mostly weapons, and many of them exceedingly curious specimens.¹ The principal objects not embraced by the engraving, are the beautiful circular window, assigned to the eighth century, from Raham Church, King's County, figured in Dr. Petrie's 'Round Towers,' p. 241, and placed over the west entrance to the Antiquities Court, which itself is the western doorway of Maghera Church, county of Londonderry. A small portion of the third entrance appears to the left of the three round-headed windows from Tuam Cathedral. This is formed of the pillars of the chancel arch of Raham Church, King's County. Opposite this doorway, but concealed by a portion of the Tuam chancel arch, is a fac-simile of the celebrated Knockmoy fresco, said to be the only one known in Ireland, an able paper on which has been lately read by the Rev. Dr. Todd before the Royal Irish Academy.

"Such are some of the features presented or suggested to our notice in the small engraving which we have been considering. They bring with them, at least to myself, many pleasing recollections connected with the treasures of the Antiquities Court of the Great Irish Exhibition of 1853.

"I have made some of the 'Relics of Antient Art,' which have added so much to the nationality of our Exhibition last year, the subject of a few 'notes,' a portion of which I have communicated to the Society at its November meeting. In these notes I have endeavoured to single out whatever struck me as most remarkable amongst the precious 'relics' brought together in the Archæological Court of the Exhibition; but, I regret to say that, as yet, I have only been able to deal with a portion of the subject."

The Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, P.P., Keash, Ballymote, forwarded a communication drawing attention to the district of Dunaveeragh, in the county of Sligo, in one of the valleys of which, called Carrick-na-horan, stand a number of huge primeval monuments, of

¹ Engravings and descriptions of some of these most interesting articles, particularly the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand, and of St. Manchan, two of the Gold Torques, and the Reliquary of St. Lachtin, will be found in the "Exhibition Expositor." The Reliquary of St.

Lachtin is fully described by Dr. Todd in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. v. pp. 461-4.

² This was the appropriate inscription, and one no doubt pregnant with meaning, which was placed over one of the entrances to the Antiquities Court.

which he was the first discoverer during the previous year. The most prominent of these is one known as "The Rocking Stones," which is massive beyond the generality of its kind; and, at a distance from it of about nine feet, is a cromlech of corresponding proportions. The superincumbent slab is in the usual sloping position, and possesses all the characteristics of the class of antiquities to which it belongs, although deeply marked by the decaying hand of time. The glens of this district, perhaps the most romantic and beautiful in Ireland, are particularly noted as being the passes through which the O'Donnells, Princes of Tirconnell, invariably marched their forces when on their way to the county of Clare, for the purpose of enforcing their supremacy over that and the adjoining territories. Here it was that Con O'Donnell had the celebrated encounter with Mac Dermott, Prince of Moylurg, in which he was deprived of the talismanic Cathach, or battler, which had the alleged privilege of insuring victory in every contest engaged in by its possessor; and which is now, by the kindness of Sir Richard O'Donnell, deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Here also occurred the celebrated conflict between Red Hugh O'Donnell's forces and those of Elizabeth, commanded by Sir Conyers Clifford, in which the latter were defeated and their commander slain. The spot where this event took place is indicated by a monument, which is kept in suitable repair by Viscount Lorton, a nobleman no less noted for his antiquarian taste than for his liberality to his tenantry, and the interest he takes in everything conducive to the welfare of his fellow-man.

Mr. Prim contributed the following resolution of the Corporation of Kilkenny on the subject of the abortive attempt at constructing a canal from that city to the tidal water of the Nore, which appeared to have escaped the notice of Mr. Watters when laying before the last Meeting of the Society some other resolutions of the body connected with the matter:—

"At an Assembly of the Mayor and Citizens, the 21st day of September, 1762—

"Resolved, that whatever Customs, Dutys, or Toles the Mayor and Citizens of the City of Kilkenny are or may be intitled to arising out of all wearers goods or Merchandizes brought into said City from Bennetts-bridge or further or Carried thereout by water Carriage be & are hereby remitted for ten years."

The construction of the canal would appear to have been fully completed to Bennett's-bridge at this time, but it is not easy to appreciate the value of the sacrifice made by the Corporation in agreeing to charge no tolls on the traffic between that village and Kilkenny. In fact the canal was begun at the wrong end, as the works should obviously have been commenced at the tidal extremity in order to

make remunerative the portion first constructed, whilst the rest should be in progress. It would appear from tradition that a boat on *one* occasion plied upon the canal beyond Bennett's-bridge. It is said that under the provisions of an arrangement with Government at the time, the Canal Commissioners were to receive a certain sum in aid of the continuance of the undertaking as soon as they should have so far finished the works as that a boat loaded with merchandise could be drawn from Thomastown to Kilkenny; and the Commissioners obtained this Government advance by a stratagem, as, although there was no water for the boat to float upon from Thomastown to Bennett's-bridge, still, by yoking a number of horses to the vessel it was dragged along through the excavation made for the canal; and by this notable device the Commissioners were enabled to claim the fulfilment of the undertaking! The goods with which this boat was freighted consisted of skins for the tanyard of the father of the late Mr. Michael Comerford; and the safe arrival of the vessel and cargo at St. John's-bridge was made the subject of great public rejoicings in Kilkenny.

The following communication was read from William Hackett, Esq., Middleton:—

"As I entertain no doubt that the Society is strong in local archaeological delvers, I would take the liberty of suggesting that they might find an interesting field for investigation in the exploration of some of those ancient heaps of burned stones scattered through the country, known in the county of Cork as 'Folach Fia;' in Tipperary as 'Deer Roasts;' and in Ulster as 'Giants' Cinders.' These heaps, which are to be found in all manner of places, and, I believe, in every county in Ireland, were evidently primeval ovens or cooking hearths. They usually consist of small stones, broken to the size of road-pavement; most of those which I have examined are so much burned as to be unfit for further use, but I have seen heaps apparently ready for use without any marks of fire. I had often remarked those heaps before I thought of exploring them; and the idea of doing so was first suggested by a circumstance which occurred one day when taking an antiquarian ramble with some friends: we happened to stop to examine a heap which some farm labourers were engaged in removing, and they called our attention to a particular spot—it was a pit, about four feet deep, and a foot and a half in diameter, sunk in the ground. The men had just thrown out the earth, and found at the bottom six circular flat stones, which had evidence of having been in contact with fire, but were as evidently intended for future use. It was obviously what would be at present in New Zealand called an oven, and corresponds exactly with Keating's description of the ancient Irish method of cooking, by baking meat between alternate layers of stone, in the same manner as still practised by the natives of New Zealand. Since then I have frequently explored heaps of those 'Giants' Cinders,' which I found generally formed a kind of crescent-crater, embracing a pool of water. In several instances, by draining out the water, we came upon a wooden trough formed in the hollow of a large tree, the use of which manifestly was to boil water in,

by passing heated stones through it in rapid succession. I have seen one such trough, formed of boards and trenails, displaying no mean skill in carpentry. Another was made of marl, brought to a hardness equal to stone; it was in a crater of four feet diameter. I may here give you the names of those who have discovered such troughs, in the order of their discoveries:—Mr. Zachariah Hawkes, near Bandon, and I, here at Midleton, wrote in 1840, to our friend, Mr. John Windele, announcing our success in this respect. We knew nothing of each other's movements, but our letters reached Cork by the same post. The Rev. George E. Cotter soon after found a wooden trough and one of marl. Subsequently, Mr. George Martin, of Greenville, and myself, again lighted on wooden specimens, and Dr. Nagle, of Midleton, afterwards made a similar discovery. I believe Mr. Hawkes has found several at a much later period. The average dimensions of the troughs already found may be given as six feet long, two feet broad, and one foot three-quarters deep, except the hollowed trees, which are sometimes longer and narrower.

"In my neighbourhood these heaps of cinders are very numerous, particularly in places which were recently commons. In one such place I have counted no less than nineteen separate heaps, all close together. Mr. Windele and I visited a heap near Castlemartyr, which was in a bog, and we were curious to find out whether the stones had been heated with turf or with wood. The abundance of charcoal present proved that no turf had been used; perhaps, when the hunters who used this cooking place flourished, the bog did not exist. There is no record in Irish history of the first use of turf as fuel, but, probably, this did not occur until the country had been well thinned of trees, and nomadic hunting must then have been on the decline; and yet I have seen evidence to convince me that this savage mode of cooking existed to a comparatively late period, as well as unerring proof of its having been extremely remote. On the lands of Kiladoyne, between Midleton and Cork, is a Druidical ring of two, or perhaps three circles, standing on a heap of cinders; and, what is at least equally singular, a section formed in making a road displays an old heap, over which is a layer of some two feet of earth—showing a probability of having been cultivated—and over this earth, another heap of cinders, which, however long it may have been raised, is still bare of earth. Vast quantities of charcoal are usually found in the heaps: indeed, I have never seen any cinders without charcoal. Several bags, even cart-loads of it may be easily filled from some large heaps. It is strange that we never find weapons or tools of any kind in the cinders. I have never heard of as much as a stone hammer having been turned up in them. The Rev. Mr. Cotter removed one crescent, nearly as large as a moderate-sized fort, but did not discover anything of the kind.

"The local members of the Society must be aware of the existence of many of these heaps in the county of Kilkenny. If my memory does not betray me, I observed a long time since, in the glen at Luke's Well, various heaps of cinders, and near several houses were large trunks of shattered oak, which I now think must have been troughs found in the cinders. At that time I knew nothing about these remains, and made no inquiry, but they attracted my attention so strongly, that when I afterwards saw the troughs found here, I at once identified them with the logs at Luke's Well. More recently, I saw some nearly erased heaps in a field

near Bennett's-bridge; but I suspect that these cinders are more rare in lime-stone districts than elsewhere, as the stones fit for the heating process should be such as would not be likely either to crumble into lime, or to vitrify. The names of places, such as Garryduff, Ballyduff, Cloghduff, originated in the cinder era. This is so well known here, that if you ask a countryman why is Garryduff so called, he will answer—'Yerra then, I don't know, if it isn't by reason of the Folach Fia that's all over it.' Or if he were not aware of the fact, and did not know the locality, he would say—'I suppose it's through the means of the Folach Fia that must be there.' I have never seen any printed work which mentions the cinders, except Gough's 'Camden,' which describes some heaps as then to be seen near the Curragh of Kildare.¹ However, the honour of having discovered the existence of the curious troughs, in connexion with those ancient cooking places, lies with the South Munster antiquaries."

The following communication was received from James Carruthers, Esq., Belfast:—

"4, Glenfield-place, Belfast, 31st March, 1854.

"SIR,—In the third Number of the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology' I inserted a portion of my Record of Coins found in Ireland, which gave much satisfaction to numismatists.

"By your kind permission I continue my list to the present time, and hope persons who are in possession of similar records will make them known through the valuable Transactions of your Society.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES CARRUTHERS.

"To the Secretary of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society."

"1810.—In this year was discovered, in the county of Antrim, a baked clay vessel, large enough to contain three pints, filled with gun-money of JAMES II., all in fine condition, which were presented to the Belfast Academical Institution.

"1820.—Near the Giant's Causeway, county of Antrim, were found about three hundred Roman silver coins: twelve of them were sold in London for £20; the remainder were of small value, being much decomposed, with the exception of a denarius of MATIDIA which came into my possession.

"In this part of the county of Antrim many Spanish gold and silver coins and articles of plate have from time to time been discovered, arising from the circumstance of some ships of the Armada having been wrecked on the coast.

"1845.—Two denarii of PHILIP I. and a silver coin of MEINARDVS, Count of Tyrol, 1245, were found near the town of Antrim, county of Antrim.

"1846.—About 1000 silver coins of EDWARD III. were found at Rathkeal, county of Limerick; they fell into the hands of a pedlar, and were melted down as old silver.

¹ A short paper on the same subject was contributed by the Rev. James Graves, to the Proceedings of the Arch-

æological Institute, in July, 1845.—See "Archæological Journal," vol. ii. p. 384.—Eds.

"February, 1847.—In this month a parcel of silver coins of ELIZABETH, five of them having a countermark, was found at Glanmire, county of Cork.

"March, 1847.—About this time a small hoard of ELIZABETH's silver coins was found near Riverstown, county of Cork.

"February, 1847.—About the end of this month a hoard of JAMES II.'s brass money was found at Rathcormack, county of Cork.

"July, 1847.—In this month, 40 coins of HENRY VII. and VIII., and two pennies of EDWARD IV., were found at Clogheen, county of Tipperary. The notices of the four last mentioned hoards were communicated to me by John Lindsay, Esq., Cork.

"1850.—A large parcel of gold Portugal coins was found near Macroom, county of Cork; at same time and place were discovered a few rude brass coins which bore some resemblance to ancient British. It is probable they were Phœnician.

"January, 1852.—At this time, in the county of Cork, a large parcel of old Spanish dollars was found.

"February 8, 1852.—Was found a gold Cufic coin, of the early part of the tenth century, in the county of Cork. It is in the cabinet of R. Sainthill, Esq., Cork.

"1850.—Found, in the county of Down, eight Roman coins.

"1853.—Was found at Caledon, county of Tyrone, a brass token of JOHN. SPEARE. OF. CALLEDON. TANER.

"1810.—When digging the foundation of Mr. M'Cracken's flax-spinning mill, in Donegal-street, on the site of a portion of the ancient fortifications of Belfast, a number of silver coins were found.

"1849.—A coin of OFFA, King of Mercia, was found near the site of a religious house in Armagh.

"1850.—This year several ounces of ELIZABETH's silver coins were found near Tynan, county of Tyrone, and are now in the cabinet of Sir James Strong, Bart., Tynan Abbey.

"1848.—Two pennies of OFFA, King of Mercia, were discovered near Dundalk, county of Louth.

"1850.—A brass coin of AUGUSTUS was found in the county of Tyrone.

"1852.—A silver coin of ROBERT BRUCE, King of Scotland, was found near Armagh.

"1849.—A penny of OFFA, King of Mercia, was found near Londonderry.

"August, 1853.—A man engaged on the new works of the Limerick market dug out a small vessel containing about 90 silver coins of different sizes and value. The notices of this and the two following hoards were communicated to me by R. Hitchcock, Esq., Trinity College, Dublin.

"1853.—While some men were digging on the site of the new market,¹ Kilkenny, they discovered a jar containing about 500 silver coins, chiefly French, Austrian, Spanish, and Dutch; the number could not be exactly ascertained, as the hoard was almost all secreted as soon as discovered.

"August 11, 1853.—At this time 1600 small silver coins were found in a bog near Townmakeady, county of Galway; the appropriation of them is unknown.

¹ Perhaps Mr. Carruthers means by this name to designate the new shambles in King-street, lately converted into a market for vegetables; the place, however, is not known as the new market.—Eds.

"1820.—A penny of HARTHACNVT was discovered somewhere in Ireland, and is now in the cabinet of Major Farmer, Armagh.

"1851.—Two Roman coins, one of the Emperor GORDIAN III., and the other of ANTONINUS PIUS, were found near Templemore, county of Tipperary.

"A silver coin of ELIZABETH, together with a sword and human skeleton of more than ordinary size, were found at Clonooney Castle, King's County.

"1850.—A penny of JOHN was found in Keady, county of Armagh.

"1849.—Found at Navan Rath, county of Armagh, a brass token of JAMES TAYLOR, ARMAGH.

"1853.—A brass token of JOHN . WHITTLE . IN . KILKENY . 1656, was discovered near Armagh.

"1853.—A very large parcel of silver coins was found near Ballycastle, county of Antrim; they were sold and distributed through the country without having been identified, with the exception of a half groat and penny of EDWARD I.

"1851.—A large hoard of silver coins was discovered near Newtownards, county of Down.

"April, 1852.—A few coins were found near Pettigoe. Mr. Barton, on whose property they were discovered, had them placed in the hands of Dr. Aquilla Smith, of Dublin, for examination. The lot consisted of fourteen coins; namely, nine groats and two half groats of ROBERT II. and three groats of DAVID II. of Scotland. What makes this hoard worthy of the notice of numismatists is that almost the whole are forgeries of a very peculiar kind, fabricated with a degree of ingenuity well calculated to impose on the rude and ignorant people of the fourteenth century. Each of the false groats consists of two very thin discs of silver, having interposed a piece of copper of somewhat smaller diameter, and much thicker than the silver, and they seem to have been struck between dies in the usual manner.—Extracted from Dr. Smith's account of these coins in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,' vol. v. p. 324.

"1853.—This year a hoard of silver coins was found near Ballymoney, county of Antrim; it consisted of 360 ounces of the following sovereigns: EDWARD VI., MARY, ELIZABETH, JAMES I., CHARLES I., and CHARLES II.;—all were in poor condition, with the exception of those of CHARLES I. and II. The hoard included several hundred half-crowns and shillings of CHARLES I., some of which were rare and came into my possession; namely, an Aberystwith half-crown; a half-crown MM (R), not in Ruding or Hawkins; a half-crown nearly similar to Hawkins, No. 500; and in the find there were only four coins of CHARLES II., which were hammered half-crowns of his first mintage; they also are now in my cabinet.

"1853.—A parcel of silver coins was found in Island Magee, county of Antrim; only three of them were exhibited in Belfast, namely, two pennies of EDWARD I., minted at London and Canterbury, and one half-penny of the same King, struck at Waterford.

"1854.—An extraordinary discovery of an urn containing 1937 coins, together with 341 ounces of silver in pieces of various sizes, was made near Coleraine. The coins are Roman, in a perfect state of preservation, and, what is very singular, no two coins appear to bear the same superscription. The silver is composed of a large number of weighty ingots and ornamental pieces, supposed to have been used on armour for horses. There

are also several battle-axes marked with Roman characters. The whole are now in the possession of Mr. J. Gilmour, Coleraine."

Mr. Carruthers also forwarded drawings of a very curious antique in his possession, and of a somewhat similar instrument preserved in the cabinet of Mr. Barton, of Dungannon. A tolerably accurate engraving of the former is given in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i. p. 324, where it is accompanied by a short description from the pen of Dr. Petrie. Mr. Carruthers' donation was accompanied by the following communication:—

"I send you a representation of a very curious bronze instrument, which came into my possession a few years ago; it was discovered in 1829 in the bog of Dunnarney, in the townland of the same name, within two miles of Ballymoney, county of Antrim, and was purchased from the finder and presented to the late Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore, by his son.

"It is divided into three parts, which appear to have been joined by portions of oak closely inlaid with thin laminæ of brass, a small piece of which is in my possession; at one end is a double hook, and at the other a movable ring; the stem of the instrument is perforated at unequal distances with seven holes, through each of which passes a wire, terminated at the top by a bird, and at the bottom by a ring; the stem is hollow; the length of the bronze is one foot eleven inches.

"A short distance from this relic were found fragments of wooden vessels, one large bronze pin, about ten inches in length, and some specimens of stone hatchets.

"I had a representation of this interesting antique lithographed the full size, and widely circulated, in the hope of discovering its use, but without effect; there have been many opinions offered regarding it, but all at variance with each other. My idea is, that this antique was used either for divination—as, by a little sleight of hand, the birds could be moved to suit the design of the officiating priest—or for sacrificial purposes.

"I am glad to have given me an opportunity of bringing a notice of this mysterious antique before the members of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, as there is a probability that some of them may be able to discover what its use has been.

"Since I became possessed of this piece of antiquity, a second one has been discovered in the spring of 1851, in a bog in the townland of Lurgy, three miles from Dungannon, county of Tyrone, by a farmer named Robson, and is now in the cabinet of Mr. F. W. Barton, of Dungannon; it is almost similar to mine, with the exception of the rings and birds, and is in its original formation nearly perfect, and divided into three portions, which are joined by what appears to have been the original oak; it measures two feet five inches, and is deeply patinated, which indicates its extreme age."

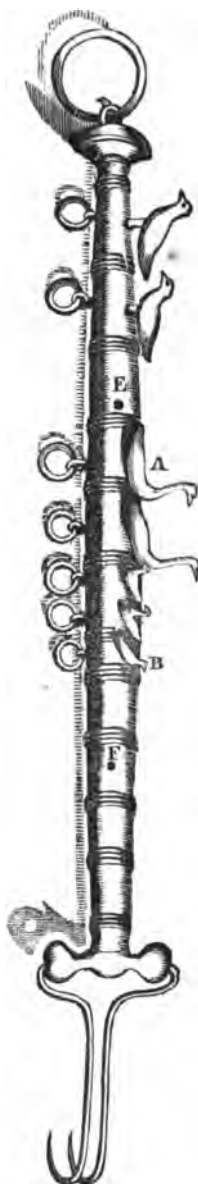
[By the kindness of Philip Dixon Hardy, Esq., of Sackville-street, Dublin, the Editors have been enabled to illustrate Mr. Carruthers' communication by means of the stereotype of the antique and its accompanying description to be found on the opposite page, which were originally supplied to the "Dublin Penny Journal."]

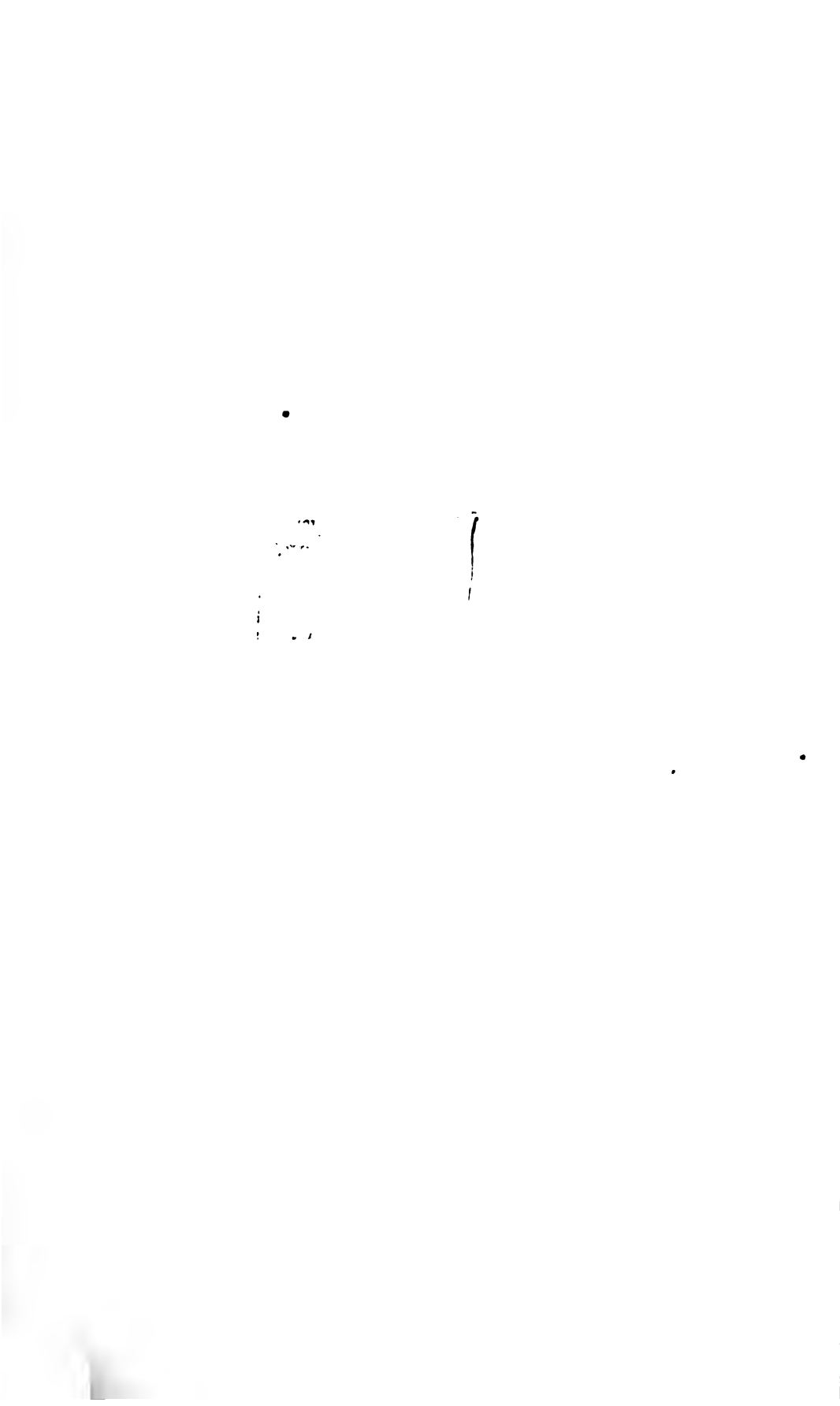
ANCIENT IRISH INSTRUMENT.

The very extraordinary piece of antiquity represented in the annexed wood-cut was found in a bog at Ballymoney, county of Antrim, and exhibited to the Royal Irish Academy by the Lord Bishop of Down, in March, 1829. Its material is that description of bronze of which all the ancient Irish weapons, &c. are composed, and its actual size is four times that of the representation. It is a tube, divided by joints at A and B into three parts, which, on separating were found to contain brass wire, in a zigzag form, a piece of which is represented in fig. G. This wire appears to have been originally elastic, but when found was in a state of considerable decomposition. At E and F are two holes, about one-eighth of an inch in diameter, and seem intended for rivets or pins to hold the instrument together. The birds move on loose pins, which pass through the tube, and on the other end are rings.

The material and style of workmanship of this singular instrument leave no doubt of its high antiquity. The Irish croziers of the sixth century are often ornamented with birds in this manner. But we confess ourselves totally unable to form even a rational conjecture as to its probable use, and should feel obliged to any antiquary who would throw light upon it.

P.





The following paper, contributed by Dr. Aquilla Smith, was then submitted to the Meeting.

ON THE COPPER COIN COMMONLY CALLED ST. PATRICK'S.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, ESQ., M.D., M.R.I.A.

DR. Robert Cane, in his communication "On the Ormonde Coin and Confederate Money," published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, p. 442, has collected much valuable historical evidence respecting the Confederate Assembly of Kilkenny, and deduced from it inferences with regard to these coins, which he has endeavoured to support by very ingenious reasoning.

Before I attempt to controvert any of the arguments advanced by Dr. Cane, in reference to the coin commonly called St. Patrick's,¹ I shall trace the history of these pieces as far as I have been able to collect it from the several writers who have noticed them.

The first published account of the St. Patrick coin is given by Evelyn in his "Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern:" folio, 1697. At page 133, pl. lxiv., the coin is accurately engraved, and briefly described as follows:—"Where a crown'd king is (as we picture *David*) playing on the *Harp*, over which the crown of *England*. FLOREAT. REX. Reverse, A mitred Bishop (or St. *Patrick*) holding a double cross, and standing between a *Church* and a *Serpent*, which he seems to drive away. QUIESCAT. PLEBS. is, I think, *Irish* coin." The coin here described may be supposed to be of silver, as it is placed among the silver medals of the reign of Charles the Second.

The next in date is Thoresby, in 1715, who mentions among the coins of the reign of Charles the Second, "An *Irish* (silver) Medal, with a crowned king playing upon a Harp, as K. *David* is represented, over which the Crown of *England*, FLOREAT. REX. Rev., St. *Patrick*, or a mitred Bishop with a double Cross. QUIESCAT. PLEBS." Here he refers to Evelyn, and adds, "These were also originally of Copper, and were currant, I presume, for *Halfpence* and *Farthings*, for they are of different Dimensions; both Sizes agree in the Figure of the King with a radiated Crown and Harp, and the Crown of *England* in a different Metal (viz. Brass upon the Copper) and FLOREAT. REX; but the Reverses are different, the larger have St.

¹ This designation was applied by Swift in the "Drapier's Letters," No. iii., dated August 25, 1724, where he mentions "the small St. Patrick's coin which

passeth now for a farthing,—and the great St. Patrick's halfpenny."—Swift's works, vol. iv. p. 127. Faulkner, Dublin. Edit. 8vo, 1772.

Patrick in his Episcopal Habit, with the Crosier and Staff, preaching to the People, *ECCE . GREX*. Behind him is a Shield with *IIII*. and *II*. The lesser have a Church behind the same Tutelar Saint, who is casting out of that Island all venemous Beasts with the *STAFF . OF . IESUS*. of which the Native Irish tell many wonderful Things, *QVI-ESCAT . PLEBS*.”¹

Bishop Nicolson copies Thoresby’s description, and only adds that these pieces “are still common in Copper and Brass;” and “are current for *halfpence* and *farthings*.” He describes them along with the coins of the reign of Charles the First.²

Leake, in his “Historical Account of English Money,” first published in 1726, notices these “copper pieces, which have passed for halfpence and farthings in Ireland; but for what purpose they were coined, and by whom, is uncertain.” He describes the type of the obverse, and says: “Of these are two sorts, of different dimensions, the larger weighing from five pennyweights ten grains, to five pennyweights fifteen grains; and the smallest from four pennyweights, to three pennyweights eighteen grains, and have different reverses; the biggest has the figure of *St. Patrick*, with a crosier in his right [left] hand, and a small cross [trefoil or shamrock] in his left [right], which he holds out to the people about him, and by him a shield, with figures therein like *Fers de Moline* [Mill-ring or Ink-moline], four and two, *Queves d’Ermine* [Ermine tails], perhaps intended for the arms of the Titular Popish Metropolitan, *ECCE . GREX*. The smaller pieces have *St. Patrick*, with a double cross in his left hand, a church behind him, holding out his right hand, and driving away from the church a parcel of venemous creatures, no doubt, meaning thereby the different sects of Protestants, *QVI-ESCAT . PLEBS*. Of the latter are silver pieces, about the same weight as the copper ones, and these silver ones, no doubt, were Medals, as Mr. Evelyn esteemed them; but whether by him rightly placed to *Charles* the Second, is a question. Bishop *Nicholson* places them to *Charles* the First, and in his reign it is most probable they were struck by the Papists, when they rebelled in Ireland, and massacred the Protestants, pretending to act under the King’s authority, for they are manifestly of a Popish stamp. Amongst other acts of their general assembly at Kilkenny, in 1642, they ordered there should be a seal for the Kingdom (Rymer, tom. xx. p. 537); that the enemies should not be called by the name of *English*, or *Protestants*, but the *Puritanical* or *Malignant Party*; that they should consider of a model of civil government; that Money should be levied; that Coin and Plate should be raised, and that there should be forthwith coined the sum of four thousand Pounds to pass current in the Kingdom, according to the proclamation, or act, published by direction

¹ *Ducatus Leodiensis*: folio, 1715, p. 378, n. 481.

² Irish Historical Library: 8vo, 1724, p. 170.

of the assembly. These were, perhaps, the before-mentioned copper pieces, and they took the fashion of inserting a bit of brass in the Copper from the King's latter farthings, the better to prevent counterfeiting : but for what value they were originally intended, or made current, is uncertain. Afterwards they passed for the value the common people put upon them ; and being something heavier than King *Charles* the Second's best *Irish* Halfpence, went currently for such."¹

Harris, in his edition of Sir James Ware's works, published in 1745, in his account of the Irish coins of the reign of Charles the Second, says, "In this Reign were two or three Kinds of Copper Half-pence coined," and after describing the type, informs us that "These afterwards passed for Farthings, and a larger Sort were coined for Half-pence, with this Difference ; on the Reverse, St. *Patrick* standing before a Crowd of People, with the Arms of the City of *Dublin* at his Back, being three Castles, and this Legend, ECCE GREX. *John Putland*, Esq., has among his curious Collections the two before-mentioned Pieces struck in Silver, no way differing but in the Metal, and that they are milled, which Copper Money never is ; and this proves, that they were struck in Silver for Medals, as Mr. *Evelin* thinks, and not as Proof Pieces."

Simon, in his "Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins," first published in 1749, 4to, notices the Rebel Crown, and in the Appendix, No. xlviii., quotes Rymer's *Fœdera* to the effect,— "That the right honourable the earl of Castlehaven, and such others as his lordship shall call to his assistance, shall present unto the supreme council of this kingdom an institution and order of knighthood, concerning the honour of St. Patrick, and the glory of this kingdom, which the supreme council may confirm and ratify so far as they see cause ;" and at page 48 says, "It seems therefore more probable that this coin was struck by the rebels, by virtue of this act of their assembly ; as were, probably, the copper pieces, called St. Patrick's Halfpence and Farthings, which I likewise ascribe to them, and suppose to have been struck about this time : for they too well allude to some passages in this act, to doubt of their having been coined upon this occasion, in honour of St. Patrick and of their new order of Knighthood." Having described the type of each coin, he observes that "both have a graining round," and that "There are still preserved, by the curious, some few silver pieces, with the same impressions and inscriptions of these copper pieces : it is thought that they were struck as medals, but for my part I think they were struck upon the same occasion, and intended by the *Kilkenny*-assembly to pass for shillings."

Having quoted the opinions and statements of the best authori-

¹ Second edition, 8vo, 1745, p. 338. ² Vol. ii. p. 219.

ties respecting the meaning of the devices on the St. Patrick's coin, and the period at which they were struck, I shall proceed to examine the evidence on which Dr. Cane relies for the opinions he has advanced, and the inferences which he has drawn from his authorities, and arrange them in the order most convenient for discussion, so as to avoid needless repetition.

First.—“Once we admit that the Confederates had a coinage, there is no coin more likely, or so likely, to be theirs than the one under consideration;” and “that these coins are those of the Confederate assembly of Kilkenny;” where they were, “no doubt, first issued.”

The extract from Rymer's *Fœdera*, quoted by Leake and Simon (Appendix xlviii.), corresponds with the document of the date November 15, 1642, published in Dr. Cane's paper. This very important proclamation proves “that the Confederates had a coinage” of copper farthings and half-pence, and from the particular description of the type enables us to identify without any doubt the coins issued by order of the Assembly; but I cannot discover that it gives any support to the opinion that the St. Patrick's coin was “first issued” by “the Confederate assembly of Kilkenny,” or that it was in any respect connected with that body.

Second.—“That it was minted upon the Continent, for the use of the Confederate assembly,” and “was transmitted to Kilkenny to be there distributed.”

That the St. Patrick's coin, or “*Rinuccini Confederate money*,” as Dr. Cane proposes to designate it, “was minted upon the Continent,” and “transmitted to Kilkenny,” is mere conjecture, unsupported by any fact or authority. Dr. Cane supposes it “may have formed some portion of the monies brought to the council, from the Continent, at different times during the sitting of the council of the Confederate body;” but the authorities he has quoted mention particularly the large amount of *dollars* and *crowns*, which were distributed in Ireland by the foreign agents; nor is it probable that any foreign power would send subsidiary coin in a metal, which from its bulk would be very inconvenient to transmit.

Dr. Cane also remarks that—“The execution is more elaborate than any Irish coin of that period, while in its letters and outlinings it bears a marked resemblance to the Continental coin of that time, especially to pontifical coinage, and is in some parts of its design exceedingly in keeping with the opinions and sentiments of the Nuncio, Rinuccini.”

This conjecture might have some weight, if the exact “period” was known at which the coin in question was minted, or if any particular Continental or Pontifical coin was mentioned with which a comparison might be instituted.

That the art of cutting dies, however, was not altogether extinct

in Ireland, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, may be inferred from a Dublin token issued previous to 1680, which bears the same type as the reverse of the small St. Patrick, and which is engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 7. The Cork tokens issued by "William Ballard," in 1677, and "Edmund Yeomans," in 1678, as well as the Eniskean penny of 1678, are remarkable for their emblematic designs, and are not much less elaborate in execution than the St. Patrick's coins.

Third.—"That they were coin answering to shillings, pence, and half-pence;" and "that the silver coin is not a model piece, but from a separate die."

Dr. Cane has adopted the opinion of Simon, who believed that the silver pieces were "intended by the Kilkenny-assembly to pass for shillings;" and adds: "as regards the objection that they, the silver specimens, cannot be shillings because they 'differ in form, aspect, and weight,' I beg it to be remembered that I have put it markedly forward that they are foreign coins, and not coined in these kingdoms, but brought over by Rinunccini for the use of the Confederate army. But what I call the shilling is smaller and thicker than the shillings of the day, it is unworn, and weighs about 115 grains."

Harris, after describing the copper Patricks, informs us that, "*John Putland, Esq.*, has among his curious Collections the two before-mentioned Pieces struck in Silver, no way differing but in the Metal, and that they are milled, which Copper Money never is."

This passage having escaped Simon's notice, and also Dr. Cane's, he supposes that there was only one kind of silver coin, and asserts that it is "from a different die."

I happen to be the possessor of one of the silver pieces alluded to by Harris. It is the identical coin which belonged to Mr. Putland, and from a careful comparison of it with one of the larger copper Patricks, it is evident that it was struck from the same die as the copper coin. The existence of this piece, which as far as I know is unique, is of considerable importance respecting the question before us, for if the smaller pieces were issued as shillings, we must conclude that the larger pieces were intended to pass at some higher denomination.

This piece is somewhat worn, and weighs $176\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Of three of the smaller pieces of silver in my cabinet, one, which is in the highest state of preservation, weighs 123 grains; the other two are somewhat worn, and weigh, respectively, 108 and 107 grains. Now taking the weight of one of the smaller pieces which is worn, to that of the larger piece which is in similar condition, it is as 1 to 1.64, consequently, it cannot be believed that they were intended to pass for shillings and six-pences.

I have already controverted the opinion that these coins were "brought over by Rinunccini for the use of the Confederate army,"

and the conclusion I draw from the evidence now adduced is, that they are "model," or proof pieces from the dies of the copper coins, which is supported by the existence of a proof in lead in my cabinet, from the dies of the smaller copper coin. I may also add, that proofs in silver of the Irish half-pence of Charles the Second, date 1680 and 1681, and of William the Third, 1696, as well as of the different kinds of James the Second's gun-money, are not uncommon.

Dr. Cane asserts his belief in the opinion of the late Dean Dawson, which Mr. Lindsay "is inclined to agree with," that the copper Patricks were coined for pence and half-pence. Thoresby, in 1715, the first who notices these coins, says, they "were currant, I presume, for half-pence and farthings, for they are of different dimensions." Nicolson, Harris, and Simon, were of the same opinion; and Leake, the first who mentions the weight of these coins, informs us that the larger weighed from 130 to 135 grains, and the smaller from 90 to 96 grains; "but for what value they were originally intended, or made current, is uncertain. Afterwards they passed for the value the common people put upon them; and being something heavier than King Charles the Second's best *Irish* half-pence, went currently for such."

Of nine good specimens of Charles the Second's Irish half-pence in my cabinet, the weight varies from 105 to 119 grains, except one which weighs 129 grains.

Three of my specimens of the larger Patrick, with the star near the crown, weigh, respectively, 142, 144, and 148 grains, and one without the star weighs 145 grains. The weight of ten of the varieties of the smaller coin ranges from 77 to 102 grains, while one of them, which is in a high state of preservation, weighs only 92 grains.

We now know that when the Confederate copper money was coined, it was ordered to be made into *farthings* and *half-pence*, and "that everie pound of Copper be made to the value of 2^s. 8^d," that is, sixty-four half-pence to the pound Troy of 5760 grains, which fixes the weight of the half-penny at ninety grains.

It is evident, therefore, that the weight of the coins which were undoubtedly issued under the authority of the Confederate Assembly bears no fixed relation to the weight of the Patricks, but the question as to whether the latter were pence and half-pence, or half-pence and farthings, is not of much consequence, and can only be decided by some better authority than has yet been discovered. The concurrent testimony, however, of all the writers quoted in the preliminary part of this paper, and the fact that the Confederates coined half-pence and farthings, militate against the opinion which Dr. Cane has adopted without supporting it by any additional evidence.

Fourth.—"That it is a coin of the reign of Charles II., is not only broad of the fact, but it is absurdly so."—"And as to the

opinion that it is a coin of the class of Dublin tokens, the same objections hold equally good, while there are superadded to them, the fact that no civic, corporate, or town token in Ireland is to be found so elaborately executed, containing such enigmatical allusions, or honoured by having issued in three separate editions, and from three separate and distinct dies."

I have already shown that Evelyn, in 1697, classed the silver proof of the small Patrick among the medals of the reign of Charles the Second; Thoresby and Harris were of the same opinion; but Nicolson, Leake, and Simon, assign the coin to the reign of Charles the First, without giving any sufficient reason. I am disposed to attach more weight to the opinion of Evelyn, who was the first to notice the coin, nor do I consider that I am acting "absurdly" in attempting to show that there is some probability in the opinion that the St. Patricks were issued in the reign of Charles the Second.

The copper money now known to have been coined by order of the Confederate Assembly is of the same type as the farthings issued in 1625, immediately after the accession of Charles the First. The legend on the Confederate half-pence is CAROLVS. (or CARO) D. G. MAG. BRI. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX. and the initials C. R. are placed at the sides of the harp on the reverse.

The Restoration of Charles the Second took place the 29th May, 1660, about which time it appears that comparatively few tradesmen's tokens were issued in Ireland. The only one I know of with the date 1660 is, HEN. COKER. OF. DROHEDAES. IRELAND. 1660. Reverse, FOR. NECESSARY. CHANGE. A. PENNY. TOK', which is published in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 6. This coin is of brass, and has a cruciform piece of copper inserted in its centre, a peculiarity not noticed by Snelling. There is only one with the date 1661, THOMAS. COOKE. OF. MICHELS. TOWN. 1661. but not one with the date 1662 has yet been discovered.

Tokens of the years 1659 and 1663 are numerous, and although there are many others without date, it is reasonable to suppose that there was a temporary suspension of the issue of private tokens, particularly in Dublin, for three years; the facts now stated, and the existence of the arms of the city of Dublin on the larger St. Patrick tend to support the opinion, that the St. Patricks were issued in Dublin at some time between the Restoration and the year 1680, when regal copper half-pence were coined for Ireland.

There is another interval from 1673 to 1679, during which there is not any Dublin token with a date, except one which is published by Simon (pl. 8, fig. 175). Obverse, THE. DVBLIN. HALFPENNIE. in the centre a shield bearing the city arms, over which is the date 1679. Reverse, LONG. LIVE. THE. KING. in the centre a harp surmounted by a regal crown. A specimen of this half-penny, though

somewhat worn, weighs 117 grains, which is 19 grains more than the heaviest of the larger Patricks.

The Irish tokens of the seventeenth century may not be so "elaborately executed," or contain "such enigmatical allusions," as the St. Patricks, yet some of them present evidence that art was not at that period so low in Ireland as Dr. Cane supposes. The Dublin penny published by Snelling (second additional plate to Simon, fig. 7) and the Cork penny (*ibid.* fig. 8) are instances which I select, because they are engraved, and others might be mentioned which are superior in execution and design.

Fifth.—"That the idea expressed in the order for a knighthood in 'honour of St. Patrick and the glory of this kingdom,' would be the idea carried out upon such a coin."

These words were written by Dr. Cane when he had satisfied himself that the St. Patrick coins were "those of the Confederate assembly," and before he was acquainted with the type of "the coinage which really *was* minted in Ireland."

The Earl of Castlehaven and others were ordered to "present unto the supreme council of this kingdom an institution and order of knighthood, concerning the honour of St. Patrick and the glory of this kingdom, which the supreme council may confirm and ratify so far as they see cause." (Simon, Appendix, No. xlviii). These directions, however, are only conditional, and there is no evidence that the order of knighthood was instituted at that period.

The figure of St. Patrick was probably introduced on these coins to gratify the popular feeling respecting the apostle of Ireland, and the type, particularly of the reverse of the smaller coin, appears to have been copied from Gaultier's engraving, dated 1619, which is published on the leaf opposite to the first page in Messingham's 'Florilegium' (folio, 1624). St. Patrick, with a glory round his head, is represented in episcopal costume, standing on dragons and snakes, which are endeavouring to escape; in his left hand the staff of Jesus, terminated by a double cross; his right hand raised in the attitude of benediction, and at each side a crowd of persons kneeling. In the background is a cruciform church with a lofty spire; in the clouds there is a winged angel holding a scroll, inscribed with the words, "*Hæc est vox Hibernigenarum*;" and on another scroll, over the crowd on his left, are the words, "*Veni adjuva nos*."

I may also mention, that in 1463 a copper farthing was ordered to be made by royal authority: "To have on one side the figure of a bishop's head, and round it the word PATRICIVS, and on the other side, a cross with the word *Salvator*."

The obverse of the smaller piece presents a crowned king "as

¹ Simon, p. 24, edit. 1749; and Smith on the Irish Coins of Edward the Fourth,

pl. i. fig. 10, in vol. xix. of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

we picture David" (Evelyn), or "as K. David is represented" (Thoresby), in the attitude of prayer, playing on the harp, "over which the crown of England" (Evelyn and Thoresby) and David looking up to it, as if returning thanks for the Restoration of King Charles the Second,—an idea which accords with the legend, *FLOREAT . REX .* (may the King prosper).¹

Evelyn's description of the reverse is, "A mitred bishop (or St. Patrick) holding a double cross (which Thoresby calls the *STAFF OF IESVS*) and standing between a church and a serpent, which he seems to drive away, *QUIESCAT . PLEBS .*" The allusion here to the well-known legend of St. Patrick having expelled serpents and other reptiles from Ireland is not to be mistaken, and the words *QUIESCAT . PLEBS .* (may the people be quiet) seem to refer to the troubles which followed the rebellion of 1641.

The obverse of the larger coin is similar to that of the smaller one, with the exception of the star near the crown, which is wanting on one variety, and may have been introduced on a new die with some symbolic meaning. Reverse, St. Patrick in episcopal costume, standing, a crosier, instead of the Staff of Jesus, in his left hand, and in his right hand a shamrock, the emblem of the Trinity, which he holds out to the people, as if preaching to them, and saying, *ECCE . GREX .* (behold the flock). The arms on the shield, three castles with flames issuing from the towers, are unquestionably those of the city of Dublin, which Harris was the first to recognise.

I cannot see anything "enigmatical," or that it needs "much of imagination to translate it." Dr. Cane observes: "It is not David who touches the Irish harp, as some have it, but a king, and by the peculiarity of the crown an Irish king; an Irish harp, and Irish king, upon an Irish coin, while the English crown, fixed loosely and unsettled over the harp, is of a different metal, and as it were not belonging to the piece."

Now, David was a king, and "the peculiarity of the crown" is nothing more than the conventional form still invariably adopted by Irish artists. The harp has been the arms of Ireland since the time of Henry the Eighth, and the piece "of a different metal," with the

¹ The feeling in Ireland in favour of the Restoration, if not expressed on the Patricks, as I have conjectured, was commemorated on the following tokens: *WILLIAM . BALLARD . HIS . PENNY . IN . COREE .* 1667. Reverse, the King's bust surrounded by three regal crowns, within the branches of an oak tree, under which are two soldiers, one on horseback, as if searching for the King. —*JOHN . GROME . MARCHANT .*; in the centre *I^D* over a heart. Reverse, OF .

GALLWAY . 1664.; in the centre *VIVE . LE . ROY .—ANT . CAMDEN . NAVAN .*; in the centre two hands issuing from a cloud, and holding a heart. Reverse, *FEAR . GOD . HONOR . THE . KING .* (1 Pet. ii. 17); in the centre *I^D* and a cross surmounted by a crown. And *THE . DUBLIN . HALFPENNIE .* the date 1679, over a shield bearing the city arms; reverse, *LONG . LIVE . THE . KING .* A harp surmounted by a crown. (Simon, pl. viii. fig. 175).

crown fixed *loosely* over it, was inserted in imitation of the plan adopted with the farthings of Charles the First, in 1635, for the purpose of rendering forgery more difficult.

Having made so many objections to the opinions and arguments contained in Dr. Cane's paper, I can only say that I was induced to write the foregoing observations by his courting inquiry, and expressing the gratification he would feel if he became instrumental in leading the attention of any numismatic inquirer to controvert the opinions he endeavoured to maintain; and with feelings similar to those expressed by Dr. Cane, I now leave the subject open for further investigation.

REFERENCES TO ENGRAVINGS.

Large Copper St. Patrick (Half-penny).

Harris' Ware, vol. i. p. 203, pl. iii. fig. 29.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vii. fig. 141.

Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, Supplement, part ii. pl. v. fig. 8.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 442, fig. 7.

Small Copper St. Patrick (Farthing).

Evelyn's Discourse of Medals, p. 133, pl. lxiv.

Harris' Ware, vol. i. p. 203, pl. iii. fig. 28.

Simon on Irish Coins, pl. vii. fig. 142.

Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. v. fig. 9.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 442, figs. 1 and 2.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, May 3rd, 1854,

JOSEPH BURKE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law,
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

William Atkinson, Esq., C. E.	T. E. Murphy, Esq.
The Rev. John Browne, LL. D.	The Rev. J. M. Pearson, A. M.
Henry P. Clarke, Esq.	J. R. Phayer, Esq.
Robert Curtis, Esq., R. M.	John G. A. Prim, Esq.
The Rev. John L. Drapes, A. M.	James G. Robertson, Esq., Ar-
The Rev. James Graves, A. B.	chitect.
John James, Esq., L. R. C. S. I.	B. Scott, Jun., Esq., Solicitor.
Edward Lane, Esq.	James St. John, Esq., LL. D.
John Maher, Esq., Solicitor.	Patrick Watters, Esq.

The following new members were elected :—

Loftus H. Bland, Esq., Q. C., M. P. for the King's County :
proposed by John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Mrs. W. Lloyd Flood, Farmley ; John Lentaigne, Esq., M. D.,
M. R. I. A., D. L., J. P., Tallaght House, Dublin ; John Power,
Esq., J. P., St. John's-place, Kilkenny ; Henry P. Clarke, Esq.,
Inspector of National Schools, William-street, Kilkenny ; Richard
James Bell, Esq., 17, Bedford-street, Covent Garden, London ;
James Carruthers, Esq., 4, Glenfield-place, Belfast ; and Simon
Morris, Esq., Kilkenny : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Kenny Purcell, Esq., Clerk of the Peace, Kilkenny : proposed
by B. Scott, Jun., Esq., Solicitor.

Abraham Alcock, Esq., M. D., New Ross : proposed by the
Rev. P. Moore, R. C. C., Rosbercon.

Thomas P. T. Bookey, Esq., Doninga, Goresbridge ; Edward
Lewis Warren, Esq., Lodge Park, Freshford ; John Le Poer
Bookey, Esq., Ballyragget ; Messrs. Thomas Seigne, Kilfane Cot-
tage, Thomastown ; Cornelius Maxwell, Parade, Kilkenny ; Mi-
chael Shortall, Solicitor, King-street, Kilkenny ; William Lawless,
Rose-Inn-street, Kilkenny ; William Nicholson, High-street, Kil-

kenny; John Hogan, Rose-Inn-street, Kilkenny; and Patrick Mansfield Delany, High-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. John G. A. Prim.

Messrs. William Manyfold Higginbotham, Gorey; John Kennedy, Enniscorthy; John P. Pilsworth, Athy; John Fergus MacCartan, Thomastown; and Patrick Buggy, Castlecomer: proposed by Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

William H. Woods, Esq., Stapleton-place, Stapleton-road, Bristol: proposed by Thomas Kerslake, Esq.

The Very Rev. John Spratt, D.D., Aungier-street, Dublin: proposed by Dr. O'Brennan.

The Rev. P. J. Gilligan, 99, James'-street, Dublin: proposed by Mr. John O'Daly, Dublin.

William Lane Joynt, Esq., Alderman of Limerick: proposed by Mr. Michael Kearney.

Mr. John Campion, Patrick-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. G. Robertson.

Mr. Thomas Dunphy, King-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. P. Blanchfield, Clifden.

Mr. Graves observed that this list of new members, thirty-one in number, was only exceeded at one previous Meeting of the Society, when over forty names were added to their list.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By Robert MacAdam, Esq., Belfast: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 6.

By the Council of the Dublin Geological Society: its "Journal," Vol. VI. part 1.

By the Author, Richard Hitchcock: "Dingle in the Sixteenth Century, with an Introduction and Notes."

By the Council of the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," new series, No. 17.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 580 to 586, both inclusive.

By Richard Johnston, Esq., Architect, 93, Leinster-road, Dublin: a series of very beautiful drawings (made to scale) of the details of Jerpoint Abbey, accompanied by a view of the east end of that building as it appeared before the late repairs were executed. As it is the intention of the Secretaries shortly to draw up a brief historical and architectural account of this abbey, Mr. Johnston's gift is a most desirable one, and will greatly facilitate the illustration of those portions of the structure still remaining.

By James Carruthers, Esq.: elaborate drawings, full-sized and coloured, of two bronze trumpets and a gigantic spear-head, the largest ever discovered in Ireland; also lithographs of bronze and silver fibulæ, all of which are in his museum.

By Patrick Watters, Esq., Town Clerk, Kilkenny : a bill of the Kilkenny Amateurs' plays, being for the second night of the season, September 23rd, 1818 ; also a supplement to "Faulkner's Dublin Journal," of October 5th, 1798, giving the despatch announcing the victory of the Nile.

By Mr. Arthur Mosse : a musket found in the bed of the Nore, at Kilkenny College, covered with a concrete formed from the oxydation of the barrel combined with the sand and gravel of the river's bed. The musket appeared to be about fifty years old, and was inscribed with the letters M. K. on the heel-plate.

By Robert Curtis, Esq. : a very good specimen of the penny token struck by John Beavor, Kilkenny, in the seventeenth century, found near Kilkenny.

By Mr. John Campion : a nearly perfect specimen of the rare penny token of Richard Inwood, Kilkenny, turned up in the garden of the donor.

By Mr. William Lawless : a specimen of the penny token of James Purcell, Irishtown.

By J. Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law : a very fine specimen of the brass shilling of James II., September, 1689.

By Mr. John Fennessy, Kilkenny : a six-pence of Queen Elizabeth, 1574.

By the Rev. James Graves : several ancient silver, copper, and brass coins, amongst which were a specimen of the copper Confederate money, a Patrick's half-penny, a jetton, a silver penny of Henry III. struck in Dublin, a London penny of Edward I., two Kilkenny tokens, being those of Roth and Inwood, and a counterfeit shilling of Queen Anne, all of which were found in Kilkenny ; also an ancient Scotch copper coin, found in Jerpoint Abbey ; and a small silver casting, of some antiquity, representing the Virgin and Child, and bearing the inscription, "de sancto carmelo."

By Mr. P. M. Delany : a silver three-pence of George III.

By Mr. E. Lane : three small modern silver coins, of France, America, and Spain.

By the Rev. J. M. Pearson : a stone tomahawk, found in making a sewer in the village of Delawar, twelve miles from London, Canada West ; resembling in every respect the stone celts so frequently found in Ireland.

By Mr. William Lawless : the matrix of an exceedingly interesting personal seal, apparently of the thirteenth century, found in digging a field near the Workhouse of the Kilkenny Union.

Mr. Prim, in presenting this seal on behalf of Mr. Lawless, observed that the material was brass, which had been gilt. It bore an escutcheon, charged with a lion rampant, and round the verge the following legend, in Lombardic characters :—s : THOME : FL : HENRICII : DE : ROS :—the seal of Thomas the son of Henry de

Ros. It would appear that this Thomas de Ros had been a monk of St. John's Abbey (not far from the site of which the seal had been found), as, on consulting the Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery, he found, by an enrolment made on the Patent Roll of the 3rd and 4th Edward II., No. 39, that on the 27th of October, 1288, "Brother Robert, prior of the Monastery of St. John, Kilkenny, being worn out with age, appointed, as his attornies, brother Richard le Whyte and Thomas de Ros." The Society was deeply indebted to Mr. Lawless for preserving this interesting relic for them; and this being but one of many donations which that gentleman had made to their Museum, he was well entitled to a special vote of thanks.

A letter from Mr. Richard Hitchcock was read, making the following suggestion:—

"The Kilkenny Archæological Society is now more than five years in existence, and, judging from the lists of donations and purchases which have been from time to time published, I think it cannot but possess by this time a pretty extensive Museum and Library. Well acquainted as I am with the affairs of the Society, I believe I may speak on behalf of the majority of its members and say that we know very little of what the Library and Museum now contain. It has therefore occurred to me that a catalogue of one or both of these would not only be most acceptable to the members of the Society, particularly those who are non-resident in Kilkenny, but that in fact it would be most useful, and would materially tend to increase the value of both the Museum and Library. From the interest in the working of the Kilkenny Archæological Society which I believe exists amongst all its members, I feel confident that the expense attendant on the bringing out of such a catalogue would be very soon repaid. At all events, I embrace this opportunity of mentioning the matter, and hope it may be considered worth bringing under the notice of the next meeting."

The Chairman observed that Mr. Hitchcock's communication was worthy of every attention; and on his suggestion it was referred to the Committee.

The Secretaries laid on the table the printed Proceedings and Transactions of the March Meeting of the Society, now ready for delivery, and forming the second fasciculus of the Part for 1854.

Mr. Graves called attention to the series of very beautiful tinted lithographs which were exhibited. They formed the illustrations, six in number, of the second part of Mr. Henry O'Neill's great and truly national work, "The Ancient Crosses of Ireland." Of these, three belonged to Kilkenny,—the west side of the north cross of Kilkilspen; a separate plate of the details of the two crosses in that locality; and a plate of the three crosses of Ullard (two of which are now at Graigue-na-managh) grouped together by the artist. The part also comprised a most accurate delineation of St. Boyne's

cross, at Monasterboice, with its wonderful profusion of sculpture and ornament; and two plates of the great Tuam cross, which most people would recollect as having stood near the entrance of the Great Exhibition of 1853. The exertions and self-devotion of the artist were above all praise, and had been fully successful in doing justice to the arduous subject. The Kilkenny Archæological Society might well be proud of having given the first impulse to this work, which, however, deserved a far greater amount of local support than it had yet received.

The Secretary read a letter from Henry Stevens, Esq., agent in England for the Smithsonian Institution, acknowledging the donation of the Society's Transactions for 1852, and promising to do all in his power to procure in exchange the valuable publications of the Institution.

A letter was read from Charles C. Babington, Esq., Treasurer of the Cambridge Archæological Society, and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, stating that he had found amongst the documents of that University ancient transcripts of three deeds, which might interest the Society. They were:—

1. The sale of all the lands belonging to the Prior and Convent of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, which were situated in Ireland, to the Abbot and Convent "de Voto" (Tintern, county of Wexford) of the Cistercian Order, in the diocese of Ferns, A. D. 1245.

2. Agreement by the Abbot and Convent de Voto to pay annually ten marks to the Convent of Canterbury, A. D. 1245.

3. Agreement by the same to pay three marks to the same, A. D. 1255.

They are contained, Mr. Babington stated, in the "*Registrum vetus cartarum et aliarum literarum patentium et clausarum Conventus tempore Henrici Prioris [ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis]*." He expressed his willingness to procure transcripts of these documents for the Society.

The Rev. P. Moore communicated the following curious traditional matter, connected with the ancient family of De Freigne, of Ballyreddy, barony of Ida, and bearing on the continuance of feudal power to a late period in the county of Kilkenny:—

"The family of De Freigne were, as is well known, the old feudal proprietors of the greater part of the barony of Ida. So late as the commencement of the eighteenth century they were accustomed to regulate the dress of the people at their own will and pleasure; De Freigne, at the chapel of Tullagher, cutting off the long hair of the men, and regulating the fashion of their coats and breeches, whilst the ladies of the family carried out their sumptuary laws with regard to the women's caps and gowns, pulling the former off their heads if they appeared to be too modish. The De Freigne, who lived in Brownstown about the year 1700, lost his feudal power by allowing himself to be bearded by a subordinate. About that

time a man called Ned-gerr, or short Ned, came to reside on that townland, having married the daughter of an old resident. He did not know De Freigne or his ways, and when summoned by the horse-boy of the latter to ferry his master across the Nore, he steadily refused. On the next Sunday, when coming from mass at Tullagher, De Freigne attempted to ride down Ned-gerr, but the latter resisted and knocked De Freigne down. Everybody thought that the unlucky Ned would have been hanged, but instead of that De Freigne sent for him next day and gave him his farm rent free; but after that, all kicked against De Freigne and despised his power. Every one has the story, and it appears not to have taken place before 1700 or 1715: it is curious how long they continued to maintain the feudal right of life and death. I have heard of a *caoine* that was made for the first De Freigne who went to Dublin (about 1745 or 1750); he was brought to be buried in Ballyneal, drawn by six horses. His nurse met him in Ballyneal, and composed a beautiful Irish elegy, elegant in rhyme and reason too. The translation of a part of it runs thus—'Thou art welcome home in thy coffin of shining plates. What can I say regarding thee not calculated to awaken sorrow in the hearts of thy young kinsfolk? Are not the stately homes of thy family hurled to the earth and converted into a play-ground for the youth of the neighbourhood?'"

Dr. Aquilla Smith, Dublin, contributed the following curious extracts from the MS. Diary of Joshua Wight, a Quaker:—

"May 18th, 1752.—This day about noon, there was a great sight of people passed through the streets of Limerick. Many thousands in a large body. The country labourers, cottiers and husbandmen erected a new system of Husbandry, and country affairs; great companies of distinction in the several degrees of Agriculture, common labourers walking first, the men in their shirts, in ranks; the women also with green corn and straw; the plow driven along, and the harrow; the mowers with their scythes, the reapers, the gleaners (a great number of women), and a great number with their flails walking in a great procession, to congratulate the probability of a good ensuing harvest. This show was allowed by most of the spectators to be far more entertaining than the companies of the several corporations in their greatest figure. These country people made a second appearance the next day, at which time the county [*sic*] of Clare and Limerick joyned together and were [*sic*] very particular in their representations of personating the several orders of husbandry in all the branches of it.

"24th May, 1752.—The Prince of Wales' birth day. The troops at Limerick lined the town walls, and proceeded to hedge-firing, the great guns also all round firing."

Mr. R. Hitchcock communicated letters from Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., and the Rev. A. B. Rowan, D. D., relative to the reading of one of the inscriptions (No. 3) given in his "Gleanings from Country Church-yards," in the Transactions of the Society for 1852. Mr. Cooke, it appears, possesses a copy of the inscription, in which the first line consists of the contracted letters V. M. R. C., and which he accordingly reads, VIRGO MARIA REGINA CÆLI. The remainder of the inscription he reads, PH. (i. e. Philippus) DINIGHAN, 1666, ECIAM UXOR HIC JACENT; and he mentions one of the Commonwealth

or Restoration merchant's tokens for 1^d, struck in Parsonstown by a person named Jeffes, on which the letters are curiously run into each other in the same monogrammic style as in the Rattoo inscription above referred to. Dr. Rowan, on the other hand, refers to two or three copies of the Rattoo inscription in his possession, made by himself and others; and all these seem to differ from Mr. Cooke's reading. Dr. Rowan mentions a small *r* at the end of the first line in his own copy, which would seem to settle the name MARGARET. He also ingeniously supposes the husband, mentioned in the inscription, to have been buried first, and the contracted words reading IO. DINIGHAN, 1666, then engraved on the stone; that his wife was subsequently buried, and the words which read, MARGARET EJUS UXOR HIC JACET, were then added. The position of the words on the stone makes this point clear, as also that the *E*, with a contraction like a figure of 9 attached, clearly makes EJUS and not ECIAM. Dr. Rowan further states, that in many hundreds of monumental inscriptions which he has seen, he never saw the initials of VIRGO MARIA REGINA CÆLI so used.

Mr. Graves said that he wished to draw attention to an archaeological discovery of some interest lately made in Kilkenny. Mr. John Feehan being at present engaged in remodelling the house in High-street, lately occupied by Mr. Buggy, for the purpose of converting it into a West of England Cloth Hall, it became, in the course of the work, quite evident that the house had originally been of much antiquity. Pointed-arch doorways, stone-cased and flat-headed windows of cut stone, massive oak timber floors and roofs, were ample evidences of this; however, still further proof was afforded by the discovery, on the first floor, of an elaborately carved stone chimney-piece, surmounted by an armorial achievement, also cut in stone. He exhibited a rubbing of the slab containing the armorial bearings: it bore the arms of the ancient family of Shee, being the coats granted to that family in 1582, as would appear by the following extract from an ancient heraldic MS. in his possession:—

"Shee of Com. Kilkenny bears 8 Coats quarterly. 1st and 5th per bend indented or and azure 2 Flordelis's counterchang'd. 2nd is gules 3 Swords fessways the middlemost pointing towards y^e Dexter Side all proper. 3rd Sable 3 Pheons argent. 4th Gules 3 Swords 2 in saltier pointing downwards and one in pale pointed upwards. 6th Argent 3 Bars gules over all a Bend sable. 7th Per Pale Indented or and gules. The 8th and last argent a Chevron between 3 Pheons sable.—By Robert Cook, Clarencieux King at Arms, 7th August, 1582, 24th Elizabeth."

Beneath the shield appeared at each side the letters E. S., probably for Elias Shee, brother of Sir Richard Shee, Knight, of Upper Court. Beneath all, the slab bore the motto in old French, DEU DONEST, God gives, most likely one of those simple pious sentences such as were usually inscribed on houses in the older time. There

was no date on the chimney-piece; but the style of the workmanship would certainly refer it to about the year 1600, when most of the old houses still remaining in Kilkenny were built. It was too much the habit, when remains such as he had been describing were discovered, to treat them with little reverence; and, if not ruthlessly to destroy them, at least to cover them up again: but he was happy to say, that Mr. Feehan intended to sacrifice a portion of the most important space in his establishment, with a view of leaving this antique and curious chimney-piece intact; nay more, he intended to get it cleaned and restored as much as possible to its original state,—an act in which he trusted that Mr. Feehan would find many imitators.

The following communication was received from William Hackett, Esq., Middleton:—

“ Having at the last meeting of the Society brought under notice the subject of ‘Giants’ Cinders,’ apparently not without exciting some interest on the part of the members, I may, perhaps, be now permitted to direct attention to another class of remains which I believe are very numerous, but hitherto unnoticed, from their apparent insignificance. I allude to the subterranean sewer-like passages, constructed of dry stones, which are frequently met with in fields where there is no vestige of building or appearance of any work with which they could have been ever connected. My own attention was first drawn to the subject by an exploration in which I was concerned, at a place called Woodstock, not far from Middleton, many years since. The peasantry of the district had a tradition that a passage led a considerable distance underground to an open space, where at present is a pool embosomed in a crescent of burned stones of the ‘Giants’ Cinders’ class. This passage the people described as ‘a big avenue,’ high enough for a tall man to stand up in, and broad enough for six to walk abreast in. Some friends and I resolved to test the truth of this traditional statement, and proceeded to the spot with labourers provided with the materials for making the exploration. We were accompanied by certain old inhabitants of the locality, who held with each other a comparison of legendary notes as to the proper spot to commence the delving, and this consultation eventuated in their agreeing on one particular place. They had no depression or elevation of the ground or other mark or bearing to guide them, and when we had removed the surface we found so little appearance of the next stratum having being ever disturbed, that we doubted much the accuracy of our sages. However, having dug to a depth of about five feet, we came upon some small horizontal stones laid north and south. We cleared the earth from them to a distance of about six feet in length, and found that they were covering stones, which were sustained on either side by small stones laid on edge, and presenting the appearance of a common drain, except that a circular enlargement was found, and the drain continued from thence about six feet more to a second enlargement of a similar kind, from which the drain stretched on about three feet, and appeared as if it had been there broken up at some remote period. This was at the north end, and the same feature presented itself at the south. We had now made a trench not two feet broad at bottom, and about twenty feet in length. On removing the covering stones of

the drain, we found nothing but soot and ashes; but in the enlarged spaces were animal teeth, sea shells, charcoal, and soot.

"Here, certainly, was no avenue large enough for six tall men to walk abreast in without stooping, but yet it was evident that the tradition of the locality was not without foundation. The passage was really less than a foot in height and a foot broad, with enlargements of two feet in diameter, but no higher than the passage itself. But the question was—what could be the object of this obscure and trifling work? It was not a drain, and was not in any way sepulchral. For years, during which I heard of many similar discoveries having been made, I pondered over the matter from time to time, and at length came to a conclusion that some may consider strange and far-fetched, although I trust that many will see some reason for it. I believe it was a boundary between two properties! After all the Hindoo coincidences which Irish antiquarian investigation has brought to light, I am constantly looking for new ones, and in the course of my reading I have recently met with an old Gentoo law, made to obviate the crime of encroaching on landmarks, which I think throws some light on the intention of the Woodstock souterrain: it is as follows:—

"'Dust, or bones, or seeboos (bran), or cinders, or scraps of earthenware, or the hairs of a cow's tail, or the seed of the cotton plant; all these things above mentioned being put into an earthen pot filled to the brim, a man must *privately bury upon the confines of his own boundary*, and there preserve also stones, or bricks, or sea sand. Either of these three things may be buried by way of landmark of the limits; for *all these things upon remaining a long time in the ground are not liable to rot*, or become putrid; any other thing, also, which will remain a long time in the ground without becoming putrid may be buried for the same purpose.

"'Those persons who by any of these methods *can show the line of their boundaries*, shall acquaint their sons of the respective landmarks of those boundaries; and in the same manner those sons also shall explain the signs of their limits to their children. If all persons would act in this manner there could be no disputes concerning limits and boundaries.'—Taylor's 'Calmet,' 5th edition, vol. viii., Fragments, lxxx., p. 138.

"Nothing, certainly, is expressed here of a continuous passage, but the words 'can show the line of their boundaries' evidently imply something of that kind, for an isolated urn containing dust, bones, or charcoal, would not suffice for the purpose. These narrow, drain-like passages, which I have almost invariably heard of containing charcoal or soot, the country people cannot account for, but always associate them with raths or forts; some conjecture them to have extended from one rath to another, and to have been used as conveyancers of sound in case of alarm; but it is needless to point out that they could not possibly have been applied to such a purpose. Such passages are not to be confounded with 'creeps,' which although very small, are always large enough to admit the passage of a man. 'Creeps' are generally within forts, leading to and connecting the underground apartments. I have seen them in open fields, but there were always traces of erased forts to be discerned over them. I have no doubt that many of the baked clay urns, containing charcoal, which are so frequently met with, and which have been hitherto supposed to have been sepulchral, were in reality hidden boundary witnesses, such as are alluded to in the Indian law of limits which I have cited. But whether my con-

jectures be correct or otherwise, I trust I may be considered to have opened a subject for interesting inquiry amongst the members of the Society."

Mr. Prim stated, that in many parts of the county of Kilkenny the peasantry had related to him the existence of such passages as those described by Mr. Hackett. They called them "drains," and said they ran in connexion with raths, and always contained charcoal and bones of animals. From the descriptions given, he had ascertained that most of them could not be sewerage drains, as they ran from the raths to more elevated ground, and the presence of the charcoal and bones had always puzzled him. He considered Mr. Hackett's communication really afforded a most curious and interesting ground for inquiry.

Mr. Graves observed, with reference to the curious Gentoo law supplied by Mr. Hackett, that it presented a striking resemblance to some extracts from the Brehon laws of Ireland which he had heard read by Dr. Graves at a late meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, and which bore on the subject of ancient boundaries. It would be curious to ascertain if Oghams were ever found buried in such souterrains as those described by Mr. Hackett.

Mr. Prim exhibited a rubbing from the Ogham monument existing in the burial-ground of Tullaherin, barony of Gowran, and county of Kilkenny, the discovery of which he had first announced at the March Meeting of 1852 (see "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 190). He had since made an examination of the place, in company with the Rev. James Graves, to whose pencil the Society was indebted for the sketch, after which the accompanying engraving had been made by Mr. Geo. A. Hanlon. The present height of the stone was about two feet four inches, but a considerable portion had evidently been broken off the top, and the inscription was thus defective; the width averaged one foot six inches, and the thickness of the slab was nine inches. The material was a hard grit, which is not to be found nearer than four or five miles from Tullaherin. The neighbouring Round Tower is largely composed of that kind of stone, whilst



Ogham Stone at Tullaherin.

there is no appearance of it in the ruins of the old church, about three feet of the lower part of the walls of which exhibit masonry of a very early date, much anterior to the upper portions of the structure, but all composed of lime-stone. The Ogham stone stood at the distance of a foot from the south wall of the church, and nine paces from the Round Tower, and had the appearance of a rude head-stone to a grave. The inscription was on the south-eastern edge, and consisted of eleven scores. In the centre of the eastern face there was a single stroke, deeply scored, nine inches long, and running in a diagonal direction, which appeared to be of a date more modern than the Ogham. A few fragments of coffin-shaped tombs, bearing floriated crosses, were to be found in the church and burying-ground, appropriated to mark the modern graves; but there was no appearance of any other monument of such remote antiquity as that inscribed with the Ogham. The church being dedicated to St. Kieran, the name, Tullaheerin, was generally supposed to signify the height of Kieran; but it was sometimes pronounced and spelled Tullaheirim, which would mean the dry hill, a term certainly descriptive of its peculiar situation, it being elevated ground nearly surrounded by a marsh.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

ON TULACHS AS PLACES OF SEPULTURE.

BY MR. JOHN O'DALY.

IN the communication made by Mr. Prim to the Society, with reference to the newly discovered Ogham monument at Tullaheerin, that gentleman stated it to be the general impression that the name signified "the hill of Kieran," that saint being the patron of the parish;¹ whilst some considered that it meant "the dry hill." I now beg leave to intimate, that, in my opinion, the word, tulach, signifies a burial-place, and that the original name, which has been corrupted into Tullaheerin, literally meant the burial-place dedicated to St. Kieran (*Hibernicè*, *Óiapán*) of Ossory, or founded by him. As it is a matter of much interest and importance that the origin of the Irish names of districts and places should be properly traced and elucidated, and that nothing should be left depending on mere assertion, I now proceed to produce proofs that the Irish word *tulac* means, beyond the possibility of doubt, a place of sepulture, and was understood in that sense by the ancient Irish.

¹ I have prepared for publication, from an ancient Irish manuscript, the Life of St. Kieran, of Saighir, in which

his connexion with the inhabitants of ancient and modern Ossory is very fully set forth.

In a Fenian romance of considerable antiquity and value, entitled "Agallam na Seanóirí" (i. e. The Dialogue of the Sages), which gives an account of St. Patrick having met seven Fenian chiefs, who had survived their kindred and companions, one of them, Caoilte, is introduced as replying to the queries of the Saint concerning tulachs as follows :—

"Beir buadh aghar beannaict a Caoilte, ar Pádraig, aghar innir dam creab í an tulaigh tonn-glár ro ar a b-fuilmaoib? aghar innir a rgealaib aghar a tuaraghbáil? Ineórad, ar Caoilte. An níl dá b-fuil an fearc ro .i. ógláid v'fannuib Eirionn do fuair báir ann, .i. Airnealach, mac rígh laiginn.

"Lá naon dá raib ar an v-tulaigh ro, éainigh fear dáin re buan éirge; aghar a búbaire Airnealach, maire ainim, a píir dáin, ar ré, léig cáirde dam go m-biadh mo féirde aghar m'ionmair am fáppaib. Dam briaéar, ar an fear dáin, ní éiríra cáirde éirge, gan do glámab, ir do ghríorab, ir t-imdearagab, ran lá aniuigh. Aghar mar do éualaib Airnealach rin, éig a ghrúir aghar a aghaib ar láir, aghar níor éoguib a éeann riamh go b-fuair báir do náirge; aghar do múrad an tulaigh ro air, aghar ró éoguib a laig, aghar ar leir acá do éruim a Naomh Pádraig. Neamh uaimre do, ar Pádraig, do luac a náirge, 'ra éabaire ó péinn anoir péin, má'r coil lem' Éigearna Dia é; aghar do éainigh a anam ó péinn an uair rin, go raib iona Colam gléigiol ar an g-carraig ór cionn Pádraig.

"Creab an fearc eile ro ar an v-tulaigh ro éar, a Caoilte? ar Pádraig. Ogláid maire eile do'n b-Péinn, ar Caoilte, fuair báir ann, .i. Salbuirde mac Feileadair, mac rígh Múman. Creab é aghar a báir? ar Pádraig. Gai ráda do marb ann ro é; aghar do marbáb an éirí-éab cú aghar an éirí-éab gíolla ró bí iona diaigh ann ag a píde, aghar do múrad an tulaigh tonn-glár ro oppa. Ró ba maire linn, ar beir-éar, .i. beirgíobal Pádraig, na reirde do bí aige, aghar do h-aónaice leir, v'fáigil. Do ghabair, ar Caoilte, aghar v'fórguil an fearc, aghar eug éann na pleighe éirge, aghar do bí a lán v'fáigil airgib aoin-gil a'éirighe uiré, ó na h-úrlaunn go h-ionrma. Éugair a Pádraig, ar beiréar, neamh ar a náirge do'n fear ó éanaib, aghar éabair neamh ar a feirdeib do'n fear eile ro. Do éeapad, ar Pádraig, má'r beónaib le Dia é, aghar eugab gan aghar."

"May sway and blessings attend thee, Caoilte!" said Patrick, "and tell me the cause of constructing this verdant tulach (mound) on which we now are. Relate unto me its history and all matters connected with its origin." "I will relate it," said Caoilte: "the cause of this sepulchre is this, that a chief of the Fiann of Eire died here, namely, Airnealach, son of the King of Leinster, which happened in the following manner:—

"On a day that he had been on this tulach, a poet came to him with poems, and Airnealach said to him, "Great is thy name, O man of song! excuse me at present, and allow me a respite from rewarding thee, until I shall have my jewels and wealth at hand." "By my word," said the poet, "I shall grant you no such indulgence, but, on the contrary, I will satirize, persecute, and defame you this very day." When Airnealach had heard these threats, he became downcast in his face and countenance, and never raised

his head till he died of shame. This tulach was constructed over him; his sepulchral stone was erected, and against it is your back, holy Patrick! 'I ordain,' said Patrick, 'that heaven be his portion as the reward of his shame, and that he be even now delivered from pain, if it be the will of my Lord God;' and, accordingly, his soul was released from pain at that very hour, and appeared in the form of a pure white dove on the rock over St. Patrick.

"Whose feart (grave) is that other on yonder tulach, to the south, Caoilte?" inquired St. Patrick. 'Another young chief of the Fiana,' replied Caoilte, 'who died there; namely, Salbhuidhe, son of Feileachair, son of the King of Munster.' 'What was the cause of his death?' said Patrick. 'He was killed by elfin shots or arrows, and his thirty hounds and thirty followers, who attended him, were also killed there by fairies; and that vegetating verdant tulach was raised over them.' 'We would wish,' said Beirheart, a disciple of St. Patrick's, 'to procure the jewels which he possessed and which were buried along with him.' 'You shall get them,' said Caoilte, and having opened the grave, he drew forth the handle of his spear, which was covered all over with rings of double refined bright silver from the spear-head to the butt-end. 'St. Patrick!' said Beirheart, 'thou hast conferred the kingdom of heaven on the former man in virtue of his shame; and now grant the inheritance of heaven to this other man on account of his jewels and arms.' 'Be it so,' said Patrick, 'if it be the will of God;' and, undoubtedly, it was granted."

If these tulachs had been the burial-places of two Pagan princes, namely, Airnealach, son of the King of Leinster, and Salbhuidhe, son of the King of Munster, there is every reason to believe that other burial-places had also been denominated tulachs. St. Patrick inquired what green tulach was that on which he stood; and Caoilte replied, that it was the feart, i. e. grave or burial-place of Airnealach. Again, the Saint asked to be informed what other feart, or place of sepulture, was that which he pointed to in the same vicinity, and he was informed by the Fenian sage, that it was a tulach constructed as the burial-place of Salbhuidhe, making the word, tulach, in both instances, synonymous with, feart, a grave or burial-place. Hence, tulach, means a place of sepulture; and Tullaherin, in the county of Kilkenny, may mean the place of sepulture or cemetery dedicated to St. Kieran of Ossory.

There is also in the county of Kilkenny another of those Pagan tulachs, called Tulach Odrán (*vulgo*, Tullaroan), which is the burial-place of, or dedicated to, St. Odhran;¹ Tullamaine (*Hibernicè*, Tulach

¹ In the Irish Life of St. Kieran, which I have already alluded to, the following curious account of St. Odhran occurs:—

"Cáingadair diar bndáir d' ácéile cum Ciadán dá éomairiúgáid dul dá n'oiltepe a n'ionadair iméianna. Odrán ágar Meadhrán a nanmonna, ágar bo Márgairde Cipe dóid, ón m-baile

pe a nabairéar Leatpad; ágar an b-teacht dóid go Saigir, do fanntaig an bapa fear bfoib anmáim a b-foadair Ciadán; ágar dob' é an fear rin Meadhrán. Ágar a búbairé Odrán; ní mar rin do seallair a bndáir; ágar a búbairé pe Ciadán gan a bndáir do éongmáil uaid. A búbairé

Máinne), where Máinne Móng Ruab (Mainne of the red hair) lies interred, is likewise situated in the county of Kilkenny.

In the county of Westmeath is a tulach, called *Tulac na Laoi*é (tulach of the heroes), probably from the fact of some Fenian heroes being interred there, but it is now vulgarly called Tullinally.

In the county of Cavan there is a tulach, called *Tulac Fionn* (tulach of Fionn), where Fionn Mac Cumhaill, the Fenian chieftain, may have been interred; but it is now called Tullyvin.

There is also, in the same county, another tulach, called *Tulac Maġnuir* (tulach of Magnus), where Magnus Mor, or the great, a Fenian chieftain, lies buried. It is now called Tullyvanish.

In the county of Carlow is a tulach, called *Tulac Aod Òig* (tulach of little Aedh, or Hugh), where Aedh Beag, the son of Fionn Mac Cumhaill, was interred. It is now called Tullowbeg.

Another instance of tulachs being the burial-places, or dedicated to Irish saints, is afforded by the name, Tullynanevee (*recte*, *Tulac na Naomh*), in the county of Down, now called Saintfield.

In the extensive collection of Irish Fenian manuscripts, in the possession of the Rev. James Goodman, of Skibbereen, county of

Clárán, bneachtóad Dia eadar inn oia ag inn ag a m-biaó pé; agar gabab pé an lóranann fo in a láirh, agar cuirpeab a aná paol, agar dá lapab an lóranann anab agamra; agar muna lapab éirgeab leatpa; agar do eugab do an lóranann in a láirh, agar do féib a aná paol, agar do lap i g-céaboir, agar do fan rin ag Clárán go h-am-rir a báir a naomteabó mór agar a n-beag-ofbreabóad.

"Agar a búbaire Clárán pe h-Obrán, dá g-cuapbaige cu an bothan gur ab ad báile péin a leatpad, do geabair báir; agar ap an adbar rin, iompuiġ agar caic e'aim-rir ann, oir ap uait amimneodar é go bndé. Agar d'iompuig Obrán dá báile péin tpe briaetpaib Clárán, agar do rin main-rbir onópad ann; agar fo mór a fubailce agar a naomteabó, agar ap n-béanañ mforbáilleaba n'omda do, map leatcar na beata péin, do duaird gum neime, agar do fionab briaetpa Clárán; oir ip é ap anim do'n ionab rin leatpad Obrán."

"Two brothers, named Odhran and Meadhran, from Latteragh, in Musgry Thire, came to St. Kieran to ask counsel and advice as to whether they should go as pilgrims into foreign lands; and on arriving at Saighir, one of them intended staying with St. Kieran. This

man's name was Meadhran. And Odhran said unto him, 'Brother! this is not what you promised me;' and he implored of St. Kieran not to detain his brother from him. Kieran said, 'God will determine between us as to who shall have him; and let him take this torch in his hand and breathe upon it, and if it lights he is to remain with me, but if not, he may return home with you again.' And he took the torch in his hand and breathed on it, whereon it immediately lit, and he, therefore, remained with Kieran until the hour of his death, leading a religious and holy life.

"Kieran, addressing Odhran, said, 'If you travelled the world all over, it is in your native village, Latteragh, you should die; therefore, return home and spend the remainder of your days there, for the place shall be called after you for ever.' Odhran took Kieran's advice, and returned home, and erected a magnificent monastery, and spent the remainder of his days in great devotion and holiness of life, performing many miracles, as we read in his Life, until he ascended into heaven; and Kieran's prophecy concerning the place was fulfilled, as it is ever since called Latteragh Odhran."

Cork, the following curious and interesting poem, descriptive of tulachs as places of Pagan interment in Ireland, occurs, but it is chiefly confined to the Fenian chiefs. I am indebted to that reverend gentleman for his kindness in allowing me to use it on the present occasion. The poem is ascribed to Oisín, the son of Fionn Mac Cumhaill, and is entitled “*Feartha no Uaitha Taoipeada na Féinne*,” i. e. the fearts (mounds or graves) of the Fenian chieftains, and commences thus:—

“*Uaith gac Taoipead épdíó mo époide!*
A b-paicepín a Cléiric dáid;
Inneorab map ip fearad dúinn,
Gac uaith díob in gac áit.

“*Acá po'n b-tulda ro púgam,*
Fear ag a m-bíob bpuir do gnat;
Conán fear rgaolte gac púin,
Ip paoin b-tulda ro púgam acá.

“*Acá po'n b-tulda ro fear,*
Mac Uí Duibne cneap map blát;
Fear nár eicig nead ro níd,
Ácc go m-bíob aige 'na láim.

“*Acá po'n b-tulda ro fíap,*
An fear ip mian leip na mná;
Mac Ronán na n-íomab rgiat,
Ip paoin b-tulda ro fíap acá.

“*Acá po'n b-tulda ro fíor,*
An fear do béara eíor cap rdí;
Mac luigead fear doirgde gac laoié,
Ip paoin b-tulda ro fíor acá.

“*Acá po'n b-tulda ro fíor,*
Orgar na n-arnm n-áig;
Fear epaoéca gac laoié le epoid,
Ip paoin b-tulda ro fíor acá.

“*Acá po'n b-tulda ro éuai,*
Mac Cúinail ba épuai a g-comhlann;
Mac ingíne Éaióg déid-gil, déirg,
Ná eug le fearg bpiacap borb.

“*Imteaét gan phioét leantap loig,*
Clann éupaié na g-cupéán g-epuai;
Racabpa anoir ap mead,
Ip rgaolpeab go ppap an uaith.”

“The grave of each chieftain hath pierced my heart,
 As I behold them, O chaste Cleric;
 I shall relate all that I know
 Of each man's grave, and where it stands.

" There lies under this tulach on which I stand,
A man who was always in danger;
Conan, the revealer of men's minds,
Lies under this tulach on which I stand.

" There lies under this tulach to the south
O'Duibhne of the skim like the blossom fair;
A man that never withheld his hand,
If he had but wealth to spare.

" There lies under this tulach to the west
A man who was the delight of the fair;
Mac Ronain¹ of the many shields
Under this tulach to the west is laid.

" There lies under this tulach beneath
He who brought tributes across the seas;
Mac Lughaidh, the subduer of heroes brave,
Under this tulach low is laid.

" There lies under this tulach to the east
Oscar of the chivalrous arms;
The conqueror of each hero in battle,
Under this tulach to the east is laid.

" There lies under this tulach to the north
Mac Cumhaill who was valiant in battle;
The grandson of Teige of the pearl-white teeth,
Who in his anger never uttered a coarse expression.

" Their race is gone! let us trace their graves!
The heroic sons of the firm skiffs;
I shall now wither away,
And shall at once my own grave dig!"

Another Ossianic poem on the death of Goll Mac Moirne, in Mr. Goodman's collection, opens thus :—

" Leacht Goll do éiríis mo éiríis.
Éirín-éap Éiríis mong-buís;
Ionmuinn an tó po'n leacht atá,
Iomda laot air an imir poppán."

" For the leacht² of Goll my heart did ache,
The chieftain of Eire of the golden hair;
Dear to me is he who under the leacht is laid,
Many a hero on whom his prowess he played."

¹ *Mac Ronain*. There must be some mistake here; as Diarmuid O'Duibhne, who had the ball *reapó* (beauty spot), was the favourite of the fair, and not Mac Ronain, from whom the family of

that name in Leinster are descended.

² *Leacht* I conceive to be a synonym of the words *tulach*, *feart*, *carn*, all of which were used by the Pagan Irish to denote burial-places.

As in some degree bearing on the subject, I may mention, that in a very learned Irish manuscript, entitled “*Trí b'ior-ghaete an báir*” (The Three Pointed Shafts of Death); written by Dr. Keating about the year 1620, occurs a tract on the ancient mode of interment in Ireland, the origin of funeral cries or keens, &c., from which I make the following extract; and the passage is well worthy the notice of those interested in the excavation of raths, carns, lioses, tulachs, fearts, &c., in the county of Kilkenny, and elsewhere :—

“*Ar é do ghnóir i n-Eirinn i n-aimeir na g-cupað aghar na Féinne pul cáinigh solur an éreibhín éúca, na maibh d'aðnacal ro úir; gideadh ip iomha cor ap a g-cupéaoi leo iad.*”

“*An éeab éor.*”

“*Uaim no fearc calman do déanamh go b-pad aghar go leiríob an éuirp, aghar bonn a éor rir an árb íoir, aghar a baictíor rir an árb íar; aghar capn cloé do éur ór a éionn, dá n-gorpéaoi leaét: map acá fearc Maoéagáin i n-Uib Fátaib.*”

“*An bapa cor.*”

“*Na maibh do éur pá úir, aghar mion-páta do élaðad 'na b-ciméiolli, aghar gan lia 'ná leaét or a g-cionn: aghar acáib trí b'ponga a cupéar ip na mion-pátaib rin: map cáib aor ealaðna, mha, aghar leimh; aghar acáib dá éor eile ap a g-cupéaoi baoinne i n-Eirinn map aon rir an g-cor pan cuigéar ap an pann ro.*”

“*Fearc aon dorupir d'íoir gon adi,
Fearc gon n-dó dóirrib for mhaoi;
Fearca gion dóirrib ceanna,
For macaib, for ingeanna,
Cnoic for allmupéaib ana,
Aghar múir for móir-plága.*”

“*Ar an pann ro ip ioncuigé ná biað aét aon dorup ar fearc an íir ealaðna, aghar dá dorup ar fearc na mná; fearc an leimh gan aon dorup; cnoic ag allmupéaib uairle, clabhmúir for luét galair gpdíneamail.*”

“*Cor eile ap a g-cupéaoi iad.*”

“*Map cá go lia aghar go leaét, aghar ap líonmáir acá na fearca pe b-paierin i n-Eirinn, pe linn na pagantáeta na maibh do éur na fearam aghar cairn epiað aghar cloé do éógbáil or a g-cionn go cior-balta cóim-éruinn; aghar a n-aipm d'aðnacal map aon riu; aghar uime rin do h-aðnacab morán d'uairlib na h-Eirionn i nalloib; aghar go h-áirigéte Moza Néib, amuil léagtar i g-caé mhaige Tualaimz pe Dearg Damra an Úraoi.*”

“*Fearc líloza Néib ap mhaige Tualaimz,
Gon a puibne pe a gualaim;
Gon a líirg luairdear goil ar,
Gon a caébarr, gon a élofearm.*”

"It was customary among the Irish at the period in which the heroes and Fenians flourished, and before the light of faith dawned among them, to inter the dead in the earth; there were, however, many modes of interment in use.

"The first mode of interment was, that a grave or feart, corresponding with the dimensions of the corpse, was dug in the earth, and a small rath was raised against it. The feet were placed facing the east, and the head to the west: a carn (heap) of stones, called a leacht (heap, or pile), was piled over it like the feart of Maothagan in Uibh Fathaidh.

"The second mode of interment consisted in depositing the remains in the earth, and erecting small raths around them. No stone or leacht was placed over them. There were three classes of persons usually interred in this manner in those small raths,—namely, men of science, women, and children. There were, besides these, two other modes of interment practised in Ireland, as is manifestly seen by the following poem:—

"A grave of one door¹ for a man of science;
A grave of two doors for a woman;
A grave even without one door
Around boys (youths) as well as maidens;
Mounds around foreigners of rank or distinction,
And around those who died of the deadly plague.

"From the above rann, or poem, it is manifest that only one door (passage) opened to the tumulus of the man of science; two doors were peculiar to the woman's grave; no doors belonged to the children's grave; while mounds were raised over the remains of noble foreigners, and enclosures were constructed around those who died of the plague or loathsome diseases.

"There was another mode of interring the dead,—namely, a grave-stone and a leacht, and these graves are numerous throughout Ireland. In Pagan times the dead were placed in a standing position, and round, carefully-formed, circular carns (heaps of earth and stones) were raised over them.² Their arms were buried with them. It was in this manner very many of the Irish nobles had been interred in the olden time. The interment of Mogha Neid, by Dearg Damhsa the Druid, may be instanced, as given in the manuscript account of the Battle of Magh Tualaing:—

"Mogha Neid's sepulchre is on Magh Tualaing;
With his javelin by his shoulder;
With his club, so strong in conflict,
With his helmet, with his sword."

¹ The *door* here mentioned appears to allude to the gap or entrance found in many fosses formed around raths; but it may also refer to the artificial caves with one or more entrances connected with some raths. The custom alluded

to by Keating must have originated in some ancient religious Pagan notions perhaps prevalent in his time.

² See Mr. O'Neill's paper on the Rock Monuments of the County of Dublin, "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 44.

In describing funeral keens among the Pagan Irish, the learned Keating observes, in the same tract :—

“Ír é ar cluicé caointe ann.

“Dol-gárréa fúirte gáibéada, aghar eolbairne éaga, béara ainnéa-
parba do déanaí dóib, maille re rcoṭab a b-polt aghar a b-ḡionnraḡ;
re rḡrḡobad aghar re rḡrḡor a n-bealb, aghar re rḡorḡ-bualab rḡom-
ainnéa a ḡ-copp, aghar a ḡ-colann ro lár aghar ró lán-talmáin;
aghar rḡr, áiríom aghar iomraḡ a n-éaṡ aghar a n-aitear do déanaí;
do réir map ír ioncuiḡṡe a m-briatḡraib Oirín ran buain béagaṡaib
do ríne, map a luabán báḡ Orḡair a míe, báḡ ab rḡraḡ—

“Mór a noṡ mo éúmaḡ réin.

“Aḡ ro na rannn ar a b-cuiḡṡear rḡeab ar cluicé caointe ann i
n-amrḡ na b-paḡanaḡ i n-Éirínn :—

“Sḡreabar mac Ronáin ann rín,¹
Aḡar cuiṡior ḡo talḡáin;
buailior ro lár a ḡopp cain,
Cairnḡior a polt ra ḡionnraḡ,

“Do bí ann aḡ rḡaḡáinn a éréaṡ,
Aḡar aḡ áiríom a éaṡ;
Ré mór an cár vḡinn ann rín,
Map ruair báḡ vḡir ar lámáib.

“The funeral lamentations consisted in raising a plaintive, sorrowful wailing, accompanied by a copious flood of tears, lamenting the fate of the deceased, in plucking the hair and beard, tearing and disfiguring the features, casting their bodies, with great violence, on the ground; they also enumerated and extolled the deeds of the deceased, and gave way to a general murmur in consequence of the losses entailed by the demise; as may be learned from the words used by Oisín, in the last poem which he composed, where he relates the death of his son Oscar, beginning with the words—

“Deep is my sorrow this night.

“The following are the stanzas by which we understand the nature of funeral wails in Pagan times in Ireland:—

“Mac Ronain cries aloud,
And falls headlong to the ground;
His noble body in the centre he strikes,
He tears his hair and his face!

“He stood amazed to behold his wounds,
And to recount his martial feats;
Great was our sorrow at that time,
How in our hands he had died.”

¹This extract is taken from an ancient manuscript account of the Battle of Gabhra, now in course of publication by the Ossianic Society; and the fact of its being quoted by Dr. Keating is sufficient proof of its authenticity.

In the county of Clare the word, *tulach*, very frequently occurs in connexion with the topography. The two baronies of Tulla (Upper and Lower) are remarkable; in the barony of Ibricken and parish of Kilmanagheen, there are two townlands named Tullygarvan (East and West), *recte*, *Tulaé Garbáin*, which take their name from St. Garbhan, from whom also the town of Dungarvan, in the county of Waterford, derives its appellation. In the barony of Inchiquin, parish of Drumcliff, the townland of Tulachassa is met with. In the same parish are two other townlands, named Tulagh and Shantulla. In fact, *tulachs* are so numerous in Clare, that it would require more space for their bare enumeration than could well be devoted to this paper.

Having trespassed so far on the indulgence of the Society, I would earnestly urge upon the members the importance of inquiring about *tulachs* or other Pagan monuments in their respective districts, and of collecting, as far as possible, before the remnant of the last generation disappears, whatever fragments of tradition still linger among the peasantry respecting their origin, use, and history.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF YOUGHAL.

No. I.—ST. MARY'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH.¹

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, A.B.

IN the northern part of the town of Youghal, on the slope of a hill, then, as now, called *Cnoc Naomh Muire* (The Hill of the Blessed [Virgin] Mary), a church dedicated to the Virgin, was founded in the eleventh century. That earlier religious edifices preceded the building on the same site, there is little doubt. Indeed, we might almost infer, from considering how important the sea-port at the mouth of the Blackwater had already become, that such was necessarily the case. Nor should we stumble at the fortuitous circumstance of our inability to trace, with certainty, the more ancient foundations. When churches would successively arise on the same spot, each exceeding its predecessor in size, it would happen that, in some cases, the lesser building would be incorporated with the larger, so as to lose all its distinguishing features; and, in others, would be wholly cleared away, in order that space

¹ The writer desires to mention that he has embodied in this paper all the architectural notes to be found in a privately printed Handbook to St. Mary's Church, issued by him. They have, however, been subjected to a careful revision,

and, in many places, re-written. The monumental inscriptions are not given here, inasmuch as they have formed the subject of a paper in "The Topographer and Genealogist," part 9, March, 1847.

might be obtained for the new structure. However this may be, we know that in the eleventh century Christianity received a great impulse in this neighbourhood, and the small primitive oratories were for the most part rebuilt in the style of the period—the Hiberno-Romanesque. A large edifice was now erected at Youghal. In the doorway of the square massive tower of the present building, enclosed between two pointed arches, is the moulded circular entrance of this church, and on the right hand as you enter, the wreck of the base-mouldings belonging to the columns that supported it. From the drip to the arch, and from the mouldings of the bases, we can easily tell that this door formed the south entrance to the ancient church, which lay east and west across the present site of the tower. The foundations of the western wall were uncovered a few years since by workmen excavating for a vault, and were found to lie about six feet to the west of the tower. The visitor sees the time-worn stones of this portion of the destroyed building used again as materials in the lower half of the west side of the tower, and will readily contrast them with the fresher stones in the upper portion and in the other three sides. But the most interesting fragment of the Norman church is preserved in the north transept aisle of the present building, which appears to have been formed out of part of the old ruined choir. It is a moulded, circular, sepulchral arch, resting on two low moulded columns, with capitals and bases. Immediately near it have been found more of the tapered tomb-slabs, popularly called stone-coffin lids, than in any other part of the building. Most of these were monuments in the older church. Some two or three belong to the thirteenth century, and should be assigned to the present edifice. With a single exception, all our tapered tomb-slabs were wilfully broken in pieces centuries ago; and the existence even of their fragments was unknown, until recent researches brought them to light. We shall describe these relics when we come to the transept aisle, where they are now deposited.

This ancient church continued in existence during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but we have been unable to recover its records. There are some grounds for believing that it was dismantled by the great tempests of 1192, which, the Irish annalists tell us, threw down many houses and churches in Munster, and destroyed much cattle. When thus decayed, another structure was needed; and soon pious hands were found to uprear it.

Nearly on the same site, a new and splendid pile arose in the commencement of the thirteenth century. The founders were Richard Bennet and Ellis Barry his wife, of whom (save their memorial in the south transept) we know nothing. Both names, however, are those of distinguished Anglo-Norman families, whose patriarchs appear in the Battle Abbey Roll. "Bonet, or Benet," writes the chronicler, John Brompton, "was one of such persons as after the battle were advanced to seigneuries in this land [Glamorgan]." He

afterwards became ancestor of a noble line in that district; and we may suppose that the founder of St. Mary's was one of the band of knights from the shires of South Wales, who united their fortunes with those of Strongbow in his descent on Ireland. "Ellis Barry" belonged, doubtless, to that ancient race, whose *caput baronie* in the south of Ireland was at Buttevant, and who were ennobled, Feb. 28, 1628, by the title of Barrymore. The architect of the new fabric largely availed himself of portions of the preceding edifice. In the present west gable, in the wall of the north aisle, and in the doorway and west side of the tower, we have traces of the Norman foundation yet remaining. Not only is the masonry in many places of an earlier date than in others; but circular doorways and windows, now built up and disused, show, by their incongruity, that they formed no part of the present design. The founders set apart for themselves the south transept, called the chantry of our Blessed Saviour, as a mortuary chapel, and largely endowed it with lands in the neighbourhood of the town, for the maintenance of an officiating priest. St. Mary's, as now established, soon reached a well-ascertained pre-eminence over the other churches of the district. The taxations of Pope Nicholas IV., in 1291, and of Pope Boniface VIII., in 1302, declare it to be the richest benefice of the whole diocese of Cloyne. The bishopric itself is entered in these documents as rateable at 185 marks, or about £123. The best prebend is that of Glenowyr (Glanore or Glanworth) which is valued at 28½ marks, or £19; while the church of Ygohel, or Yoghull, is worth one half as much again, and is set down at £25; the sixth part of the value of the bishopric. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas, Youghal is entered, under the head of "Taxacio Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum de Omakylle," in these terms:—

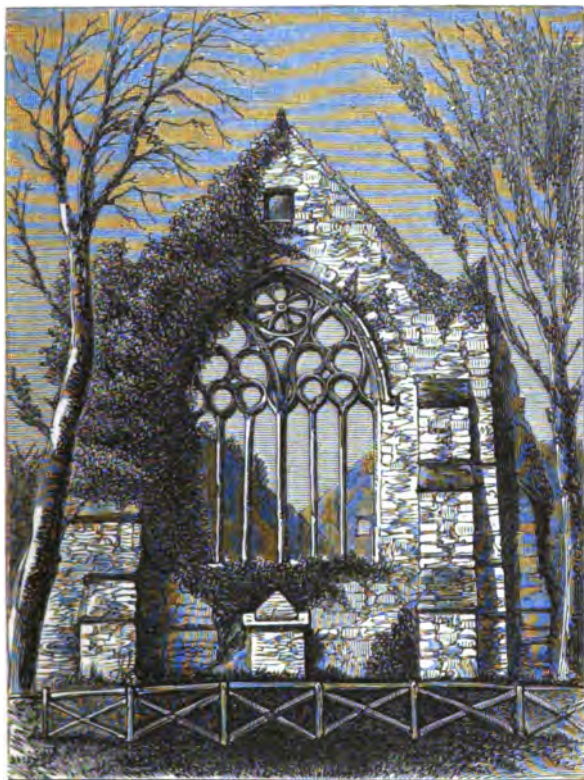
"Ecclesia de Ygohel, cujus rector est hoc anno Nicholas de Cler,
vicarius Robertus de Halywell, taxatur ad xxv" decima l'."

That of Pope Boniface is of the same import. In the rural deanery of "Omakyll" appears:—

"Ecclesia de Yoghull, xxv" decima l'."

Nicholas de Cler, who, when the former taxation was made, enjoyed the wealthy rectory of Youghal, was of the Norman house of Hertford; and at this period his family owned the town, and presented to the living. A post-mortem inquisition, made in 1320, into the estate of Thomas Fitz Richard de Clare, found him seized of "the town (villa) of Yoghell" and "the church of Yoghell with the chapel." To the De Clares, perhaps, and not to the Geraldines, we should attribute the extensive improvements which St. Mary's underwent at this time. The style called Decorated English prevailed throughout the fourteenth century; and in this style was now erected that portion of the church which has for five centuries rivetted the be-

holder's gaze—the present choir. Of the east end of this portion of the church an engraving made from a photograph is here given.



Exterior of Choir.

The nave also received its share of ornament. A beautiful Decorated doorway was inserted in its gable; and, just within that entrance, as fit companion with it, a baptismal font in the same graceful style was now erected. The gables of the aisles, particularly on the south side, were lifted up, the side-walls were considerably raised and were pierced with new windows; and the aisles became lightsome and spacious. These marked improvements were, in all probability, only gradually effected; and as we have preserved to us, in the Calendar of the Rolls, the names of some of the incumbents of this century, we may find in them the very individuals who personally superintended the alterations. John de Tunstall was rector in 1347; John Drax, in 1384; John Hunt, in 1389; and John Tanner, in 1399. The living was now presented to by the Crown.

On the foundation of the college, Dec. 27, 1464, by Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, the church became collegiate, and was served by the warden and fellows. The Earl, in 1468, re-edified the building, with the proceeds of an indulgence granted for this purpose by Pope Paul II. But if one Earl of Desmond was privileged to be the restorer, another, little more than a hundred years after, was destined to be the spoiler of the edifice. On the 1st of November, 1579, Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, went into open rebellion; and at Christmas he captured the town so long fostered by his family. He occupied Youghal for five days, during which interval, happily a brief one, his soldiery employed themselves in plunder and demolition. They did not spare even the buildings consecrated to religion, but polluted and defiled whatever was deemed sacred in them, destroying the vestments, chalices, and other furniture. They ruined the college, and stabled their horses in the collegiate church—a sacrilegious proceeding, which, according to Irish historians, drew down upon Desmond the signal vengeance of heaven. The rebellious townsmen, emulating them in impiety, herded their cows within the consecrated walls. At this time the south transept was greatly injured, and the tomb of the founders defaced; the choir was unroofed and desolated; the side-chapels were destroyed; and many ancient effigies and epitaphs perished.

Still, while the edifice itself had suffered so much evil usage, its rich endowments preserved all their importance. When commissioners of Queen Elizabeth made inquisition, August 31, 1590, respecting the diocese of Cloyne, they returned the "*Guardianatus Villæ et Collegii de Yoghall*" as rateable at 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), while they valued the "*Episcopatus*" at but £10 10s. But the time had come when its revenues were to be alienated from the collegiate church for ever. Nathaniel Baxter, chosen warden in 1592, was obliged, August 25, 1597, to pass his bond of 1000 marks, which was to be forfeited in case he did not, in forty days after demand, resign his office into the Queen's hands, and did not suffer her agents to take possession of the same. Finding his tenure of office so precarious, he, June 30, 1598, privately passed a letter of attorney, authorizing (while he yet had authority) the leasing of the college and its revenues for a long period to Sir Thomas Norris, Lord President of Munster. Next year, Norris was slain by the Irish rebels; and Dr. Meredith Hanmer, the well-known chronicler, who had succeeded Baxter in the wardenship, renewed, October 27, 1602, the lease granted by his predecessor, demising the college to William Jones, in trust for Sir Walter Raleigh. This same year, Mr. Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, became proprietor of the town, and owner by purchase of all Raleigh's estates in Ireland; and he procured, April 8, 1605, a new lease of the college, by which the warden and fellows granted the revenues to him in fee-

farm for ever, he covenanting to pay 20 marks yearly and to repair the church and college house. Boyle purchased, March 29, 1606, of the Mayor and Corporation of Youghal, the south transept of St. Mary's for a mortuary chapel for himself and family; and as the transept was in great decay, owing to Desmond's rebellion, he some time after re-edified it and erected within its walls a grand mausoleum. In 1608, if we are to receive Boyle's own testimony, he expended above £2000 in rebuilding the church and college; and, in a MS. preserved at Lismore, entitled "Copie of a Particular of part of the first Earl of Corke's Comonwealth Workes," we find, first in order, mention of his doings here:—

"Imprimis, The Earl of Corke hath re-edified the great decayed church of Youghall, wherein the townsmen in time of rebellion kept their cows, and hath erected a new chappel there in, and made it one of the fairest churches in Ireland."

The Earl of Cork was not one who, to judge from his "True Remembrances," was likely to allow his good deeds to be hidden under a bushel; and these statements about his "re-edifying" and "erecting" at Youghal, we are constrained to receive with no little scepticism. They are contradicted by proofs yet existing in the church itself, as well as by the stern voice of contemporaneous history. The Earl could not have "erected a new chappel" at St. Mary's; for his own transept—that to which reference is made—preserves in all its details the exact architectural features of the original structure, reared four centuries before his time; nor was his "re-edifying" of the church of any general character, as we may easily discover by an examination of the several portions of the edifice. We have also the testimony of his contemporaries, from which we shall offer one proof, namely, in reference to the choir or chancel. In 1641, the Bishop of Cork and Ross (William Chappell), a noble-minded and disinterested prelate, addressed to the Earl of Cork a severe letter, yet extant, "charging him with having stripped the vicars choral, and left the chancel of Youghal, the revenues of which college the Earl had gotten into his hands, in a state of ruin" ("Fasti Eccles. Hib.," 2nd ed. vol. i. pp. 226, 227). That this charge was justly brought against him, so far at least as the chancel was concerned, is admitted by the Earl of Cork himself, in his making a posthumous provision for the discharge of his neglected duty. By his last will, dated November 24, 1642, the Earl devised £98 "towards the new building, covering, and garnishing of the chancel of the collegiate and parochial church of Youghal" ("Lodge," vol. i. p. 161). Now, if he had "re-edified" the church just before, why should this, the most material portion of the work, have remained undone? It is painful to add, that either the bequest was not paid by his heirs, or was not appropriated to its in-

tended purpose. The chancel was neither "covered" nor "garlished." How little attention the sacred edifice received from those who had gotten its rich endowments, we may gather from its state in the middle of the following century. Dr. Smith, the county historian (vol. i. p. 110), writing in 1749, describes the chancel as having been "for some years uncovered," and the transepts (or, as he calls them, "chapels on each side") "ruined." Another, and a most disinterested witness we have, speaking similarly, at nearly the same time. In the course of his missionary labours in Ireland, the celebrated John Wesley visited Youghal in June, 1765; and, on the 30th, attended divine service at St. Mary's. He made the following entry in his Journal:—

"I was glad to see a large and tolerably serious congregation in the church. It was once a spacious building; but more than half of it now (a common thing in Ireland!) lies in ruins."

Some twenty years after this, the parishioners commenced repairs, according to their own fashion; and successive churchwardens were allowed to commit the Vandalisms which the present generation continually deplore.

The building forms a Latin cross, and consists of a nave with aisles, north transept with aisle at west side, south transept, a choir, and a massive square tower in the angle of the north aisle and north transept. There were also, anciently, a sacristy, two chantry chapels, a bell-tower issuing from the west gable, and north and south porches. The sacristy was attached to the north wall of the choir, parallel with the north transept, and at the intermediate distance of about 30 feet. The sole remaining evidence of this building is the outline of its roof on the external face of the wall to which it was attached, and through which it communicated with the choir by the pointed doorway now stopped up. The proportions of the sacristy have been correctly ascertained by the discovery of the foundation stones, while digging graves; and its architecture, no doubt, corresponded with that of the choir. One of the side chapels filled up the angle of the south aisle and south transept, and was of the same date with those portions of the church, as we may learn from existing traces of the bonding of its walls. It was of small dimensions, 33 feet by 14 within walls, and presented its gable to the west. The other chapel stood at the south-west of the church, and might be regarded as an extension of the south aisle, with which it was connected by a high pointed arch, now partly filled up with masonry and pierced by a badly-shaped door into the aisle. Dr. Smith mentions this little building (vol. i. p. 110); but describes it as then "ruined." Some remnants of its south wall, extending in continuation with that of the south aisle, to the circular mound opposite, are still remembered by aged people. The wall is said to have presented two

arches, probably those of windows broken through. Every vestige of this chapel has been long since swept away. The bell-tower I shall notice when describing the west gable, and the north and south porches when I come to the aisles.

The general arrangement of St. Mary's Church may be seen from the ground-plan on the opposite page: the dimensions of the several parts are as follow:—

Extreme length (in the clear),	ft.	in.
Breadth across the transepts,	186	9
	109	4

The several portions measure:—

	Length.		Breadth.		
	ft.	in.	ft.	in.	
Nave,	113	9	60	3	with aisles.
North aisle,	76	2	12	8	
South aisle,	91	0	13	0	
North transept,	37	9	38	5	with aisle.
South transept,	37	0	21	4	
Choir,	68	0	27	6	
Tower,			27	0	east and west sides.
Ditto,			24	0	north and south sides.
Ditto,			63	6	height, as now disembattled.

There are at present three great entrances into the church at the west end; but of these the two leading into the aisles are modern. The central doorway is of the Decorated English period, and is deeply recessed and elaborately moulded with columns and foliated capitals. It is wrought in a fine hard sand-stone, now much corroded by time, and presenting traces of wanton injury also. The columns are unattached, and inserted, as was common at the period, in a deep hollow at either side of the doorway. The hood-moulding terminates in sculptured heads, now much defaced. Above this door, but not exactly in the centre of the gable, is the west window, which was of three lights. The stone mullions are gone, and a wooden frame takes their place. The triple head is filled up with brick; and the wall at the base of the window has been opened down some four or five feet beyond the original termination, for the purpose of lighting a modern gallery. Adjoining the window, on the north side, there stood formerly a narrow, semicircular, cone-capped bell-tower, whose summit reached no higher than the barge of the over-topping gable. It swelled directly from the wall of the church, and was entered from the nave by a little circular-headed doorway still remaining in the vestibule. Another aperture of the tower, also opening from the nave, nearly breasted its summit. It was in the Early Pointed style; and is now filled up and partly hidden by the ceiling behind the organ. The bell-tower was taken down by Doctors Haig and Jackson, when churchwardens, in 1792.

THE NAVE.—The view of the interior, even in its present incumbered state, is imposing and picturesque. The eye traverses the long avenue of piers and pointed arches, which, steeped in dim religious light, stretch out their heavy grandeur on either side, until it reaches the high moulded choir arch, with its clustered columns. But the present semicircular covering of lath and plaster is a sorry substitute for the grand painted ceilings, which, just seventy years since, overspread the nave as well as south transept. The ancient ceiling of the nave was of seven sides. It was boarded to the rafters, painted in colours, and sprinkled over with gilt stars. The defective slating of the roof for some years admitted moisture, from which the boarding decayed; and an accident, causing the death of an individual, having taken place, the parish resolved on making a new ceiling. At a vestry held April 13, 1784, a sum of £60 was ordered to be levied for this purpose (Vestry Book, pp. 258, 259); and, in the course of that year, Mr. William Meade erected the present compass ceiling and deep mortar cornice, the painted boards of the old ceiling becoming his property. The original rafters, however, are safe, though consigned to obscurity. They are of old Irish oak, eight to ten inches square, and stand eighteen inches asunder, each pair being framed as a principal. The taking down of the plaster ceiling of 1784 would not only expose to view this noble Gothic timber roof, but would give an extra height of seven or eight feet to the interior, and would add materially to its beauty. The side walls of the nave are pierced with a row of six lofty pointed arches, resting on square chamfered piers. These, owing to the large stair-turret at the north-east angle, do not exactly face each other. The jambs are of wrought sand-stone, but are plastered over. An inexpensive addition to the improvement of the church may be made, at any time, by uncovering and cleaning them. Galleries, erected at different periods during the last century, in violation of architectural propriety, and to the great detriment of the light and ventilation of the building, fill up all the arches save those opening on the transepts. They were built by permission of vestry. With the grant of the arch was generally made an order, that a window should be opened in the roof above, to remedy the evil of the contemplated incumbrance. The burgesses' gallery, or state pew of the (late) Corporation, appears to have been the earliest erected, and to have established the bad precedent. In the wall beside it is an antique "rest" for the sword, which the mayor, by virtue of the charter of James I., was privileged to have borne before him. It is of timber, curiously carved, but somewhat gaudily painted. At the base are the arms of the borough, an ancient galley. In the centre is the case for the sword; on the dexter side of which are two corporate maces in saltier, and on the sinister one in bend. At the summit are the royal arms, and immediately beneath them, in

gilt letters, "E. C. ANNO DOMINI, 1684," i. e. Edward Crockford, who was Mayor of Youghal in that year. Beneath the burgesses' gallery is a plain throne for the Bishop of Cloyne, as warden. It was erected in the middle of the last century, and displays no architectural pretensions. Opposite are the reading-desk and pulpit. The latter is ornamented with rich carvings in the panels; and under the cushion are vine-leaves and clusters of grapes encircling an open book, with, *The Everlasting Gospel*, inscribed in gilt characters. These carvings were the work of a native artist, and were executed at the sole expense of the present rector, who also newly furnished the pulpit cushion. The fine Decorated baptismal font stands at the intersection of the passages of the nave and transepts on a platform slightly elevated, one portion of which is a fragment of an old tomb-stone, having a rich cross fleury inscribed in a wheel. The font is octagonal, supported on four moulded pillars terminating in four ogee arches, their spandrils sunk and filled in with vine-leaves; and in the centre of the four pillars is one of larger size with pointed arches springing to each outer one, affording a good specimen of Gothic groining. Over the font is an ogee-shaped cover of timber, on which was formerly a dove of the natural size. The font was judiciously transferred by the present rector from an obscure corner in the north transept to its present position, so as both to bring it again into use, and also to afford an opportunity of examining its delicate workmanship. The organ was purchased by the parishioners in 1812, when also the loft in which it is placed was built expressly for it.

The pointed choir arch, with its clustered columns, deserves the visitor's attention. Its dimensions are, height to apex, 22 feet; width, 17 feet. The columns are each $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, but have their bases hidden by the raised floor of the modern communion table recess. It would appear from the Vestry Book (p. 47) that, until the year 1726, this arch was filled up with masonry; a barbarism perpetrated, we suppose, in consequence of the roofless state of the choir, with the object of protecting the rest of the building from the weather. At a vestry held Nov. 3, 1726, it was resolved to open out the arch, to take away a gallery that extended across it at the height of the old rood screen, and to carry, about 11 feet into the choir, a semicircular recess for the communion table. This (pent-house shaped) enlargement of the nave was accordingly made, and still disfigures the church. Six *bassi-relievi* arches, or compartments, of stucco adorn its sides. They were formerly emblazoned with the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments; but the inscriptions faded away with damp, and were not revived. In the adjoining walls, both at the north and south side, were circular stone turret-stairs, ascending to the rood loft and roof, and, perhaps, originally conducting to a turret for the "sanctus" bell,

placed on the apex. The north stairs were destroyed at an early period, when the gallery, taken away in 1726, was being made; and a flight of stone steps, raised as high as the upper door of the rood loft, was built across them, to lead to the gallery. About six or seven of the lowest steps of the old north stairs remain, and are of excellent execution. They were entered from the choir, as a built-up doorway testifies. The south stairs are in good preservation. The passage to them was from the nave; but it is now rendered useless by the erection against it of a modern monument; and an aperture on the side of the south transept is the only available means of access. By the exertions of the present rector, the Rev. Pierce W. Drew, a richly stained glass east window was erected in August, 1851. It contains the arms of—

- I. FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, who re-edified the Church in 1468; ancestor of the Lord Stuart de Decies.
- II. Sir Edward Villiers, Knight, another ancestor of his Lordship.
- III. Stuart of Bute, quartering Villiers for Stuart de Decies.
- IV. Villiers, with due difference for the Earl of Clarendon.
- V. Sir William Homan, Bart., impaling Stuart of Bute.
- VI. The Lord Bishop of the Diocese; Warden, *ex officio*, of the College.
- VII. Sir Walter Raleigh.
- VIII. Boyle, first Earl of Cork.
- IX. Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire (his descendant), quartering Boyle and Clifford.
- X. Smyth of Ballynatray, impaling 1st Boyle, 2nd St. Leger.
- XI. Drew, quartering Prideaux, De Clifford, Winyard, Pomeroy, De Valletort, Godfrey, and Lowther.
- XII. Same, impaling Naylor.
- XIII. McCarthy, impaling Power.
- XIV. Garde, impaling O'Sullivan Beare.
- XV. Browning.
- XVI. Ball.
- XVII. Toulon.

THE AISLES.—Barbarous innovation has swept away almost every object worthy of interest in them. The modern galleries block up the windows, and, with their floors, form low, unsightly ceilings, which greatly injure the light and ventilation, making the aisles vault-like and unwholesome. The north and south entrances, through which, for the most part, the congregation formerly passed (the west doors being then rarely used), were, by act of vestry, July 12, 1791, approved by the Bishop of Cloyne as warden, built up and had windows inserted in them. The picturesque porches were at the same time removed, along with their benches and steps. The south doorway, when being filled up, was suffered to retain its jambs and the greater part of its arch; and its porch would seem to have had a linny roof, which was attached to the west gable of the adjoining (destroyed) chantry chapel. The north door and porch

were opposite; but have been so effectually removed that no vestiges whatever remain.

At the junction of the north aisle and transept, a large flying arch spans the aisle diagonally. It is chamfered and moulded, and is used in this instance as a support to the angle-gutter, affording a fine example of that combination of use with beauty, which the Gothic architect always aimed at. Close to the base of this buttress is a monumental arched recess of the thirteenth century. It is richly moulded, and is supported on two columns, with capitals and bases, the labels terminating in female heads. Beneath the arch is a recumbent effigy of some distinguished, but now unknown, personage. It is that of a man, seemingly advanced in life, clad in a loose tunic of long drapery wholly unornamented. His head reposes on a pillow. The countenance is inexpressibly benign, yet dignified. The hair is short, and the chin beardless. He holds a falcon to denote his rank; and his feet rest upon a talbot. This effigy, which had many years since been taken out of the arch, and which lay, at different times, in different parts of the church, was, Jan. 19, 1853, restored to its original position, never, we hope, to be again disturbed. In the south aisle, at the west end, is a sepulchral arch of a very plain description. It is now built up, and is half concealed by the stairs of the gallery.

We return to the nave, and, passing down the great central walk, enter—by a low arched door of about Elizabeth's time—

THE SOUTH (OR CORK) TRANSEPT.—This part of the church, which was anciently called the chantry of our Blessed Saviour, has been already alluded to (p. 97) as the mortuary chapel of the founders, Richard Bennet and Ellis Barry. We now proceed with a full architectural examination. The south gable is pierced by two circular-headed windows having columns, capitals, bases, and moulded arches. Each of these is formed into three lights by stone mullions, and the glazing consists of lozenge panes, set in lead. These windows were restored, in the autumn of 1851, at the expense of the Duke of Devonshire. The east wall has three windows. The two side ones are pointed and of two lights. The large central one has moulded jambs and a flattened arch. It was of three lights, and was probably the altar window of the chapel. At the south end of the east wall is the ancient doorway, having on the left hand as you enter, a pointed moulded aumbry.

The earlier records have perished; but the history of the chapel, from the sixteenth century downward, has been well ascertained. By an inquisition taken at Cork, September 10, 1578, it was found that John Welsh, long after the Statute of Mortmain, and without the license of the Queen or her predecessors, had endowed the chantry of our Blessed Saviour, in the south wing of the church of Youghal, with sundry lands, to the annual value of 6*s.* Irish. At Christ-

mas, 1579, on the occupation and plunder of the town by the insurgent Earl of Desmond, the south transept shared in the injuries inflicted on the church. It was dismantled, and the tomb of the founders defaced. In the year following, Feb. 16, the chantry, with its members, and all structures, lands, and hereditaments belonging to the college, were granted for ever to George Moore, gent., at 6s. Irish, per annum. This grant having lapsed to the Crown, the same were demised, June 20, 1605, to Donogh, Earl of Thomond ("Calendar of Patent Rolls," 3 Jac. I.); and from this nobleman, the edifice, without its lands, passed soon after to the Mayor and Corporation of Youghal. Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, purchased it in 1606, of the Corporation, and re-edified it in 1619. He restored at the same time the tomb of the founders, and had also "their pictvres cvt in stone placed thereon;" but, following the style of his own day, he fell into an absurd and ludicrous anachronism. The north transept would have afforded him two fine specimens of the effigies of the thirteenth century. Passing them by, he took for his guide the burgher costume of the Stuart era, and in this strange apparel he bade the sculptor attire the persons of those who lived more than four centuries before his time! The tomb is an oblong table of lime-stone, placed against the east wall, on the right-hand side of the central or altar window. Upon it are laid, with heads on tasselled cushions, the recumbent effigies of an aged man and woman. The male figure wears a full-bottomed wig and venerable flowing beard, a small ruff and civic gown. The female has long loose hair, and she wears a cloak, once of a rich purple hue, with a cape apparently of ermine. The effigies were originally painted in colours, of which some faint traces remain. A raised entablature at their head contained an escutcheon, which has perished, and was surmounted by mort heads wrought in plaster. On the stone supporting the feet (now gone) is the following inscription:—

HERRE LIETH ANCIENTLY ENTERRED THE BODDIES OF RICHARD BENNET AND ELLIE BARRY HIS WYFE THE FIRST FOYNDERS OF THIS CHAPPLE WHICH BEING DEMOLISHED IN TIME OF REBELLION AND THEIR TOMBE DEFAVED WAS REDEDFIED BY RICHARD LORD BOYLE, BARRON OF YOGHALL WHO FO^r REVIVINGE THE MEMORY OF THEM REPAIRED THEIR TOMBE AND HAD THESE THEIR PICTVRES CVT IN STONE PLACED THERON IN AÑ^o DNⁱ 1619.

Lord Boyle (for he had not yet attained to his highest dignity) this same year erected against the western wall of the transept his own mausoleum in the bad Italian style of architecture, which was then in fashion. The monument rests on a high plinth, or stylobate, divided into a centre and wings. The latter are sculptured in bas-relief with inverted torches, cross-bones, and swords in saltier. Above them rise Ionic, Composite, and Corinthian columns of different coloured marbles, with their entablatures, receding in grada-

tion, until they terminate, nearly at the full height of the building, in an obelisk standing on four balls. Obelisks crown the lower parts of the monument likewise. An ornamented arched recess over the plinth contains the recumbent effigy of the Earl, exceedingly well executed. He is represented in a splendid suit of engraved russet and gold armour of the reign of James I. It has double tassets, and is richly ornamented throughout. His head is uncovered, the face gazing heavenward, and, from the position of the monument, looking to the east, and he leans on his left hand supported by a cushion; while, as Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, he holds in his right hand his purse of office. Over his shoulders, and the paldrons of the armour, are capes or lappets of an earl's mantle of state, which hangs down behind his feet. Underneath, along the edge of the plinth, are nine small figures (now much broken) representing the children that were born to him up to the date of the erection of the monument, i. e. 1619:—

ROGERVS BOYLE NATVS
PRIMO DIE AVGVST 1606

LEWIS BOYLE 28
MARTII 1619

LETITIA B. 23
APRILIS 1610

RICHARDVS BOYLE 20
OCTOBRE 1612

ALICIA BOYLE 20
MARTII 1607

IOANA B. 14
IVNII 1611

GALFRIDVS BOYLE 10
APRILIS 1616

SARAH B. 29
MARTII 1609

CATHERA B. 22
MARTII 1614

At the Earl's feet, under a canopy supported by Ionic pillars of red-veined marble, kneeling on a tasselled cushion, with hands folded in prayer, is the figure of his first wife, Joan, daughter and co-heir of William Apsley, Esq., of Limerick. Her dress is of the richest figured satin, and a dark purple mantle hangs behind her back. She wears a ruff, and her hair quite erect and off her forehead. This lady died at Mallow, December 14, 1599, in travail of her first child, and with her still-born babe was buried at Buttevant ("Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. ii. pp. 94, 95). A delicate allusion to this double bereavement is made in the tiny cradle, placed at the mother's knee, with the little occupant of it holding what seems intended for an inverted torch. Under a corresponding canopy, at the earl's head, and in the same posture, is the effigy of his second wife, Katherine, only daughter of Sir Geoffry Fenton, principal Secretary of State for Ireland. She wears a countess's robe of state of rich crimson, faced with ermine, with an ermine cape and ruff. The Countess of Cork died in Dublin Feb. 6, 1629 (while the Earl was Lord Justice in conjunction with the Lord Chancellor Loftus), and lies buried under a stately tomb in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The faces of these two effigies are admirably sculptured. Over each is a painted marble escutcheon, impaling Boyle with their arms, respectively.

Over the arch is the recumbent effigy of the Earl's mother, Joan,

daughter of Robert Naylor, Esq., of Canterbury,¹ habited in the full dress of Queen Elizabeth's day, with large straw hat, ruff, and fardingale. She leans with her left arm on a large Bible with gilt clasps, and her right hand grasps a skull. On the blank surface, above the lower part of her body, were formerly these lines:—

“PRECATIO VIVENTIS:

QVEM PATRE, QVEM PROLE, & GEMINO QVEM CONIVGE FAVSTVM
FECISTI, Ô FAVSTVM FAC FACIENDO TVVM.”

Above this effigy are the arms, crest, and supporters of Boyle alone, with the Earl of Cork's well-known and admirable motto—“GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS OVR INHERITANCE”—and the monument terminates above in an obelisk.

In the centre, over the effigy of the Earl, is a large surface of black stone, on which are the following inscriptions:—

“Richard Earle of Corke married two wyves, the first Ioane, one of the two daughters and coheires of William Appasley Esquire, who dyed in tra-vaile of her first sonn which did not survive her. The second wyfe was Katherine, the onely daughter of Sir Iefferey Fenton Kn. Secretary of State in Ireland, by whom hee had issue 7 sonnes and 8 daughters.”

Under this are three escutcheons; first, Boyle and Appasley impaled; 2nd. Boyle with Appasley and Fenton quartered; 3rd. Boyle with Fenton impaled; and beneath the escutcheons this inscription:—

“The Lady Margaret Boyle, eight daughter to the Earle of Corke, dyed and lyeth heer entombed.”

On the right side, in the manner of a genealogical table, are the following inscriptions, with the respective coats of arms:—

“Sir Richard Boyle Kn. Lo. Dvngarvan, sonn and heire apparant of Richard Earle of Corke, married Elizabeth eldest of the two daughters & coheires of Henry Lo. Clifford Earle of Cvmerland, & hath issue.

“Sr. Lewys Boyle Kn. Lo. Boyle, Baron of Bandonbridge & Lo. Viscount Boyle of Kynalmeaky, second sonn of Richard Earle of Corke, mar-

¹ She died at Feversham, Kent, March 20, 1586, aged 57, and was buried with her husband at the upper end of the chancel of the parish church of Preston. The Earl of Cork, in 1629, erected a fair alabaster tomb over the place, with an iron grate before it for its better preservation. Her brother, Robert Naylor, was Dean of Limerick; and his daughter, Margaret, was married to John Drew, Esq., of Kilwinny, county of Waterford, and of Meanus, county of Kerry. The Earl of Cork was a party to the marriage settlement, still preserved, and gave his cousin an additional fortune.

The Dean had also a son, who seems to have been a military person, from his portrait in armour at Ballynatray House, and another in the possession of the Rev. P. W. Drew, Brook Lodge, Youghal. He never married. Margaret Naylor's costly and embroidered purse is also still preserved in the Drew family.

For the history of the ancient family of Drew, see “The Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales,” the “Landed Gentry,” and the Barony of De Clifford in “The Peerage” for the year 1847; all by Sir John Bernard Burke, Ulster King-of-Arms.

ried the La. Elizabeth daughter of Sr. William Fielding Kn. Lo. Baron of Newenham Padox Viscovnt Fielding & Earle of Denbigh. Slayne in the battle at Liscarroll 3 Septem. 1642.

"Sr. Roger Boyle Kn. Lo. Boyle Baron of Broghill, third sonn of Richard Earle of Corke married the Lady Margaret the daughter of Theophilus Lo. Haward of Waldin, Earle of Suffolk.

"Frances Boyle Esqvier, fowrth sonn of Richard Earle of Corke, married Elizabeth daughter of Sr. Robart Killegrew Kn. late vice chamberlayne to Mary Qveene of England.

"Robart Boyle Esqvier, fifth sonn of Richard Earle of Cork.

"Roger Boyle, eldest sonn of Richard Earle of Cork, being a scholler at Deptford in Kent dyed there x Octo. 1615, and there lyeth intombed.

"Geffrey Boyle, third sonn of Richard Earle of Corke, dyed young xx Ianvary 1616, & lyeth here intombed."

To each of these is an escutcheon of Boyle impaling their respective matches; and next, on the left hand, are the following inscriptions relative to the Earl's daughters, impaling Boyle, with the arms of their respective husbands:—

"David Lo. Barry, Lo. Viscovnt Bvttivant, first Earle of Barrymore, married the Lady Alice Boyle, eldest daughter of Richard Earle of Corke.

"Robart Lo. Digby, Baron of Geashell, married the Lady Sarah Boyle, second daughter of Richard Earle of Corke, being then the widow of Sr. Thomas Moore Knight, sonn and heire to Garrot Lo. Moore, Lo. Viscovnt of Derogheda.

"Colonell George Goring, sonn and heire to Sr. George Goring Kn. Lo. Baron Goring of Hyrstperpoint, married the Lady Lettice Boyle, third daughter of Richard Earle of Corke.

"George Fitzgerald, Earle of Kildare, married the Lady Ione Boyle, fowrth daughter of Richard Earle of Corke.

"Arthvre Iones Esq. sonne & heire of Sr. Roger Iones Kn. Lo. Viscovnt of Ranelagh, married the La. Katherin Boyle, the fifth daughter of Richard Earle of Corke.

"Sr. Arthvre Loftvs Kn. sonn & heire of Sr. Adam Loftvs Kn. vice threr. and threr. at warres in Ireland, married the La. Dorothy Boyle, the sixt daughter of Richard Earle of Corke.

"Charles Riche Esq. second sonn of Robart Lo. Riche of Leeze, Earle of Warwick, married the La. Mary Boyle, the seaventh daughter of Richard Earle of Corke."

In the centre, between these inscriptions, is the following:—

"Richardvs Boyle miles, Dominvs Boyle, Baro de Yoghall, Vicecomes Dvngarvan, Comes Corcagensis, Dominvs svmmvs hvivs regni Hiberniæ thesaurarius, & de privato concilio dni regis tam Angliæ quam Hiberniæ, ex antiquissimâ Boylorum familiâ Herefordiensi orivndvs, qvi patrem habvit Rogervm Boyle armigervm, matrem itidem generosam Ioanam Nayle-ram e solo Cantiano profectam, cvm dvas sibi invicem ivnxisset vxores, primam Ioanam filiam & cohæredem Gvlielmi Appasley armigeri, nvlâ svperstite prole, alteram præclaré fœcundam, Catharinam matam Domini Galfridi Fentoni eqvitis, regiæ maiestati in hoc regno à secretis; postqvam varios pro repvblicâ cepisset labores, nec immeritos honores conscendisset,

ipse iam septuaginta septum annos natvs, ac mortem indies imminentem expectans, sibi & posteris hoc posuit monumentum sacrum memoriæ.

"IPSE DE SE

SIC POSUI TUMVLVM, SVPEREST INTENDERE VOTIS,
PARCE ANIMÆ, CARNEM SOLVITO, CHRISTE ! VENI."

Beneath this are the following epitaphs:—

"Hic iacet corpus reverendi patris Iohannis Boyle, sacre theologiæ doctoris, episcopi Corcagensis, Clonensis, et Rossensis, ac fratris maioris natv Richardi comitis Corcagiæ, &c., qvi obiit decimo die Ivlj anno Dni 1620, ætatis svæ 57.

"Hic etiam iacent sepultæ Elizabetha et Maria Boyle, hæc Richardi Smith militis, illa Piercii Power armigeri, vxor. Ambæ sorores prædicti Richardi Domini Boyle Corcagiæ Comitis.

"Hic iacet prenobilis David, Dominvs Barry procomes Bvttivant, primvs comes Barrymore, commissione regiâ pro Gvbvnatione Momoniæ primo designat', Heros principi & coronæ Anglicanæ fidelissimvs, de repvblicâ dvante Hibernicorvm rebellione optimè merens, veræqve religionis cvltor præcipvvs, qvi obiit 29 die Septem. 1642, annoq. ætatis svæ 38."

This superb monument, which had been rapidly falling into decay, was, in 1848, restored in the most perfect manner by order of Francis E. Currey, Esq., the Duke of Devonshire's agent in Ireland, and under the superintendence of the Rev. Pierce W. Drew, the present rector of Youghal. It is guarded by an iron railing painted red and white, at each end of which are bannerols formed of iron plates, and painted with the arms of Boyle impaled with Appsey and Fenton, respectively. In the centre is a bannerol charged with a lozenge for the Earl's mother: quarterly, 1st and 4th ermine a cock gules, on a chief azure three bezants or; 2nd and 3rd argent three horses passant sable.

On the south wall is a beautiful tablet of white Italian marble, in the shape of an escutcheon, with drapery behind, to the memory of Lord Broghill, the first Earl of Orrery, third son of the Earl of Cork. In the elegant Latinity of the inscription, may not we find traces of the scholarship of Lord Orrery's younger brother, the philosophic Robert Boyle?—

"MEMORIÆ SACRUM

ROGERI BOYLE, PRIMI COMITIS

DE ORRERY, ET BARONIS

DE BROGHILL,

Qui, dum vixit, multis, pariter et summis
Honoribus ac officijs fungebatur.

Mortuus vero,

summo cum viventium luctu, obiit decimo
sexto die octobris anno dⁿⁱ MDCLXXIX
annoq. ætatis suæ 59.

de Quo non hic plura requirat lector;

quoniam omnia de Ingenio et Moribus
vel ex fama

vel ex operibus dignoscere
possit."

The slab also bears the following arms—party per bend crenellé, argent and gules, with a crescent for difference, surmounted by an earl's coronet. Motto—*VIRTUS POST FVNERA VIVIT*.

Leaving this interesting chapel, we re-enter the nave; and now, standing at the intersection of the transepts, we scan the dimensions of the noble cruciform edifice across its full breadth. Looking south, we have a fine perspective view of the building we have quitted; and, turning to the north, the eye rests with pleasure upon the lightsome and grand proportions of—

THE NORTH TRANSEPT.—In the winter of 1852, this portion of the church underwent careful restoration, through the taste and spirit of the rector, the Rev. P.W. Drew. A flat-roofed vestry-room, erected in 1810, and aptly pronounced by Mr. O'Flanagan, in his "Guide to the Blackwater," p. 14, "the most perverse specimen of Vandal deformity to be found in Christendom," was removed, and the interesting transept aisle was added in. The incumbering bulk of a gallery which obstructed the view of the nave was taken down. The great north windows were opened and restored. They are richly moulded, and have an angel's head and bust on the centre pier, at the springing of the arches. The three windows in the east wall had their stone mullions again inserted, and were glazed with lozenge panes set in lead. A high ceiling, made in 1794, as if to shut out of view the ancient oak rafters, was taken down. The original ceiling, like that of the nave (p. 104), was of seven sides, and was no doubt similarly painted in colours and powdered over with gilt stars. We shall now proceed to describe the objects of interest to be found here.

Against the north side of the stair turret, laid on a plain tomb of masonry, is a fine recumbent effigy of the thirteenth century. In style and execution it closely resembles the one which we already described (p. 107) as occupying the sepulchral arch in the north aisle; and the individual commemorated is similarly attired in a loose unadorned tunic. The head reposes on a pillow. In the left hand is a glove, with the fingers underneath. The opened palm of the right hand is laid over the heart. The feet are supported by a lioness. Around the chamfered edge of the couch, upon which the effigy reposes, is an inscription in Norman-French, engraved in old Lombardic capitals:—

[*ſua*] *THEY* : *IE* : *ſuſceſſor* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* :

Mathew le Mercer¹ lies here whoſe

ſit : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* : *ſit* :

prays for his ſoul [ſhall have . . .] days of pardon.

¹ Matthew le Mercer was collector of the customs of Youghal, and appears to have died about the close of the thirteenth or commencement of the four-

Adjoining this effigy, in the east wall, is a pointed, moulded piscina, with double drains.

We come now to a portion of the building, which, though common in the cathedral and abbey churches of England, is of rare occurrence in this country—

THE NORTH TRANSEPT AISLE.—This aisle is of peculiar interest, from the evidences it affords of a former church, which stood nearly on this site. A sepulchral arch of this older building is preserved in its north wall; and numerous portions of the tapered tomb-stones of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries have been discovered here. The aisle is lighted by a single, handsome window in the north wall. Beneath the window, and partly occupying its base, is the monumental arch alluded to. It is semicircular and moulded, the supporting columns being moulded likewise. Both window and tomb were greatly injured at a remote period, probably during Desmond's sack of the church in 1579. A large mural monument, to the memory of William Lewellin, was erected within the arch in 1628, and the window was partly built up to support his effigy. These incumbrances and dilapidations were removed in November, 1852, and the arch was restored by Mr. Edward FitzGerald, at the expense and under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Drew.

In the progress of research at St. Mary's have been collected, chiefly at this place, portions of nearly a dozen interesting stone coffin-lids. Some are very plain, having only a deep chamfer. Some bear crosses-fleury, but otherwise are uninscribed. About six have Norman-French inscriptions, more or less perfect, in Lombardic capitals. In the arched recess of the sepulchral arch before us is laid one of the most interesting of our tapered slabs. A finely sculptured cross-fleury, the arms forming a kind of Runic knot, runs down its whole length. The only words to be traced, and they are pathetic ones, are:—

DIEU: AIE: MERCE "God have mercy!"

Not far from this is a slab, the solitary unbroken one at St. Mary's. It has a human head in high relief on its upper surface, over a cross-fleury. Three of its sides have been barbarously

teenth century. In the Memoranda Roll of the Exchequer of the 31st to the 35th year of Edward I. (*mem.* 18, *dorso*, Trinity Term, 33 Edw. I.) is the following entry relative to his successor:—

"Yoghel: de custuma. Martinus de Coumbe est unus collectorum nove custume de Yoghel, electus, etc., loco Mathai le Mercer prius collectoris etc.,

per brevem in filac. Regis de termina Soc. Trinit. etc."

Which may be thus translated:—

"Yoghel: of the Customs. Martin de Coumbe is one of the collectors of the new customs of Yoghel, elected, etc., in the room of Matthew le Mercer, the former collector, etc., by writ upon the King's file of Trinity Term, etc."

chiselled away; on that which remains is the following inscription:—

ATUN : GIL : ICI : DEU : DEI : AI : ME : GIL : ICI :
Atun lies here, God on his soul have mercy!

The next must have been broken at an early period, for what remains has on its reverse William Lewellin's epitaph, dated 1628. It is inscribed:—

+ ROGER : DEIVIL : G

Another, which is very imperfect, once covered the remains of a female, whose Christian name is difficult to understand. It had a double chamfer. The upper, with some broken letters of the lower, only remains, and has the following legend:—

+ CEALICE : IA : f e m m e : a n n . . .

We have, lastly, some broken fragments, with the remnants of inscriptions, such as ME : GIL : ICI, and AI GIL . . .; the chasms of which can be readily filled up, from the fuller epitaphs which precede them.

We pass on to the adjacent building—used at present as a belfry—

THE TOWER.—This venerable remnant of bygone days has no pretensions to the architectural beauty so often displayed in the light, highly ornamented, bell-towers of ecclesiastical buildings. Its rough massive walls, pierced with numerous narrow loop-holes, its windows on the upper floor, and the remnant of its embattled parapet—all remind us far more of the sombre keep, or donjon tower of feudal times, than of the open, undefenced buildings consecrated to religion. You enter this gloomy structure through a plain Gothic doorway in the sloping base, at the south side (within the thicknesses of the walls of which is the old Hiberno-Romanesque doorway, mentioned in the commencement of this paper); and find yourself in a small apartment lighted by three narrow loop-holes. The wall measures through each of these about eight feet in thickness. A subterraneous passage connects the tower with the warden's house of the old collegiate establishment (at present called Myrtle Grove), and afforded the inmates access to a safe depository for their sacred vessels, books, and other valuables, as well as an asylum for themselves in case of siege or commotion. This passage was struck upon, a few feet outside of the tower, in 1824, while workmen were excavating for a sewer. A similar underground communication with the college also is believed to exist, but its exact course is unknown. The ascent of the tower is by a few stone steps, in the north-east angle, which conduct to a doorway in the north wall, about twelve feet from the ground. Passing within, a steep narrow stair in the thickness of the wall brings us to the north-west angle, where we find a door opening on the first floor. This floor was of timber, resting on the

offsets of the east and west walls. The chamber was of fine proportions, vaulted overhead. The ceiling forms a Gothic arch and fire-proof floor to the next story, and is perforated north and south, along the crown of the arch, by five holes for a peal of five bells, which tradition says were buried, during a siege, either in the church-yard, or in the grounds of Myrtle Grove. These bells were, probably, of the Desmond era. The stairs now wind spirally within the north-west angle, until we step from them into the next story, which was lighted by two spike-holes in the south and east walls. These apertures have stone seats, and were sufficiently large inside for a man to stand in, while discharging his bow, but so small without as almost to defy the besiegers' aim. Judging from the double row of corbels still remaining in the wall above, one row three feet below the other, it would appear that the timber floor of the fourth, or principal, apartment was hollow; a provision made, we suppose, for purposes of secrecy. This uppermost chamber is lighted by four large circular-headed windows, one in each of the four walls. A small stair in the north-east angle ascends to the parapet, now disembattled; and the venturesome climber is rewarded by a fine prospect of the north suburbs, the harbour, and a considerable portion of the town, with a bird's-eye view of St. Mary's Church, and the surrounding burying-ground.

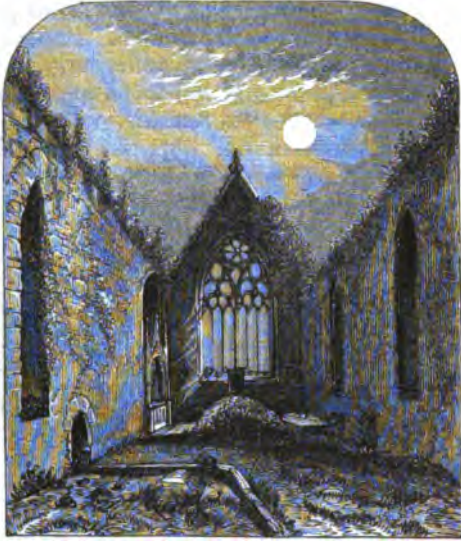
The tower has been, for a long time, unroofed. It ought to be covered in and thus preserved from further decay, especially as the walls generally are good. And further, if a spire were raised upon it, such an addition would break the lines of the mass of the building, and would afford a new and prominent feature in the landscape, calculated to carry up the eye and mind to heaven.

We come now to that portion of the church which, roofless and ruined as it is, uniformly attracts the visitor's chief attention—

THE CHOIR.—The present choir was, as we have already seen, the latest portion of the church erected. From the Early Pointed arch spanning the nave at the communion table recess, we have little doubt that a former chancel existed, of the same date with the rest of the church. The present building is in the Decorated English style of the fourteenth century, of which it affords an exquisite specimen. An external view of the east end, from a photograph, has been already given; on the opposite page will be found an engraving of the interior of the choir. It has double quoin buttresses, moulded at the bases, which recede by stages in moulded offsets, until they terminate where science knew they were no further necessary as abutments to the great window. The quoins were finished with pinnacles; the eaves had an embattled parapet furnished with gurgoyles; and the barge was crocketed to the summit, terminating in a foliated finial.

The east window is divided by a massive mullion in the centre

into two large equal compartments. Each of these is subdivided into three lights by lesser mullions, which terminate at the springing of the great arch in a series of six ogee arches, surmounted by trefoil tracery; and the kite-shaped space at the crown of the arch is filled in with a Catherine wheel. The whole window is of wrought limestone. Its full height is 26 feet; to the springing of the arch 13 feet 8 inches; and the breadth is nearly 17 feet. The several mullions are 2 feet apart. The north side of the choir has four windows, of two lights each. Of these three are grouped together near the west end; the fourth adjoins the north-east quoin, so as to afford room for the sacristy, which we have noticed already (p. 102). The south wall has the same number of windows similarly grouped, but of different designs. The three at the west end are of two lights. Their labels differ, two being pointed, the third (that adjoining the south transept) square with sculptured spandrels. The window at the east end of this wall is of large dimensions, being constructed of three lights, perhaps to compensate for the subdued light of the east window, when filled in with stained glass. The terminations of the labels of all these windows are deserving of the visitor's attention.



Interior of the Choir.

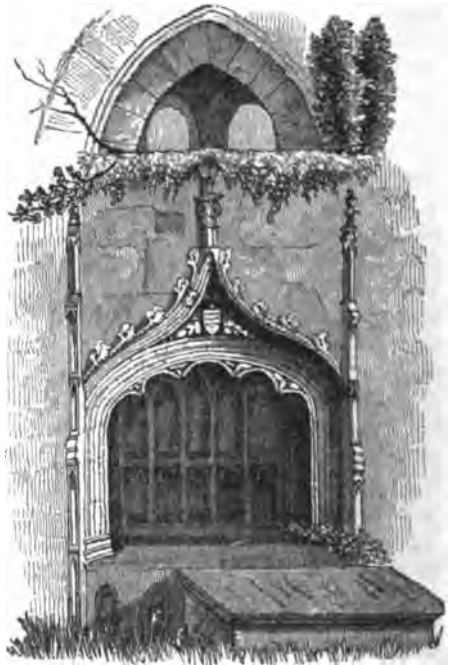
The entrance to the choir is at the south side, through a deeply recessed and picturesque porch, formed within the base of a wide projecting buttress, which, with offsets receding at different stages, rises nearly to the eaves. The doorway is moulded and enriched, and the hood terminates in a cinque-foil and rose. Within the porch are three steps; and, at the right hand, is a stoup in a moulded ogee-arched niche, which rests on an angel's head as a corbel. The interior (of which our illustration furnishes an excellent idea) is used as a burial-place, and is now nearly filled with graves. Mounds rise here and there, beneath which weary hearts are still. A low wall marks off a portion near the nave; and beneath the east window is an aspiring tomb-house, indicating the gathering together, in

slow but sure succession, of kindred dust. The Hayman, Giles, Parker, and M'Carthy families have their place of interment here. At each side of the east window are moulded corbels, intended, no doubt, for images of the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of the church, and of Colman, patron saint of the diocese. At the south side of the altar are four moulded arched niches grouped in one design, but now much decayed and broken. Three had columns originally, and formed sedilia for the officiating priests. The fourth niche, to the east, was a piscina, in which the shelf across the back, for resting the sacred vessels on, yet remains.

In the north wall opposite is a richly recessed altar-tomb, of which we furnish an illustration.¹ It is wrought of fine hard sandstone, in the Perpendicular style of the fifteenth century. The sides are formed by two light buttresses, from which springs a moulded ogee arch crocketed to the top and terminating in a finial. The centre is occupied by the principal arch, moulded and cusped. The base and recess are panelled and finished in trefoils, with their spandrils delicately carved. On a shield over



the arch is the name of the occupant of the tomb, who is supposed to have been Thomas Fleming, seventh Lord Slane, who died in 1436. Lord Slane was twice married; and in corroboration of the supposition that he was the individual interred beneath this tomb, three skulls,



Altar-tomb of Thomas Fleming.

¹ The Society is indebted to Mr. Lindsay, the enterprising printer and publisher of Youghal, for the use of the

two engravings of the tomb of Thomas Fleming with which this part of Mr. Hayman's paper is illustrated.—Eds.

one of a male and two apparently of females, were, in the progress of some recent researches, found in the tomb.

The restoration of the choir is, as I am writing, being undertaken by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland, who have come forward in a liberal spirit to meet the public wish. I cannot close my present paper without giving honour to whom honour is due: the preservation of this architectural gem is due to the incumbent of Youghal, the Rev. Pierce William Drew. This gentleman, whose taste and zeal are conspicuous, has not only munificently contributed to the restoration of the choir, but has continually expended large sums of money on the other portions of the church. In his hands the sacred edifice promises, ere long, to be what the Earl of Cork boastfully declared that he had made it—"one of the fairest churches in Ireland."

CROMWELL AT CARLOW.

BY ROBERT MALCOMSON, ESQ.

"CROMWELL at Carlow!" the accurate observer of the history of our country may exclaim. "Surely here is a misnomer—for although at the period of the Great Rebellion, the castle and town of Catherlough yielded to the arms of the victorious Parliament—'Oliver the Protector' does not appear to have been ever personally here." Well, our critic is perhaps right. Ubiquity is one of the qualities which have as yet to be added by hero-worshippers to the character of Cromwell. At the precise period of the siege of Carlow, it is certain "His Highness" had returned from his Irish campaign, for the dispatch of "urgent and important business," to England; but it is unlikely that his watchful eye never rested on that town in his progress through its vicinity, or that he did not stop to contemplate the reduction of so important a garrison as that of Carlow on his marches to Ross and Innistiogue. Be this as it may, the spirit and genius of Cromwell were ably represented before the walls of Carlow by the ministers of his policy—Ireton and Sir Hardress Waller—and so we have selected the alliterative title, "Cromwell at Carlow," more to point attention to the period than the person.

Before referring to the scanty details which history and tradition have handed down to us of this the last actual siege of Carlow, it may not be uninteresting or unnecessary to take a brief review of the actual posture of affairs at the time.

The 30th of January, 1649, had been a remarkable era in England. The streets of London had that day witnessed a scene which was regarded in the most opposite lights by the two great

parties of the time. The civil war had terminated in the triumph of the Parliament over the House of Stuart. The execution of Charles was looked upon by the then dominant party as an act of necessary retributive justice, while, by the adherents of monarchy, it was execrated as the very acme of treason and impiety. The axe, according to some, had descended upon the head of a tyrant; while others viewed the fatal stroke as the climax of a glorious martyrdom. And in these distinct views does the transaction continue to be contemplated even in our own day. Before this Society, however, where the defunct politics of former ages, as well as the animated controversies of the present day, are alike excluded, it would be impertinent to pursue our reflections upon the theme; suffice it to say, that the struggle which had convulsed England for some years had ended in the abolition, for the time, of the monarchical form of government, and the establishment of a commonwealth, or republic—that, according to some, anarchy had begun—according to others, freedom had dawned.

But although the Parliament had thus effected the subjugation of England, Ireland—then, as now, the greatest difficulty of English statesmen—had not been reduced. Whilst the conflict raged in England, this country had been, necessarily, comparatively overlooked in the struggle which required all their energies at home, so that Ireland, under the Marquis of Ormonde, still held out for royalty. On the death of the first Charles, his son and legitimate successor was proclaimed in Ireland as king, under the title of Charles II. Dublin, however, and some other places, were garrisoned by the friends of the Parliament. Ormonde, on the other hand, was in the field, with an army of 16,000 men. Monk, the parliamentary general, retired from Dundalk, which, with Drogheda, Newry, and other places, espoused the royal cause, and the affairs of the Viceroy assumed so prosperous an aspect, that the young King himself entertained the notion of appearing in Ireland.

In this posture the Parliament of England began to turn their attention upon Ireland, and this country afforded so favourable a field for enterprise and glory, that the post of Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant, inspired the ambition of more than one of the leaders of the Commonwealth. Waller and Lambert had both been candidates for this high commission, and each had many supporters. After the execution of the King, the “foremost man of all,” Oliver Cromwell, aspired to the dignity. The unanimous choice of the Parliament fell upon him, and he speedily set about the discharge of his duties in his new appointment. He despatched before him into Ireland a contingent of 4000 horse and foot under Reynolds and Venables, to the assistance of Jones, who held Dublin for him. This reinforcement enabled Jones, on the 2nd of August, 1649, to rout the Marquis of Ormonde at Baginbally, near Dublin, with

a loss of 1000 slain, and double that number prisoners. On the 15th of the same month Cromwell reached the harbour of Dublin, where he landed a force of 8000 foot, half that number of horse, with all the sinews of war, including a formidable train of artillery, and a sum of twenty thousand pounds in money.

Cromwell was received in the capital with shouts and rejoicing, but he sat not down in viceregal ease. Tredah, or Drogheda, the nearest frontier town on the north, where lay the principal strength of his adversaries, first commanded his attention, and thither he hastened, resolved to spread abroad the terror of his name by a signal and bloody example. Ormonde, on his discomfiture at Rathmines, anticipating an assault on Tredah, had poured into the town a garrison of 2000 foot and 300 horse, well supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and had intrusted the defence and government of the town to a gallant officer, Sir Arthur Ashton.

Cromwell, with a force of no less than 10,000 men, soon reached the gates of Tredah, and surveyed the fortifications. His operations were immediate, vigorous, and decisive. He summoned the governor to surrender, and, hardly waiting for his refusal, thundered with his artillery against the walls. Having made a sufficient breach, the assault was given. Twice were his troops repulsed by the valour of the besieged. In the third attempt, headed by the Deputy himself, the place was taken, and Cromwell and Ireton, sword in hand, were the first to enter the town. Promises of quarter were given to all who would lay down their arms—"a promise," as Leland says, "only observed until all resistance was at an end." No quarter was given, orders having been issued to put the entire garrison to the sword.

"This execrable policy," Leland tells us, "had the intended effect." Trim and Dundalk were immediately possessed by Cromwell. Venables was detached into Ulster. Carlingford was reduced; Newry surrendered; Lisburn fell; Belfast capitulated in four days after his approach; Coleraine was betrayed; and the whole country reduced, except the fort of Carrickfergus.

In October Cromwell stood before Wexford. This place, too, Ormonde had supplied with a garrison of nearly 2000 men; but all resistance was futile, and the massacre of Tredah was re-enacted at Wexford. Ross next surrendered upon articles, but the siege of Duncannon, after a gallant defence by Wogan the officer in command, was abandoned by Ireton. Distress now began to be felt by the invading army—an epidemic spread amongst the troops, who perished in numbers, while the severity of the weather and the scarcity of provisions combined to dishearten the survivors. In the spring, however, Cromwell, having received reinforcements from England, took the field again with renewed vigour, and his campaign was attended with universal success. Having made him-

self master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any show of resistance, he resigned the care of the army to his lieutenant-general, and embarked for England.

The history of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland as yet remains to be written. Dr. Wilde, of Dublin, whose pen has illustrated so much of the topography of his native country, as of other lands, alludes to this subject in his work on the "Boyne and Blackwater," and refers to the ample materials which exist for the composition of such a work in the numbers of unpublished letters, despatches, orders, and state papers of the time. We hope the fertile genius of Dr. Wilde may be induced to undertake the task.

Towards July the invading army approached Carlow.

Catherlough, or Catherlagh, had been for ages a place of considerable importance for the English interest, although no remains of antiquity exist at the present day, except the ruins of its castle, to attest its former greatness; but this may not seem strange, when even its natural appearance has undergone a complete change in the lapse of years: not a drop of the large sheet of water—which we are told formerly existed here—remaining to support the derivation of its name—"the city on the lake."

In the reign of King John the town received a charter of incorporation from William, Earl Marshal, and Earl of Pembroke, endowing it with very considerable privileges. In the reign of Edward II. it formed the head quarters of the seneschalship of the counties of Carlow and Kildare, instituted on account of the disturbed state of the district. In 1361, under Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., the King's Exchequer was removed from Dublin to Carlow, and twenty years later, we are told, the Court of Common Pleas was held here. The Duke of Clarence expended £600—a considerable sum in those days—in fortifying the town with walls, which have long since vanished with the lake (if any such ever existed) which surrounded them.

By the 2nd of July the army of the Commonwealth had reached Carlow, and were encamped before the castle on the Queen's County side of the river—a field about a quarter of a mile distant being still pointed out as the spot where they rested.

Edmund Ludlow, a major-general in these wars, who has left us a brief account, in his "Memoirs," of the operations, seems to have regarded Carlow as a place of considerable moment to have gained. He, however, talks of our fortress as being merely "a small castle, with a river running under its walls;" but attributes its importance to the fact that the garrison was aided by the favour and regard of the neighbouring country; and he mentions the difficulty the troops experienced in crossing the river, being obliged to erect temporary bridges of ropes, hurdles, and straw, to enable the soldiers to pass over one by one.

With all due respect for General Ludlow's opinion, we fancy the "small" castle must have made a pretty considerable figure in those days, judging from the shattered remains of the building which still exist. Two of the towers, and the connecting wall between them, still remain—a conspicuous object, forming, so to speak, the base of the square of which the entire consisted. The height of the walls is nearly seventy feet, and the span of the side, from tower to tower, will be found to measure one hundred and five feet. From these data, the veriest tyro in geometry may form a tolerably correct idea of its complete extent. It is, even in its present maimed and broken condition, a favourable specimen of the Anglo-Norman fortress. We have a sort of child's affection for this noble ruin, and have often deplored the vicissitude which placed the structure, which had withstood the assaults of time and war for ages, in the hands of that eccentric physician, Dr. Middleton, whose unskilful operations, with the design of converting the castle into a lunatic asylum, effected its overthrow! Any inhabitant of Carlow, who may be old enough to recollect the year before Waterloo was won, will recall to mind how, upon one fine Sunday in that year, the greater portion of the pile fell about their ears with a tremendous crash, the foundation having been undermined by the "mad doctor" in the progress of his alterations.

The era of its foundation we may with certainty fix in the earlier portion of the thirteenth century; but to whom we are to attribute the honour of its erection is a matter on which, like the birth-place of Wellington in our own day, the records of history differ. The generally received and most probable account is, that it was the work of Hugh de Lacy, an English adventurer of Henry the Second's reign, and the predecessor, and afterwards the successor, of Strongbow in the government of Ireland. Mr. Ryan, the historian of Carlow, sums up the authorities upon this point, and we cannot do better than quote his words. His mention of De Lacy introduces the subject—

"This very able man was sensible that in a strange country, and surrounded by enemies, the English could only maintain possession by superior skill and means of defence. He therefore castellated his own district of Meath, and a great part of Leinster. The castles of Carlow, Leighlin-bridge, and Tullow were built by him. The erection of the former structure has been attributed to various other persons; among the rest to Eva, daughter of Dermot Mac Morrough, to Isabel, daughter of Strongbow, to king John, to Hugh le Bigod, fourth earl of Norfolk, and to Bellingham, lord deputy of Ireland. With regard to the first, we do not find that the statement is supported by any ancient record; Eva, or rather Strongbow, her husband, was obviously so much engaged in preserving the existing possessions during his very brief career, as to be completely precluded from devoting time to the erection of extensive structures. With

regard to Isabel; she was conveyed to England on the death of her father, and remained there till her marriage in 1189, and we have no positive evidence, that she returned to Ireland. The castle was certainly in existence previously to the connection of the earl of Norfolk with this country. For we find, that William, Earl Marshal, in his charter to Carlow, mentions 'the castle;' and the earl of Norfolk first acquired his property in Ireland, by marriage with the daughter of the said Earl Marshal. Respecting Bellingham, the assertion is preposterous; as will at once appear, upon mention of the year of his deputyship, which was 1548. Authority, collateral evidence and verisimilitude, all fix upon de Lacy as the founder of the castle of Carlow."—"History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," pp. 53-4.

Contemporaneous, therefore, with the establishment of the English dominion in this country, the castle, from its infancy, shared the various fortunes of its founders, and gradually gathered strength with the increasing stability of British rule. In the vicissitudes of war it more than once changed owners. In 1494, James Fitzgerald, brother of the Earl of Kildare, having thrown off the allegiance of England, seized upon the fortress. So bold a rebel, and so daring an enterprise demanded the immediate attention of the Lord Deputy; and Sir Edward Poynings—a name famous in the history of Anglo-Irish legislation—marched in person to Carlow, and, after a siege of ten days, dispossessed Fitzgerald and recovered the castle. Forty years later, in the reign of Henry VIII., another of the Geraldines, well known in Irish story as "Silken Thomas," rose in rebellion. His success was such, that at one period he held possession of six of the chiefest castles in the kingdom, of which that of Carlow was one. After an active treason of three years, he was captured and beheaded, A.D. 1537, and the castle returned to its former owners.

A structure which had served the interests of its possessors so well was not suffered to fall into decay. On the accession of James I., with the shrewdness proverbial of his nation, we find measures provided for the maintenance of the castle. In the second year of his reign that monarch grants to Donogh, Earl of Thomond, the entire manor of Catherlough, with "the old castle with four turrets, with the precinct and buildings thereunto belonging," with divers lands appurtenant, which are called in the grant "demesne" lands, and in this document the King expressly provides that, "in all works made within the castle, the inhabitants of Carlow are to find six workmen or labourers daily, during the said work, at their own expense; also each tenant and cottager to weed the demesne corn yearly for three days, and a woman out of every house in Carlow to bind the sheaves for one day; each tenant and cottager to cut wood for the use of the castle for three days in summer, and each of them having a draught horse to draw the wood to the castle for three days; also to draw the corn out of the fields to the area of the said castle for three days;

to give one cart-load of wood, and one truss of straw at Christmas and Easter," with other services of a like nature; and, by another royal grant of the same date, he confers upon the Earl, and his son, Brian O'Brien, the office of constable of the castle of Carlow.—
"History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," pp. 121, 122.

To return again to our purpose. Before sunset of that 2nd of July, 1650, Cromwell's "Ironsides" were seated before the town. Animated by intelligence which had reached them of the success of the Parliamentary forces in Scotland, and now resolved upon immediate and more active service here, the day had been spent in preparations for an assault upon the town, the planting of their artillery, and the selection of a suitable position for the troops. Foremost throughout the scene, directing every movement, inspecting the slightest operation, and animating his soldiers by a word of advice, correction, or encouragement, is observed Ireton, the leader of this expedition—active, vigilant, and self-denying—"everything," in the words of Cooke, Chief Justice of Munster, his especial friend, "everything from a foot soldier to a general." We follow him to his tent. He orders a trumpet to go forth to demand a parley with the garrison. He seats himself, draws forth writing materials, and, lawyer as he was, pens the following "writ of summons in ejectment:"—

"To the Governor of Carlow Castle.

"SIR,

"We have been your gentle Neighbours hitherto, doing little more than looking upon you. But the Time being come now that we are like to deal in earnest with your Garrison as effectually and speedily as God shall enable us. That I may not be wanting on my Part to save any of the Blood which may be spilled therein, I am willing, upon a timely Surrender, to give Terms to so fair an Enemy (especially if I find you inclinable to a more peaceable Condition for the Future). I thought good therefore to send you this Summons, requiring you to surrender the Castle of Carlow, with the Furniture of War therein, into my Hands, for the use of the Parliament and Common-wealth of England, to which I expect your present Answer.

"Your humble servant,

"H. IRETON.

"*July the 2nd, 1650.*"

This unusually courteous summons was despatched to the castle by an officer of Ireton's, probably either Major Anthony Morgan, or Colonel Philip Fernsly, who afterwards attested the articles of surrender on the part of the Commonwealth, and was delivered into the hands of the Governor, Captain Bellew, who gave word that a formal answer would be sent to the summons on the following morning. Bellew consulted his companions, Major John Dungan, Captain George Darcy, and John Wodisson, and it was resolved

to meet the summons in a corresponding spirit of courtesy. Successful resistance, in the present state of the garrison, was hopeless, and unless assistance reached them from the friends of the royal cause in the north, all idea of maintaining their position against the forces of Ireton should be abandoned.

Accordingly, the Governor returned the following answer :—

“ For the Lord Deputy and Commander of the Parliament Forces.

“ MY LORD,

“ This being your first Summons, I am not at this Instant prepared to give any Answer to it. I desire three Days' Time to acquaint the Lord Bishop of Dromore with your Lordship's Demands, and in the mean Time that no acts of Hostility be committed by your Lordship's Army, the like being observed by the Garrison; by that Time your Lordship shall receive the Resolution of

“ Your Lordship's Servant,

“ M. BELLEW.

“ *Carlow Castle, 3rd of July, 1650.*”

This request was acceded to, and Ireton proceeded to Waterford, leaving Sir Hardress Waller in charge of affairs at Carlow, with directions, if necessary, to prosecute the siege with vigour.

No assistance reached the garrison, and the sequel is briefly told. Sir Hardress shortly after drew out two cannon, and battered a tower belonging to the castle, which much discomfited the garrison; after which he cannonaded the town and took it, when Bellew surrendered the castle upon articles.

The curious inquirer will find a copy of these articles in Ryan's “ History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow,” pp. 185–6, where they are quoted from Borlase. They provided that the castle of Carlow, with the artillery, provision, arms, and furniture of war therein, should be forthwith delivered into the hands of Sir Hardress Waller; that all manner of persons in the castle should have quarter for their lives and goods, having one month's time allowed them for removal, and passes to carry them to what places they should desire; that all officers and soldiers within the garrison should march with their horses and marching arms, and have a safe convoy to Lea Castle, and a pass for ten days' march to Athlone (one of the remaining garrisons which maintained the royal cause); that all the “ musquets within the said town should be allowed to march, with each of them one pound of powder, bullet, and match proportionable;” and that the inhabitants should have liberty to live in the town, and enjoy their corn, paying such contributions as others in their condition.

¹ “ History of the Irish Rebellion,” Dublin, 1743, Appendix, pp. 26, 27.

These articles were strictly observed. The garrison marched out with the honours of war—the “musquets” with their pound of powder, bullets, and match—and the townsmen “enjoyed their corn” as theretofore.¹

This bloodless victory is said to have been won by treachery. No certain proofs, however, of this statement have ever been adduced. Carte, the biographer of Ormonde, indeed, states—“This treachery was now grown universal, arising sometimes from the fears of the inhabitants, and sometimes from the corruption, avarice, or cowardice of the garrisons of the towns, and was the cause of the loss of the castle of Catherlough.”

Tradition, however, indulges its freaks with regard to this supposed perfidy, and makes it the act of an old serving-woman of the castle. The legend is given in a note to Mr. and Mrs. Hall’s work on Ireland, from which I here quote it with the less reserve, having myself supplied it to the authors. It is given in the words of a gossiping old man I had the good fortune to meet as I one day stood to take an admiring view of the venerable ruin :—

“Do you see that large round breach in the wall opposite there, sir?” was the question demanded of us, in reply to an inquiry respecting the origin of its present dismantled appearance. ‘Yes,’ we answered. ‘Pray can you tell us how or by whom it was effected?’ ‘To be sure I can.’ ‘Twas Crummel—Oliver Crummel, sir, who did it,’ replied the man, warming as he spoke, and assuming a tone of no small importance, as it were to show how fully he was acquainted with the subject. ‘Now, sir, if you were to see the castle on the other side, or to enter it and climb its walls, as I have often done in my youth, you would see that the spot in which

¹In two or three years after the surrender of Carlow the disbanding of Cromwell’s army took place, and many of his “Ironsides,” finding Carlow pleasant quarters, settled here. On the trial of William Hulet, one of the regicides, in 1660, the following evidence was given by a Captain Sampson Toogood :—“In the year 1653, there was a disbanding of the army in Ireland; this gentleman [meaning the prisoner] was then continued captain-lieutenant in Pretty’s regiment: I discoursed with Pretty concerning him, and one part of it, I remember, was about the King’s death; and he did tell me that he was assured by Colonel Hewson, that Hulet either cut off the King’s head, or held it up, and said, ‘Behold the head of a traitor;’ Colonel Pretty would not tell me which of the two it was; but I saw the person that

did it, and methought he did resemble this person. About twelve months after I came to live near the prisoner in Ireland; once, I remember, at one Mr. Smith’s, at the *White Horse*, in Carlow, I met him there, and I was asking the prisoner at the bar the question, whether he was the man that cut off the King’s head, or not? Saith he, ‘Why do you ask me this question?’ I told him, I had heard so by several, namely, by Hewson and Pretty; upon that he said, ‘Well, what I did I will not be ashamed of; if it were to do again, I would do it.’ Once since that time, about half a year afterwards, I was in the same place, and there talking with him about the King’s death; he was telling me it was true, he was one of the two persons that were disguised upon the scaffold.”—Hargrave’s “State Trials,” vol. ii. p. 387. London, 1776.

the breach is, is the weakest and least thick of any in the entire building; and well the crafty, cunning Crummel knew that when he planted his cannon right *forneest* that very part.' 'But how did he become acquainted with the fact of its being so?' we asked. 'Why, then, I'll tell you that, too, sir,' rejoined our friend. 'Well, you see, when the castle was besieged, the poor fellows who were shut up within it, after a short time, had nearly consumed all their provisions; and water, which, you know, will not keep fresh for any length of time, was the first to fail them. There happened to be in the castle two or three old women, servants of the governor, and as the loss of these was to be preferred to that of a single soldier, of whom there were barely enough to maintain the siege, recourse was had to the sending one of them during the night to the river, which, as you may see, runs hard by, for the purpose of drawing water to the castle. Well, as chance would have it, some of Crummel's soldiers wandering about at the time, fell in with the old woman, and carried her off to their camp, determined to have some sport out of the "Hirish hag." Learning, however, the object of the errand in which they had surprised her, and that she had been an inmate of the castle, they resolved to turn the circumstance to their best advantage, and accordingly promised her restoration of freedom, and a reward, provided she could conduct them into the fortress, or inform them of any way by which they would be likely to succeed in their designs. Frightened almost out of her wits by their threats, and now encouraged by their promises, she acquainted them with the fatal secret that that portion of the wall to which, on the inside, the staircase was fixed, was, in fact, the only point that would yield at all to their artillery. In short, after some time, they agreed on the following terms: that she, being sent back to the castle, should, about the middle of the ensuing night, ascend the stairs that conducted to the battlemented parapet surrounding the summit of the walls, and, standing by its edge, should hold forth a burning torch to signify the place where the frailty lay. Like a fool, as she must undoubtedly have been, and like a wretched dupe, as she proved herself, she kept her word, and exhibited, at the appointed hour, the signal agreed on; and Crummel, who had been most anxiously awaiting her appearance, instantly discharged his shot in the direction where the light was seen, and continued the battery until he succeeded in compelling the garrison to surrender. And now, let me tell you, that *she* was the first to meet her death on that occasion, the old hag, as she deserved, having been blown to atoms—the victim of her own treachery.'"—"Ireland, its Scenery, Character, &c.," vol. i. p. 404.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 5th, 1854,

COLONEL WILLIAMS, K.H.,
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

Rev. John Browne, LL.D.	John James, Esq., L.R.C.S.I.
Mr. Piers Butler.	Zachariah Johnson, Esq., M.D.,
Robert Cane, Esq., M.D.	F.R.C.S.I.
H. P. Clarke, Esq.	J. G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.
Abraham Denroche, Esq.	James G. Robertson, Esq.
Rev. J. Graves, A.B., Hon. Sec.	Richard Wheeler, Esq., J.P.

The following new members were elected :—

Captain Bunbury, Patrick-street, Kilkenny; Richard Caulfield, Esq., A.B., Cork; John Mosse, Esq., Ballyconra, Ballyragget; and James Murphy, Esq., Dublin: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John Wood, Esq., Somerton, Castlecomer; Robert B. Wright, Esq., Foulksrath Castle, Freshford; and Edward B. Taylor, Esq., Gowran: proposed by A. Denroche, Esq.

Horatio Townsend, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 27, Molesworth-street, Dublin; and Thaddeus O'Mahony, Esq., Professor of Irish at St. Columba's College: proposed by R. Hitchcock, Esq.

Jeremiah Kelly, Esq., M.D., Physician to the Government Prison, Parsonstown; and E. W. Costelloe, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Springfield, Moate: proposed by T. L. Cooke, Esq.

Ralph Westropp, Esq., Ravenswood, Carrigaline; and Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., Solicitor, Cork: proposed by John Windele, Esq.

T. Sheahan, Esq., A.B., Provincial Inspector of National Schools, Abbeyview, Thomastown: proposed by the Rev. John Browne, LL.D.

R. Long, Esq., M.D., Arthurstown, county of Wexford: proposed by R. Cane, Esq., M.D.

Mr. Michael White, Dunbel: proposed by Mr. J. G. A. Prim.

John W. Forrester, Esq., 107, Donegal-street, Belfast: proposed by Joseph White, Esq.

James Redmond Barry, Esq., Glandore, county of Cork : proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By John Greene, Esq., M. P. : "The Antiquities of Shropshire," by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, Vol. I. parts 2, 3, and 4 ; and "Improvements in Printing, Invented and Patented by Major Beniowski."

By Master Thomas Lane : "The Life of William III.," London, 1703.

By the Council of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland : its "Journal," No. 41.

By the Committee of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History : its "Proceedings," Vol. II. No. 1.

By the Author : "Notes and Records of the Ancient Religious Foundations of Youghal and its Vicinity," by the Rev. Samuel Hayman.

By Richard Hitchcock, Esq. : the Sale Catalogues of the Manuscripts and Books of the late Sir William Betham, bound and interleaved.

By the Publisher : "The Builder," Nos. 587 to 595, inclusive.

By Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart. : an old engraving of Dunbrody Abbey.

By Timothy Glennon, Esq., Coventry : a print of the ancient Market-cross of that town, now destroyed.

By the Rev. James Graves : an ancient iron key, found in removing the earthen rampart of the town wall of Kilkenny, near Watters' Tower, at the new National Model School.

By Albert Way, Esq. : a gutta percha impression from the seal of Maud, daughter of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, by Margaret, co-heir of Thomas, second son of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Lord of Kilkenny. Her second husband was John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who died in 1306. The seal, which was a very beautiful specimen of the period, exhibited five shields, surrounded by Gothic ornamental work, being De Vere, De Clare, Badlesmere, De Clare with a difference (a label of three points), and Fitz-Payn, the lady's first husband.

By Richard Caulfield, Esq., Cork : a gutta percha cast, and drawings, the size of original, of the obverse and reverse of a silver pectoral cross, found at Bridgetown Abbey, county of Cork, and at present in his cabinet. The cross had been gilt, and was ornamented with four carbuncles, one in each arm, and in the centre a garnet cut in the shape of a parallelogram. The stones were of a fine colour, although they evidently had never been polished. It was not unlikely that, from the place of its discovery, this cross belonged to some of the early ecclesiastics of Bridgetown Abbey, its workmanship being apparently of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

By the Rev. John L. Irwin : a fragment of a Roman brick, from the castle of Dover.

By Messrs. J. F. MacCartan, W. Lawless, J. Griffiths, and Miss James : various ancient coins.

By Mr. D. M'Evoy, Urlingford : a magnificent specimen of the antique bronze cauldrons which seem to be peculiar to Ireland; and a St. Patrick's half-penny. Mr. M'Evoy accompanied his donation by the following observations :—

"On the 23rd of May last, some men in the employment of Mr. Quinlan, of Urlingford, whilst engaged in cutting turf in the Bog of Allen, on the property of John Latouche, Esq., situate three miles distant from Urlingford, discovered, at a distance of seven feet below the surface of the peat, a curious antique vessel composed of three pieces of bronze, extremely thin, and fastened together in a very neat and workmanlike manner, by innumerable rivets, which are scarcely perceptible inside, but externally present small conical heads. The bottom piece of the vessel affords an admirable specimen of hammered work, forming in itself, without joint or seam, a perfect bowl, six feet six inches in its greatest circumference, and diminishing upwards to six feet. The height is then further increased by the riveting on of a broad band, consisting of two pieces of bronze, 'as thin as a hare's ear,' and nine inches in depth. The upper rim is pierced with five holes, as if calculated to be riveted to a strong hoop, from which a strap, six inches long, and riveted at its extremity, appears to have passed down at either side, over the vertical joining, as if for the purpose of further strengthening the sides. The bottom is much thicker than the sides. The vessel, which stands one foot six inches in height, presents many skilful tinkering, consisting of small thin plates of bronze riveted on, in the manner already described, over the holes. Although the cauldron is capable of containing about twenty gallons, it scarcely weighs 8lbs.

"When the vessel was discovered, the finders carried their prize into Urlingford, but as they esteemed it only for the value of the metal, it was immediately purchased from them for a trifling sum by a local dealer in old iron and copper. Hearing of the circumstance, I considered myself bound, as a member of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, to investigate the entire matter and report upon it to the Secretaries, and having found no difficulty in repurchasing the ancient vessel from the broker, I am most happy to be able now to present it to the Museum of the Society. This remnant of antiquity obviously must have been in the position in which it was found for very many centuries, as not only was it lighted upon at a depth of seven feet from the surface, and at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the arable land forming the outside margin of the bog, but the surrounding peat had evidently never been disturbed. There was no trace whatever of any embankment or work of art in that direction, the spot being in the centre of a wide expanse of red bog, except where a stream, called the Black River, much frequented by wild fowl in the winter months, intersects it, running close by the place where the discovery was made. The finders, and the neighbouring peasantry who examined the vessel, were much divided in opinion as to its origin and use; some being disposed to contend that it formed a portion of an ancient still, 'in the time of the Danes';

whilst others were inclined to speculate upon the probability of its having formed an antique kettle-drum; and the proximity of the spot in which it was turned up to the ruins of the old castle of Inchirourke led at once to its being attributed to the period of the celebrated O'Rourke, King of Breifne, the consort of the 'fair false one,' Dervorgilla. I need scarcely say, that I do not expect the Society to subscribe to either of these views, the vessel being evidently an ancient Irish 'coire,' or cauldron, and the largest of its kind which I have ever seen.

"I also present a copper coin found in the bog in the neighbourhood of the bronze vessel. It is one of the coin known as 'St. Patrick's money,'—the subject of the interesting discussion between Drs. Cane and Smith—and is a very good specimen of the half-penny so denominated. At the other side of the Black River, a little west of where the cauldron was discovered, some men cutting turf, about twenty years ago, found a number of human skeletons. And about ten years since, some turf-cutters engaged on the opposite bank of the stream, on the townland of Longford-pass, came upon a well-formed road twelve feet wide, the upper surface of which was composed of broken stones, like our present Macadamized pavement; this was covered over by seven feet of peat. Half a mile south of the place where the cauldron was come upon, and in the same bog, about six years ago, two antique swords were met with. It is said that they were presented by the finders to the proprietor of the land, Henry Langley, Esq., Archerstown. Three years since, another discovery was made in the same locality, about half a mile north-east of where the cauldron lay, on the property of Lord Mountgarret: three ancient and rudely formed firkins, containing a substance like butter or rendered lard, were raised out of the bog. The finder unfortunately broke the firkins, and disposed of the contents for a few pence."

Mr. M'Evoy's donation excited very great interest, and the Chairman said the Society was deeply indebted to that gentleman, whose example in saving from destruction this valuable relic of antiquity was worthy of general imitation, and, he trusted, would find many followers.

By Mr. John Feehan, Kilkenny: an ancient cast iron chimney-back; in size, one foot eleven inches, by one foot three inches. The margin was adorned with raised scroll-work and flower patterns, and it bore in the centre a bas-relief representing a thief unsuccessfully tempting with meat a dog which was guarding the doorway of a house. Above was the motto, "fides dona superat;" and below, the date 1656. This antique was discovered, in the course of altering, for business purposes, the house now occupied by Mr. Feehan, and in which the handsome ancient chimney-piece, described in the Proceedings of the May Meeting of the Society, had been found. The plate of metal was built horizontally into the wall, and above it occurred a substance like decayed silk. The casting was probably brought here by some of the Cromwellian settlers, as, although very uncommon in Ireland, chimney-backs of a similar kind frequently occur in old houses in England.

Mr. Graves took occasion to mention another instance of the good feeling fast growing up in the community, with respect to the preservation of antiquities. The ornamental stone chimneys of the old house of the Rothe family, situate in Coal-market, Kilkenny,¹ commonly known as Wolf's Arch, having become dilapidated and dangerous, he had offered to have them repaired at the expense of the Society, as he apprehended either that they would fall, or that the authorities would order them to be taken down as a nuisance to the public, which would seriously deface one of the finest of the Elizabethan buildings remaining in Kilkenny, as had already been the case with regard to two of the old houses in High-street. The lessee, Mr. Preston, had, however, at once taken the expense on himself, declining to allow the necessary reparation to fall upon the Society; he had taken down and carefully re-erected the stone work of the chimneys, scrupulously preserving their ancient character.

Mr. Prim called the attention of the meeting to a glass case, containing several articles found in the raths at Dunbel, in addition to the many curious remains already there discovered, and described in a paper which he had read before the Society in the year 1852.² Amongst those now exhibited was a double comb of bone, ornamented with an incised roundel pattern—a fac-simile of that discovered amongst the Saxon remains in the Barrow Furlong excavation in Northamptonshire (engraved in the "*Archæologia*," vol. xxxiii. p. 332). There were also several bone pins, with perforated heads; a bone gouge, and a small ring of the same material; also a fragment of one of those circlets already described in his paper as resembling the English antiques, termed "*Kimmeridge coal-money*." There was besides a curiously ornamented whet-stone, and three specimens of the "*distaff weight*" or "*fairy mill-stone*" class, but which might with more probability be supposed to have been used as rude substitutes for buttons. There were three bronze articles—a small nail-head pin, exhibiting some carving; a strip of bronze, showing the remains of an illegible mediæval inscription; and a small, flat, round box, about the size and thickness of a half-crown, consisting of two parts hinged together, and showing the remains of eyes for fastenings. The iron implements comprised the remains of several pins and knife-blades, a pendant ornament for the bridle, and a good specimen of the small shears, also frequently found in Anglo-Saxon barrows. Since the May Meeting of the Society, excavations had been carried on under the direction of the Secretaries in the largest and most perfect of the raths on the townland, for the purpose of ascertaining if it contained souterrains. The

¹ For a notice of this Elizabethan mansion see a paper, by the Rev. J. Graves, on "*Ancient Street Architec-*

ture in Kilkenny," in the "*Transactions*," vol. i. p. 45.

² See "*Transactions*," vol. ii. p. 119.

result, however, was negative, as it was ascertained that the rath had been formed by taking advantage of a natural knoll of hard, marly gravel, which remained undisturbed. Few or no implements or ornaments were found in this large rath, but several fragments of Kilkenny coal occurred four feet beneath the surface, proving that the use of that mineral was very early known in the district.

Sir Erasmus Dixon Borrowes, Bart., contributed the following curious extracts from the old Dublin newspaper termed "Pue's Occurrences," vol. xxxv., No. 8, January, 1737-8:—

"John Walsh, who keeps the Kilkenny stage coach, gives notice, that he will set out from Dublin and Kilkenny precisely at 7 o'clock in the morning, on every Monday and Thursday, during the summer, and run through in two days (accidents excepted). Twenty pound weight of luggage will be allowed to every person, and one penny per pound to be paid for all weight over.

"The coach will continue to set out at 6 o'clock in the morning, 'till the 25th of March next, and all persons who take seats are to be ready at that time, or lose their passages. The rates are as formerly, viz. 12s from Dublin to Kilkenny, 10s to Leighlin Bridge, 9s to Carlow, 8s to Castledermot, 7s to Timolin, 5s 5d to Kilcullen, and 4s to Naas.

"N. B.—Said Walsh gives notice that he will not be answerable for any money, goods, &c., given in charge to the coachman, which are his perquisite."

The following advertisement, giving an insight into the household arrangements of the day, was also from the same volume:—

"The dwelling house of Valentine Smyth, Esq., at Damagh, in the county of Kilkenny, being on the 27th February last [1737] in the night time surrounded by 17 or 18 persons, and 5 of them having with sledges broke in the gates and doors thereof, and having grossly beat and abused said Mr. Smyth and his family, in a most inhuman manner, and having afterwards robbed and taken out of said house 1 pair of silver candlesticks, weighing 10 ounces, 9 penny [dwts.], 1 snuffers and snuffdish, 2 salts, 1 pint cup with 2 handles, 2 salvers each weighing 5 oun. 9 pen. 10 gr., 1 old fashion ladle, 1 small mustard pot, 1 small pepper box (all said plate having a dove and olive branch engraved thereon), 1 gold watch, made by John King, London, with a large garnett seal set in gold, the impression being a woman bearing a sceptre, a shell snuff box, a mother of pearl box, bound in three places with silver, and a hole in the top piece, as big as a pin's head, 2 five guinea pieces, several Jacobuses, Caroluses, jewels, medals, and rings, 27 Holland shirts, and many pieces of women's wearing linen, a dark grey close-bodied cloth coat lined with black, a mixed drab close-bodied coat, a superfine black cloth vest lined with a white shagrine silk, and a breeches of the same cloth, 3 drab riding coats, and several other wearing apparel. Whoever, therefore, who shall discover any of the said persons or goods, so as such persons shall be convicted, shall have a reward from said Mr. Smyth of 20 guineas; and if any of said persons will dis-

cover the rest, so as any of them shall be apprehended and convicted, such person shall have the like reward, and his pardon procured."¹

The following communication was received from Edward Hoare, Esq., Cork, to whose kindness the Society is indebted for the wood engravings of the fac-similes which illustrate the curious bill of lading comprised in his paper:—

"A few years since, a gentleman, residing in the neighbourhood of the city of Cork, found, among some family documents and papers, an early bill of lading or shipping, of the year 1691, consigning some wine and brandy from Lisbon to a merchant of Cork, of the name of Joseph Hoare, and supposing it might have been addressed to some member of my own family, and also knowing that I was attached to antiquarian and genealogical pursuits, he very kindly presented it to me. I send a fac-simile of it for insertion in the Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society.²

Shippd by the grace of God in good order, an Wel
conditioned by *mee Robert Dowding* — " — " — "
in and vpon the good Ship called the *Senhora de Penha*
de Franca of Faro — " — " — " whereof is
Master vnder God for this present voyage *Manoel Mar-*
tins. " — " — " and now riding at ankor in the
River of Lizboa — and by Gods grace bound for *Cork*
In Ireland — to say *Sixe pipes of Red Portugall wine*
& two small cask of Brandy, For y^e Prop^r acco^t &c Resque
of M^r Jos: Hoare & Comp^y m^{ch}^{as} Cork. being marked
and numbred as in the margent and are to be deliuered
in the like good order and wel conditioned at the afore-
said Port of *Cork In Ireland.* (the danger of the seas only
excepted) vnto said *M^r Joseph Hoare & Comp^y* —
" — " — " — " — " — " — "
" — " — " or to *their assignes*, he or they paying.
freight for the said goods *Twenty two Pounds. fiveteen*
Shillings for the whole — With primage, & suarage
accustomed. In Witnesse Whereof the Master or purser
of the said ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading:
all of this tenor & date, the one of which three bills
being. accōplished the other t^{vo} to stand void: And
so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in
safety. Amen. Dated in *Lizboa the 20th of September*
1691.

mes m^s

¹ For an account of the family of Smyth, of Damagh, see "Transactions," vol. i. p. 260; and vol. ii. p. 187.

² The words printed in Italics in the bill of lading are, in the original, filled up in writing.

"The Mr. Joseph Hoare therein mentioned was at that day an extensive wine merchant in Cork, and the immediate ancestor of the present Messrs. Hoare, the partners in the eminent banking firm of Messrs. Barnett, Hoare, and Company, of 62, Lombard-street, London. He was the younger brother of my own immediate ancestor, Alderman Edward Hoare, of Cork and Dunkittle, in the county of Cork, who was a banker and wine merchant also in that city, and who served the office of sheriff thereof in 1684, and mayor in 1686. Their mother was Miss Mary Woodcock, daughter of John Woodcock, Esq., of Kilronane, in the county of Kilkenny. She was married to Captain, afterwards Major, Edward Hoare, who came over to this country with Ireton in 1649, and settled here, having received large grants of lands near Dunmanway, in the county of Cork, now the property of his descendant, in the eldest direct line, Sir Edward Hoare, Bart.

"This little document, now nearly 163 years old, and in the most perfect state of preservation, though totally valueless immediately after it had served its intended purpose, is at present of much value and interest, and not without its use, for it shows us that, bad as our own present times may be considered by some, at least, in one respect, 'the good old times,' as they have been termed, were certainly not much better, as from the immense sum paid for the freight alone (for which you would now get nearly the same amount of articles, or at least a large proportion thereof, and, perhaps, much better), not taking into account the first cost of the articles, the harbour, and other dues, the shipping, landing, and various other charges, besides the Government duty, wine and brandy could only have been within the reach of the very wealthy, and totally prohibited articles to the lower, and even the middle classes; and perhaps, had we within our reach or view similar and other like documents, regarding many of the importations or wants of former times, we might be induced to think ourselves more fortunate, in many respects, than some of those who have preceded and gone before us, and 'strutted their little hour upon life's weary stage.'"

Mr. Michael Kearney, Limerick, a zealous member of the Society, presented the original of the following very curious bill, which gives us a graphic insight into the life of the Bar, when on circuit in Ireland, in the last century:—

July y^e 12th, 1722. The Corpration of Waterford Dr. to Will^m Eeles, for Entertaining the Judg^{ts} att y^e Assies^{ts}.

Y^e 12, to 2 Botles of Clerrett, & 2 bottles of white-

wine to the Judg ^{ts} lodgings, at noone . . .	0	5	0
To one Botle of Sack	[torn away]		
To Lemons the same time	0	6	5
To their Super	1	5	0
To 19 Botles of wine att Super	1	5	4
To (sic) Botles of Porte wine	0	3	4
To Bread att Super	0	1	2
To one Doson & ten Lemons	0	4	7
To Sug ^r	0	1	0
To ale, Pips & Tobaco	0	2	8

Y ^e 13, The Judg ^m Diner	5	10	0
To four Doson & 2 Botles of Clarr ^t at Din ^r . . .	3	6	8
To 2 Doson of white wine	1	8	0
To one Botle of Porte	0	1	8
To 2 Doson & 4 Lemons and oranges	0	5	10
To 2 Quarts of Rum	0	5	0
To Sug ^r Round	0	2	0
To Bread	0	4	5
To $\frac{1}{2}$ a p ^d . of Duble Refined Sug ^r	0	0	10
To the Chearemen	0	0	6
To Ale Pips & Tobacco	0	14	10
To Ale to y ^e Stuartt	0	0	11

£15 11 11

S^r—Plase to pay unto Mr. Will: Eeles the sum of fifteen pound a liven shilings and a liven pence being for intertening y^e Judges the 12 of July at Super and the 13th ditto at dinner, and place the same in your accompts to y^e Corpuration. This 28 of September, 1722.

THOMAS AIKENHEAD, May^r.

To Ald^m Fra: Barker
Citty Resever.

Mr. Graves said that, in accordance with a promise made by him at the March Meeting of the Society, he begged leave to submit a few additional observations relative to the unique and highly curious pastoral staff-head deposited in their Museum by Mr. Blake [for accurate illustrations of which, drawn and engraved by Mr. W. Oldham, of Dublin, see plate facing page 138]. He (Mr. Graves) had, since that period, exhibited the antique to Drs. Todd, Graves, and Petrie, and also at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, and had sent drawings of it to Mr. Albert Way, the distinguished English archæologist. The judgment of all was, that, so far as Ireland was concerned, it was *unique*, and of the utmost interest. Opinions were divided as to its use. Dr. Todd, in the course of some observations made by him at the meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held on the 3rd March last, expressed the opinion that it bore a striking resemblance to the pastoral staff carried by bishops and abbots of the Greek Church, of which the handle, or cross-piece, was formed by two heads of dragons, or some other animal, turned upwards, and recurved. In this view Dr. Todd was confirmed by the opinions of Messrs. Westwood and Nightingale, the former of whom said that similar objects were represented in the magnificent work on the "Antiquities of the Greek Church," of which a copy had been recently acquired for the British Museum; whilst the latter gentleman observed that he had frequently *seen* pastoral staffs in use in the Oriental Churches bearing a close resemblance to this Irish remain. Mr. Way, in a private letter to him (Mr. Graves), seemed to doubt this resemblance, and suggested caution in assum-

ing that there is "decidedly a Greek-Church influence in this curious staff-head." Mr. Way had kindly forwarded a sketch, copied from a plate in the Abbé Texier's "*Recueil des Inscriptions du Limousin*," of a staff-head found in the tomb (as supposed) of Gérard, Bishop of Limoges, who died in 1022. This staff had a carved ivory cross-piece, apparently terminating in two dogs' heads; the heads, however, were *not* recurved, and there was a fitting and comfortable rest for the hand at top; whereas, as might be seen from the accompanying plate, in the case of the Kilkenny staff-head the recurved heads came so close as to preclude this use, whilst two bars crossing the aperture apparent between them would seem to indicate that a cross, or crook, protruded therefrom, when the instrument was perfect. Mr. Blake, indeed, suggested that the symbolism of the *boat-shaped* head, with crook or cross protruding therefrom, was most appropriate, the *navis* having been the symbol of the Church from the earliest times. However the matter might be determined, it was a subject for congratulation to the members of this Society, that it had been the means of making known to the antiquarian world a new type of that most interesting class of Irish antiquities—the crozier, or pastoral staff; and they were much indebted to Mr. Blake for depositing it in their Museum. Mr. Blake's account of the staff was as follows:—He is not able to say how it came into his family, or to what part of Ireland it originally belonged: his longest recollection of it is as a plaything for the children of the house. When first he knew it, it was about two feet long in the staff, and had two more knobs or bosses of intertwined lacertine work below that still remaining: the staff was covered with thin plates of silver, and this, probably, excited the cupidity of servants, and caused the staff to be reduced to its present scanty dimensions. As to its material, the staff appeared to be of yew timber; over this was laid a thin coating of silver plate, of which some fragments remained below the boss of bronze which still adorned the antique. The boat-shaped head, and also that portion of the staff inserted into the remaining boss, was of bronze, and nearly devoid of ornament. The recurved dragon heads had the eyes filled in, two with red enamel, and two with silver, each head having one eye of silver and the other of enamel. Mr. Graves stated it to be his opinion that a cross of the character of the cross of Cong, preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, originally protruded between the bars which cross the inside of the present boat-shaped termination of the staff [the accompanying engravings, made to a scale half the size of the original, give a front view of one side of the antique, as also a representation of the boat-shaped portion when seen vertically: they are scrupulously faithful, representing even the injuries which the original has sustained, and from which the orifice at top has especially suffered].

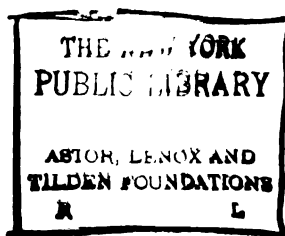


VERTICAL VIEW.—Scale, somewhat less than one-half.



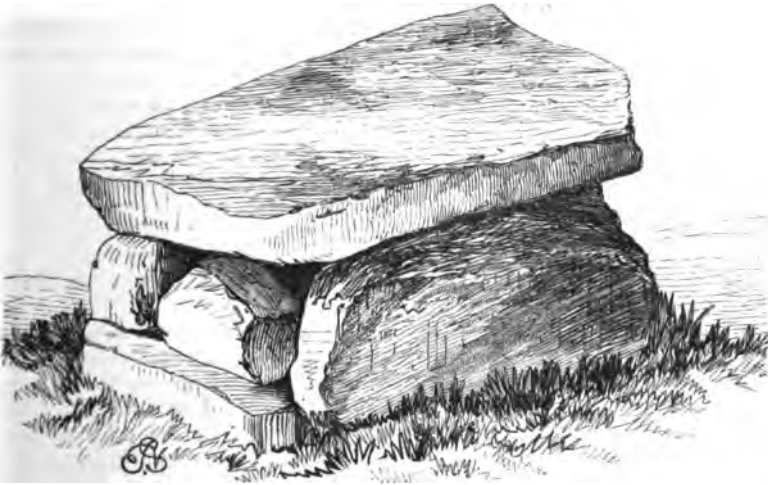
SIDE VIEW.—Scale of one-half.

ANCIENT IRISH STAFF-HEAD.



Mr. Henry P. Clarke, on presenting a quantity of calcined human bones, submitted the following observations respecting them:—

“I beg to present to the Society the contents of a small stone sepulchral cist discovered at Kilcreene, near the city of Kilkenny, in May last. Whilst walking over the grounds in company with a friend, he drew my attention to some rude stones slightly projecting from the bottom of a bank in the gravel pit at the rear of Mr. Edmund Smithwick’s residence. On examination we found them to form a cist composed of six unhewn stones. One, placed flat, at the bottom of the gravel, rested on the stratum of yellow clay, and supported four others on edge, which formed the head, foot, and sides of the cist, and on these rested a cap stone, three feet eight inches by one foot six inches, remarkably flat and smooth, but, like the rest, unworked, and which was evidently carefully selected for the purpose. The stones, six in all, are of the lime-stone of the neighbourhood. We found the internal measurement of the cist to be one foot nine inches in length by one foot four inches in breadth, and nine inches in depth; its longest direction being N.N.E. and S.S.W. The clay upon which it rested is five feet beneath the surface of the gravel, which here forms a rising slope over the adjacent pond or river. The accompanying engraving, from a sketch by the Rev. James Graves, represents the cist as it appeared when divested of the gravel



Cist discovered at Kilcreene.

and earth which covered it. The top of the cist was but three feet from the surface. Having carefully taken out the contents, they were found to consist of the calcined human bones now presented to the Society, mixed with which was a fine white dust, which appeared to be rather decayed bone than ashes. Neither charcoal, nor implements or ornaments of any kind, were apparent, although we made a careful search for them. I should

remark, that the fragments of the bones are quite hard and sound, and give a kind of metallic ring when struck. The situation in which they were deposited is, however, remarkably free from moisture, which may partly account for their high state of preservation. Having submitted some of these remains to a medical man, he was of opinion, from the size of the under jaw-bone, and the distorted shape (arising from softness under the action of fire) of others, that they were those of a young person. I have placed together some portions of the skull as worthy, perhaps, of further examination.

"It was impossible to ascertain if this tomb had any sort of earthen mound or other memorial on the surface above it to mark its position. I believe such tombs have been found in the centre of tumuli, and, like this, sometimes beneath the natural surface of the ground. If any such elevation of the ground were ever here, all indications of it had completely disappeared.

"As to the age of this tomb, which evidently belongs to the period when it was the custom to burn the dead, I understand this practice had totally disappeared about the eighth century, the practice having been expressly forbidden by Irish ecclesiastical canons about this period; so that we cannot, according to this view, assign to it a less antiquity than one thousand years. But to what more remote period we may refer it I cannot say, for it has not, I believe, been ascertained when the custom of burning the dead began. Mr. Wright, in his work, 'The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon,' asserts that it was not generally established amongst the Romans until the time of the Dictator Sylla, 80 years B. C. Supposing this to have been the case in Ireland, it is, of course, possible to ascribe to this tomb an antiquity of twenty centuries. It is, I believe, now ascertained from the examinations of cairns and other sepulchral mounds, that the burying of the body entire was here, as among the Etruscans and Romans, the earlier practice. I would remark, that Roman tombs found in England, and which are known to be those of the poor, are often formed of six flat tiles placed in the ground in a precisely similar manner to that now under notice, forming a cist in which the calcined bones were placed, and covered over with a small mound of earth. Perhaps the Kilcreene cist was one of the tombs of the poor.

"It has been suggested to me by the Rev. James Graves, that, as he is aware of several primæval cemeteries comprising large numbers of similar cists, here also there may be others, which will be laid open as the excavation of the gravel pit proceeds.¹ By permission of Mr. Edmund Smithwick, the stones were placed together as nearly as possible in their original positions, and the tomb is now to be seen on the lawn in front of that gentleman's residence. It was impossible to leave the cist where it was found, on account of the excavation being continued."

¹ I have since learned that, nearly about the time when I was engaged reading the above few notes to the Society, Mr. Graves' anticipations have been realized; another cist, formed of six small and rude boulderstones, placed in a circle, and covered by a cap-stone,

has been opened close to that above described. It contained calcined bones, but, unlike the others, mixed with charcoal. No implements or ornaments were found in it. The cist last discovered was about three feet under the surface.

Several of the members present expressed a hope that Mr. Smithwick would inform the Society of any further discoveries of this nature made on his lands.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

ON THE IRISH PEWTER COINS OF JAMES II.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, ESQ., M.D., M.R.I.A.

THE enormous quantity of brass and copper crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and six-pences which had been put into circulation within nine months from June, 1689, being found insufficient to meet the necessities of the King, he resolved to coin money of less intrinsic and current value; and accordingly, on the 1st of March, 1689-90,¹ a warrant was issued to the Commissioners of the Mint, whereby it was ordered that two sorts of coin were to be made, of a white, mixed metal, to pass current in Ireland; the one about the size of a [brass] shilling, having on one side the King's head, with the inscription, *Jacobus 2^{us} Dei gratiâ*, and on the other side having a piece of prince's metal² fixed in the middle, with the stamp of the harp and crown, and the inscription, *Mag. Bri. Fra. et Hib. Rex.*, along with the date, which piece was to pass for a penny; and the other piece, about the bigness of a [brass] six-pence, to be made of the like metal, and stamped on both sides, in like manner, and with the inscription aforesaid, to pass for a half-penny. The Commissioners were authorized to coin such pieces from time to time till further order.³

On the 28th of March, 1690, only four weeks after the date of the warrant for making the pewter coins, which were intended to remedy the scarcity of pence and half-pence, a proclamation was issued, in which the warrant of the 1st of March was recited, and all persons were ordered to receive at their peril, "at the rates aforesaid, in all payments," the said money which was made current for present necessity, and not intended to continue for any long time. It was further proclaimed that, as soon as the said money should be decreed or made null, that it should be received in payment for all rents, duties, or debts due to the Crown, or that full satisfaction for the same would be given in gold or silver of the current coin.⁴

Simon says that, "in March, 1690, three new and different kinds

¹ The dates in James the Second's reign are computed according to the civil or ecclesiastical year, which commenced on the 25th of March.

² An alloy of copper and zinc, which

contains more copper than brass does, and is known as Prince Rupert's metal.

³ Simon on Irish Coins, Appendix, No. lxxxiii.

⁴ Simon, Appendix, No. lxxxiv.

of money were struck, viz. Penny pieces, and Half-penny pieces, made of a mixture of lead and tin; and crown pieces of a white mixed metal."¹ It might be supposed from this statement, although the pewter coins were made current by proclamation in 1689–90, that none of them had been coined in 1689; but Simon overlooked the fact of the existence of a penny with the date of that year, published in his seventh plate, fig. 150.

This penny has on the obverse the King's head to the left,² laureated, the hair flowing in loose curls over the neck, which is bare, exactly like the head on the large brass shillings; legend, IACOBUS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Reverse, a harp surmounted by a crown, legend, MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1689. In the centre there is a bit of prince's metal, the size of which is shown in the accompanying engraving by the dotted shading. It weighs one hundred and thirty grains. See fig. 4.

The half-penny of the same date has on the obverse the King's bust, to the left, laureated, the hair short, not descending on the bare neck, as it does on the penny; legend, IACOBUS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Reverse, similar in every respect to that of the penny of 1689. In the centre there is a bit of prince's metal. It weighs seventy-two grains. See fig. 3. This coin was not known to Simon, Snelling, or Ruding.

A penny, with the date 1690, corresponds in size and type with the penny of 1689. It has a bit of prince's metal in the centre of the reverse, and weighs one hundred and seven grains. See fig. 5.

Another penny was coined in 1690. The head on it is smaller than that on the penny of 1689 and 1690, already described, the hair short, and the neck bare,³ like the half-penny of 1689. The value of the coin is expressed by P behind the head, which addition was probably made to distinguish this coin more readily from the copper half-pence of James the Second, issued in 1685, 1686, 1687, and 1688, which were of the same size as the pewter penny, and very similar in type. Reverse, similar to the preceding coins, except that the date is at the sides of the harp, thus, 16 — 90, instead of being over the crown: it has a bit of prince's metal in the centre, and weighs only ninety-five grains, although it is in a high state of preservation. See fig. 6.

The type and legend of the obverse of a half-penny, with the date 1690, are similar to the half-penny of 1689, but the head is smaller, and under the bust there is an ornament or privy mark.

¹ P. 60, edit. 1749; and p. 59, edit. 1810.

² When the head of a coin is said to be looking to the right, or to the left, it is to be understood that the head is looking to the right or the left of the spectator.

³ A penny of this type and date is published in Simon's *Essay*, fig. 176. The hair is represented on the coin as flowing in loose curls over the neck and shoulders of the King's bust, as on Nos. 4 and 5.

Reverse, similar to that of the half-penny of 1689; the date is in the same circle with the legend, but is divided by the crown, thus, 16 — 90. It has a bit of prince's metal in the centre, and the coin weighs seventy-one and a half grains. See fig. 7.

Proofs in silver of a coin the same size and type as the half-penny of 1689, but having the date 1690, are not very uncommon. See fig. 9. This coin weighs sixty-five grains and three-tenths, and is milled on the edge with oblique lines, like all the pewter coins previously described. Nos. 6 and 7 show the milling on the edge.

In order to remedy the scarcity of money, and that the standing forces might be better paid, and also to enable the King's subjects to pay taxes, excise, customs, rents, and all other debts and duties payable to the Crown, a certain quantity of white mixed metal was ordered, by proclamation of the 21st of April, 1690, to be coined into crown pieces, to pass for five shillings each. The refusal of these pieces was to be "punished according to the utmost rigour of the law," and counterfeiters of them were to be proceeded against as guilty of high treason; and all persons who should discover "such offender or offenders, so as he or they be brought to condign punishment," were to be recompensed either by a reward of twenty pounds, or "one moiety of the estate, real and personal," of the offender. Heavy penalties were also to be inflicted on any persons who presumed "either to import, into any part of this realm, or export into any other country whatsoever, any of the said coyn or money of white mixed metal," and rewards promised for their discovery. As in the case of the pewter pence and half-pence, these crowns were not intended to "continue for any long time," and whenever they were "decried and made null," full satisfaction was to be given for them in gold or silver, or they were to be received in payment of all debts due to the Crown.¹

The crown piece, which is minutely described in the proclamation, is of the same type as the brass crowns. The obverse has the King in armour on horseback, to the left, head bare, laureated, in his right hand a drawn sword, erect, legend, IAC . II . DEI . GRA . MAG . BRI . FRA . ET . HIB . REX. A small circular bit of prince's metal is inserted in the fore quarter of the horse. Reverse, in the centre a piece of prince's metal, on which is stamped a crown, the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, arranged cross-wise, on separate shields, each of which is surmounted by a crown, and in the quarters or angles of the cross formed by the shields, ANO — DOM — 16 — 90; legend, CHRISTO . VICTORE . TRIUMPHO, and round the edge of the coin, MELIORIS . TESSERA . FATI . ANNO . REGNI . SEXTO. A specimen in the highest state of preservation weighs two hundred and eighty-one grains. See fig. 8.

¹ Simon, Appendix, No. lxxxv.

In 1704, Mr. Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds, communicated to the Royal Society of London an extract from a letter addressed to him by Mr. Thomas Putland, who gives the following account of the discovery of a number of these pewter crowns:—

“King James, having turned all the Brass Guns of Ireland, and all the Brass and Copper Vessels of the Protestants that he could seize, into Coyn, viz. Half-Crowns somewhat bigger than an English Half-penny, Shillings broader, but not so thick as a Farthing, and Six-pences in proportion; it was order'd to pass current in all Payments, even in Bonds, and discharge of Judgments and Statutes; (insomuch that if Ages to come knew not the reason, they would admire to be told, that there was a time when men absconded, to avoid receiving their Debts, as many here did :) But these stocks of Metal being all spent (which he began to Coyn in June 1689), and no Circulation to bring them back into his Treasury, he call'd in all that he had Coyned, and the Half-Crowns, which before were stamped with a Face, were re-stamped with his Effigies on Horseback, and then paid out to those who brought them in, as Crowns; and the smaller Coyns were melted down, and re-coyned again under the same Denominations, but with less Metal. After the turn was served by this Stratagem, he had not wherewithal to import Copper and Brass; but for want of it, fell foul on the Pewter Dishes, &c. And the piece I sent you of that Metal was Coyned for five Shillings; and the Proclamation to make it passable was as ready as the Stamps, for it was prepared: But King William passing the Boyne, prevented their Proclaiming it. There was very little of it Coyned, for our Government could meet with none of it; until one day, rummaging all their Tinkerly Treasure, that they had left behind them in Dublin when they were routed, by accident I met with one Bag of one hundred and fifty of those Pieces. So that the Piece I sent you, altho it's of no Intrinsic Value, it's a Rarity; and had I thought it would have been acceptable, I would have sent you a Specimen of every sort that he had Coyned and Re-coyned here. I am,

“Sir, Your very Humble Servant,

“THO. PUTLAND.¹”

“*Dublin, Novemb. the 27th, 1696.*”

The writer is not correct in stating that the proclamation which “was as ready as the stamps” was not issued in consequence of King William passing the Boyne on the 1st of July, 1690. Simon had in his possession a printed copy of the proclamation dated the 21st of April, 1690, and he had seen two or three others. It is evident that it was published, and it is probable that some crowns were issued, as well as the other pewter coins which were made between the 25th of March and 21st of April. The proclamation which Mr. Putland alludes to was probably the one issued on the 15th of June, 1690, in which brass crowns (of the same type as the

¹ Philosophical Transactions, No. 297, March, 1705, vol. xxiv. pp. 1875–6.

pewter crowns) were ordered to be made, and to pass for five shillings each.¹

There are other coins of which no record is known except the evidence afforded by the coins themselves. Simon published a half-penny, which has on the obverse the King on horseback, to the left, wearing a broad-leafed hat, and holding a sword erect in his right hand, the horse prancing on his hind-legs: legend, *IACOBVS . II . DEI . GRATIA*. A small circular piece of prince's metal is inserted in the fore and hind quarters of the horse; reverse, in the centre a crown, behind which are two sceptres in saltire; under the crown a harp, and over it a lion passant guardant: legend, *MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX*. 1689., the word *HALF-PENY* in an inner circle at the sides of the crown.²

Simon, who published this coin from a drawing which was sent to him "by the ingenious Mr. Charles Smith,³ of Dungarvan," in the county of Waterford, was of opinion that it was struck at Limerick at the same time that the fore-mentioned pewter half-pence and farthings [pence and half-pence] were struck in Dublin; and, that they might be the better distinguished from each other, they had a different stamp.⁴

This coin is about the size of the pewter penny of 1689, and much larger than the half-penny of the same date; it also corresponds in size with the two varieties of the penny coined in 1690. It seems to have been intended for a pattern-piece, of which probably very few were struck; for I have not been able to discover one in any public or private collection.

Ruding published a large pewter coin of James the Second, the current value of which he did not know. Obverse, the King in armour on horseback, to the left, head bare, laureated, in his right hand a drawn sword erect: legend, *IACOBVS . II . DEI . GRATIA*. in large letters. A small circular piece of prince's metal is inserted in the fore and hind quarters of the horse; reverse, *MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX*. 1689.: in the centre a piece of prince's metal, on which is stamped a large crown. See fig. 1.

This coin is in the British Museum,⁵ and seems to be a pattern for a crown piece. It is larger and heavier than the authorized crown of 1690, and weighs three hundred and forty-six grains.

There is one other coin of James' which is not made of pewter, but I notice it here because the type of its reverse resembles that of

¹ Simon, Appendix, No. lxxxvi.

² Simon, pl. vii. fig. 153, and Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. vi. fig. 10.

³ Mr. Smith, the author of the valuable county histories of Waterford, Cork, and Kerry, who subsequently took the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

⁴ Simon, p. 64, edition 1749.

⁵ I am indebted to Edward Hawkins, Esq., Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, for impressions of this coin and the pewter penny of 1689, which enabled me to publish, in one plate, all the varieties of James the Second's pewter money with which I am acquainted.

the pewter pence and half-pence. Obverse, the King's head to the left, laureated, the hair flowing in loose curls over the back of the neck, bust draped: legend, *IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA*. It is identical in size and type with the obverse of the brass six-pence first coined in June, 1689; reverse, *MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1689.*; a crown over a harp, at each side of which are the numerals *II*. It consists of a hard white metal, which rings with a clear sound, and it weighs fifty-one grains. See fig. 2.

The numerals on the reverse seem to indicate that the value of this coin was four-pence. I know of the existence of five of them, which leads me to believe that they were in circulation to a limited amount, and were probably issued a short time previous to the pewter coins which first appeared in March, 1689-90.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE, WITH REFERENCES TO ENGRAVINGS
IN SIMON AND RUDING.

1. Crown. Pewter, 346 grains, British Museum.
Ruding, Suppl. part ii. pl. vi. fig. 11.
2. Groat. Mixed metal, 51 grains, Dr. Smith.
Simon, pl. viii. fig. 177.
3. Half-penny. Pewter, 72 grains, Royal Irish Acad.
4. Penny. Pewter, 130 grains, Edw. Hawkins, Esq.
Simon, pl. vii. fig. 150.
5. Penny. Pewter, 107 grains, Dr. Smith.
Ruding, Suppl. part ii. pl. vi. fig. 1.
6. Penny. Pewter, 95 grains, Dr. Smith.
Simon, pl. vii. fig. 176,¹ and Ruding,
Supplement, part ii. pl. vii. fig. 1.
7. Half-penny. Pewter, 71·5 grains, Dr. Smith.
Simon, pl. vii. fig. 151, and Ruding,
Supplement, part ii. pl. vii. fig. 2.
8. Crown. Pewter, 281 grains, Royal Irish Acad.
9. Silver proof of a half-penny, 65·4 grains, Dr. Smith.

NOTES ON THE SURRENDER OF ROSS CASTLE, AS READ
BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
AT THE MEETING OF JANUARY, 1854.

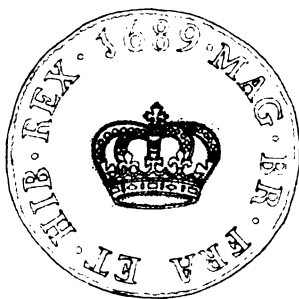
BY THE REV. A. B. ROWAN, D. D.

BEFORE I proceed to the matter of this paper, I may be permitted for myself and other distant members to express our obligations for

¹ In Simon's engraving the hair descends on the bust, as on No. 5.



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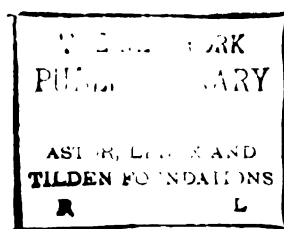


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the arrangement which affords us, at intervals of two months, the Transactions in Parts, as printed. I could not offer a better proof of the utility of such accommodation than by observing that, in default of it, it would probably be somewhere in the year 1856, that I should (if living) be in possession of Mr. Prendergast's interesting paper, at a time when its subject might well have lost much of its interest, and all its freshness, for him, myself, and the members of the Society in general.

The documentary evidences respecting the surrender of Ross Castle produced by Mr. Prendergast are in themselves most interesting; they set at rest all possibility of further question as to the fact, that "transported ships," or, more accurately, "gun boats," had been employed in the reduction of that fortress in 1652. Yet I think these documents scarcely warrant Mr. Prendergast's deductions as to the mode of transit of these vessels to the scene of action, and as he has (with a too favourable notice of a little antiquarian scrap-book of mine) adduced my version of an expression in the epitaph of the builder of these vessels in proof of his deductions, I am induced to re-open the question, and to argue that neither the original Latin of the Kinsale monument (*terris velificasse ratem*), nor my own version of it ("*o'erland voyage*"), nor yet the import of Mr. Prendergast's documents, are sufficient warrants for the conclusion "*that the vessels had been carried over the hills*," or, as Ware gives the tradition, "*over the mountains*," and by consequence that "*the river was not the course taken by the boats to the siege of Ross Castle*." I hope to be able to discuss all these points with that friendliness and respect for my opponent, which should always mark our harmless antiquarian controversies.

It is usual to commence an engagement with the light-armed troops; I therefore dispose of the original Latin of Captain Chudleigh's monument by saying, that Mr. Prendergast's inference, if it proved anything, would prove too much: "*velificasse ratem terris*," taken strictly, would signify, "to make a vessel sail *on* the land," which is something different from "carrying a vessel," or the materials of a vessel, "*over mountains*." I recollect seeing some years since, in a volume entitled, "Scientific Recreations," a design for a *land boat*, described as having made an experimental trip with the aid of sails, on the flat plains of Holland; but it is enough to say that, even though the attempt might have succeeded there, it does not involve the possibility or probability of such a mode of progress through or over the mountain passes of Kerry! As for my rendering of the passage by the terms "*o'erland voyage*," I am obliged, as knowing my own meaning, to protest against the inference drawn from it, and to ask, as I have before now been obliged to do in reference to serious deductions drawn from random expressions—"Adzooks, who would swear to the truth of a song?" When making a metrical version of the inscription rescued by Mr. Hall from neglect and rubbish

in St. Multose's Church at Kinsale, the question put in issue by Mr. Prendergast was not at all in my mind. I adopted what I thought a happy turn of expression made familiar to us by the modern phrase, "overland route to India," a route, I may remark, which, with a land transit of but sixty or one hundred miles from Cairo to Suez, includes many thousand miles of passage by water.

But, to dismiss verbal criticism, and to discuss the question directly, with a view to ascertain the fact with as much approach to certainty as documents or localities will allow, I beg to say that, reading Mr. Prendergast's paper, as I do, with a perfect knowledge of the locality (in fact by a half-hour's ride to the top of the mountain range over my house I can trace the Laune from its outlet at the Lake to its embouchure at Killorglin), and from comparison of *dates, which in this matter become of importance*, I now propose to support the proposition that the transit of the vessels was by *water*, and not by land. I proceed to argue this proposition.

Scout-Master Jones' letters to the Lord General Ludlow give us the following, as the particulars of the naval preparations for aiding the assault on Ross Castle:—

1. Two *half-made* boats, to carry two pieces of ordnance, *so prepared as they will be set up in two days*.
2. Five or six boats more, ready made to land or transport fifty men each.
3. Materials for making twelve boats more *on the place*, if need be.

All these munitions of war arrived in the Bay of Dingle (or *Castlemain*, as it is called indifferently) on the 18th of June, 1652. The terms for the surrender of Ross were signed on the 22nd, and ratified by Lord Muskerry on the 23rd following; so that the transit of the boats, their "setting up,"—their launching in such condition that, as Ludlow's narrative informs us, "*they could be rowed about in the water*,"—must have been accomplished in the short space of *four* days: whence we may collect that they must have arrived on the shore of the lake in a state of considerable forwardness, or else must have been of very flimsy construction, and intended more to alarm than to do active service against the enemy.

From the terms in which Dr. Jones desires "*a convoy to countenance their landing and conveyance*," Mr. Prendergast infers that no such precaution would be necessary "*if they were merely to be launched from the transport into the river*;" but I presume Mr. Prendergast is not aware what an insignificant river the Laune becomes from the point at which it ceases to be navigable for vessels of burden. A little way above Killorglin bridge it is so narrow that a few active men on either bank, armed with stones, could seriously annoy and interrupt the progress of a boat in mid-stream; and a convoy, to superintend the landing and clear the banks at each side, would be an obvious precaution for the planners of the

expedition to arrange beforehand: moreover, that the state of the country required it is evidenced by the communication of the Parliamentary Commissioners, at p. 29 of Mr. Prendergast's paper, which mentions "the routing of a party of the enemy, including fifty horse," and the taking of a deposit of powder "from an abbey called Killara." This is obviously a mis-spelling for the abbey of KILLAGH, or, as it is now more euphoniously than correctly called, KILCOLLMAN, a fine ruin, standing in the demesne of that name, the residence of Sir William Godfrey, Bart., and which lies but a few miles from the embouchure of the Laune. "*In these parts,*" that is, in the neighbourhood of the Laune river, Ludlow and his brigade continued until the 18th of June, when they made their final march to their entrenchments before Ross, "*sending thither their boats and provisions.*"

Mr. Prendergast's next difficulty as to water transit arises from the character of the river Laune itself, which "*being,*" as he correctly says, "*not easily navigable at any time, was, of course, at midsummer at its lowest level.*" This observation is quite true, and leads us to a consideration of the capacity of the river for admitting the upward passage of a boat in present or past time.

I will first take for granted that the present condition of the river is the same it was two hundred years ago, and it may be described in its general character as a succession of deep pools, varying from half a mile to a mile in length; these being separated by gravely shallows. As it issues from the Lake through some tortuous rapids, there is no deficiency of water, but the strength of the stream would require considerable and continuous physical force to draw a boat upwards through them.

Now all this presents no extreme difficulty, whereas, at the period of the transit of the boats, the difficulties of land carriage would have been great indeed. The roads of that period could have been little better than "bridle-paths," the woods which covered the country dense and intricate; and though we speak of the valley of the Laune, yet the term is scarcely applicable, except by comparison with the more mountainous region about, for it consists of a succession of high and low lands, over which I will not absolutely say that one or more pinnacles could not be carried; but I greatly doubt the possibility of their being so carried, fitted up, and launched on the waters of Lough Lein in the space of three days, as *must* have been done in the case we are now considering.

To return to the existing gravel-beds in the Laune. A question here presents itself, namely, whether we should consider that they existed in the same accumulation in 1652 as in the present day. These shoals are produced by the *detritus* brought down by the smaller mountain tributaries, which, in rainy weather, rush from the Reeks, and other parts of the mountain range forming the rain-basin of the river. Every one observant of the phenomena

of mountain rivers will understand that gravel deposits from such causes must be continually increasing, for these streams are continually changing their course: every fresh flood makes its fresh inroad on the beds of stone and earth forming the banks of the torrent; nor is it uncommon to see on the face of a mountain the commencement of what a future generation may know as a deep mountain glen, made after a single day's rain, by the rush of a stream accidentally diverted into a new course through fresh and friable soil, from which it sweeps all loose materials, to swell the deposits in the lowland river to which it may be tributary. These observations, applicable to all rivers fed from mountain ranges, apply peculiarly to the Laune, and induce me to offer the suggestion that its water-way was, in all probability, much deeper and more equable two centuries ago than it is *now*, when to draw a war-boat up it, though difficult, is not impossible; for it was actually accomplished some years since by a party of officers from one of the war-steamers then stationed on our coast. If I do not mistake, I read a slight journal of this expedition, written by one of the officers engaged in it; and I have a recollection of a similar feat having been performed by another party of naval men earlier in the present century.

Since I commenced this paper, on looking into Smith's "Kerry," I observe that he professes to have known of an old man of the name of Hopkins, living in his day near Dublin, who was "*one of those engaged in drawing the ship into the lake*;" and I perceive that Smith expressly states that the boats, "being arrived in Castlemain Bay," were "*brought up, by the river Lane, by strength of men's hands*." This testimony, which brings us to the era of a living witness of the transaction, confirms my view of the mode of transit.

And though this view of the mode of transit may "lessen the marvel" of the feat in one way, in another it seems to me to add to the reputation of all concerned, for the energy, promptness, and perseverance of their proceedings, especially of Captain Chudleigh, who, having had the "care of the whole business committed to him," proved himself "able and fit for the service," and justified the opinion entertained of him while living, and the laudatory epitaph which marks his place of sepulture.

Nothing remains to be said except a few words of explanation as to the causes which drew the course of war to what the Parliamentary Commissioners call this "knotty and difficult south-west corner of the island," and how it came to pass that Ross should be the last garrison and strength of stout old Lord Muskerry.

The castle was, and is, part of the possessions of the Brownes, Earls of Kenmare, and was held by Lord Muskerry as the guardian of Sir Valentine Browne, his nephew, then a minor of about twelve years of age. These particulars I learned from a volume in the British Museum (Addit. MSS., No. 4820), entitled, "Funeral Certificates of Ireland," which contains many details of interest for the

tracing of the descents and connexions of Irish families. The following extract is a specimen of the minuteness and particularity with which such matters were put on record in former days:—

“SIR VALENTINE BROWNE of *Molahiffe Baronet*—he did marry MARY daughter of Sir Charles MacCarty, Knight, VISCOUNT MUSKERRY, by whom he had two sons and two daughters—viz. Sir Valentine Browne, two years and half old at May 1640, John, Elias, and Elenoure. The above Sir Valentine did depart this mortal life the 25th April 1640, and was interred in the Parish Church of Killarney—July 6th following—the truth of the Premises as testified by Edward Hussey of Rath in the County of Kerry, Esq—taken by me Albone Leverett, Officer at arms—to be enrolled in the Office at Arms.”

The connexion between the Brownes and MacCarties of Muskerry was still closer and more complicated by a second marriage of a former Sir Valentine with the sister of his son's wife, for among the same certificates we read that—

“SIR VALENTINE BROWNE of *Molahiffe Baronet* deceased 7th September 1633—he had to his first wife Elizabeth daughter of Gerrott Earl of Desmond (that was attainted) by whom he had issue, Sir Valentine—James Browne—Nicholas, Ellenour, Mary, Catherine—His second wife was Sheely daughter of the Right Hon^b Sir Charles MacCarthy Viscount Carthy of Muskerry—by whom he left issue, Thomas, Margret, Mabel—”

Of these issue, Captain James Browne is frequently mentioned in the records of the time as an officer under Lord Muskerry's command, taken prisoner, exchanged, and finally slain in the battle of Knockninos, near Mallow, some time before the surrender of his ancestral fortress.

I have nothing to add, except that, as Mr. Prendergast's mention of my trifling “Lake Lore” stands on record in your “Transactions,” I beg the Society to give the little volume itself a place in their Library, by accepting the copy which I herewith transmit through their Secretaries.

ON THE RUNIC CROSSES OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

BY JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

LIKE Ireland, the Isle of Man possesses amongst her most remarkable monuments sculptured stone crosses, which have long attracted the attention and notice of the various writers who have visited or described that island and its remains. Some of these have been

depicted in Gough's edition of "Camden;" in Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland;" in Worsaae's "Danes in England, Scotland, and Ireland;" in Kennibook's "Etchings of the Runic Monuments in the Isle of Man;" and in a work by the Rev. Joseph George Cumming on Manx Geology and Topography. Casts of several of these crosses were taken a few years since, and deposited in some of the English and Scotch museums, of which Worsaae availed himself, in the work above mentioned, in speculating upon the Danish vestiges in Man. Since then the Rev. Mr. Cumming had further casts taken of the most beautiful and important of those crosses. Of these, thirteen duplicates have been secured for the Cork Institution. It was intended at the same time that they should be placed beside casts of those Irish crosses which had been to so much advantage exhibited in the Dublin Exhibition of 1853, and thus an opportunity would have been afforded to the archaeological student, and the public generally, for comparison and illustration. This design has, however, been unhappily frustrated, and the Manx crosses must remain, for the present at least, the only monuments of their class possessed by the Institution.

I have carefully examined those casts, and given the views entertained of them by the writers who have noticed the originals my best consideration, and feel convinced, whether right or wrong will be for others to judge, that they ought to be regarded as derivatives from those of Ireland. They possess many characteristics in common, and afford striking evidences of affinity and similitude, as well as peculiarities of an opposite description. They are, in fact, impressed with the variant character of the two races, Celtic and Scandinavian, which have occupied Man between the ninth century, when the adventurous Norsemen first obtained a permanent footing in that island, and the thirteenth century, when it became united with England under Edward the First.

The fragments of our early history, as well as the testimony of foreign writers, confirm the native Manx traditions, that the original colonization of the island was from Ireland. Its proximity, lying within nine leagues of this country, as well as its language, and the manners, habits, usages, and superstitions of the people, lend further certainty to this opinion. The Round Tower, deemed so peculiar to Ireland, is not without its mute but eloquent representative in Man. In Pagan and Christian times the intercourse was as that existing between two portions of the same country. Camden, Ussher, Lhuyd, and Pinkerton, are all agreed as to the Irish origin of the Manx. The latter says:—"It is clear from their speech, that the inhabitants of Man came chiefly from Ireland; it was held by the Irish in the days of Orosius." Æthicus, the cosmographer, delivers a similar statement:—"Menavia insula æque ac Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus habitatur." Tigernach, the celebrated Irish

annalist, says that Cormac Ulphadus, King of Ireland, was so called because he forced the men of Ulster to colonize Man. It has been assumed that these were Crutheni, or Ulster Picts. But there had been an earlier emigration than this from Ireland thither, even ere yet the Scoto-Milesians had quitted the shores of Spain, if we credit the traditions of Man, and the very nebulous history of our own Tuatha de Dananns, for in that very mythic period of our chronicles Mananan Mac Lir, or Orbsen, not only gave it a colony but his own name. Cormac, King of Munster, in the ninth century, describes this personage as a "famous merchant who dwelt in the Isle of Man." He was the greatest navigator of the western world, and used to presage good or bad weather from his observations of the heavens, and from the changes of the moon, wherefore the Scots (Irish) and Britons named him "god of the sea." They also called him Mac Lir, that is, the Son of the Sea, and from him the Isle of Man had its name,—"*Iar Cannaught*," p. 20; also "*Nennius*," vii. Mananan was slain in battle at Lough Orbsen, now Corrib, in the county of Galway, by Ullin, the grandson of Nuad of the silver hand, King of Ireland, twelve centuries before the Incarnation. The old statute-book of Man describes Mananan as "the first man who held Man, as the ruler thereof, and after whom the land was named. He reigned many years, and was a Paynim." "He kept the land," it adds, "under mists by his necromancy. If he dreaded an enemy, he would of one man cause to seem one hundred, and that by art magic." The kings of Ireland regarded Man as a portion of their dominions. One of the rights of the King of Tara was fruit from Manann (the Irish name of Man), payable on the calends of August at Tara,—"*Book of Rights*," p. 3. Scal Balbh, a King of Connaught, was at the same time a King of the Cruithean tuaith (Pictland) and Manann.

Amongst the legendary wonders of Man were reported a strand without a sea; a ford far from the sea, which fills when the tide flows, and decreases when it ebbs; a stone which moves at night in Glen Cindenn, and though it should be cast into the sea, or into a cataract, it would be found on the margin of the same valley again. There is also a mountain which turns round three times in the year.

Man received its Christianity from Ireland, having been converted by Germanus and other disciples of St. Patrick (*Jocelyn*, "*Vit. Pat.*," c. 92).

But a new element was infused into the population of this island in the ninth and tenth centuries, consequent upon the invasion of the Northern Vikings. In 875, Harold Harfager, King of Norway, after having subjugated Zetland, the Orkneys, and Hebrides, added Man to his other possessions, and during the tenth and eleventh centuries a series of Norwegian kings ruled over the island. In 1077, Godred Crovan succeeded in asserting his independence of Norway. He, it is said, divided the island, and assigned one portion

to the natives, and the other to his own followers. Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, however, subsequently recovered his dominion over Man, which he held until his death, when the family of Godred again repossessed themselves, and retained their authority until the time of Edward the First, when (in 1270) the Norwegian domination terminated, and passed to the Crown of England. Henry the Fourth granted the island to Sir John Stanley, an ancestor of the Derby family, to be held by the homage of a cast of falcons to be presented at every coronation. The regal jurisdiction enjoyed thenceforth by the Stanleys, as Lords of Man, was purchased by the Crown in 1765, and since then the property of the island has passed over to the Dukes of Athol, by descent in the female line from William Earl of Derby.

Whilst in Ireland we have but few vestiges of the inroads of the Northern Vikings, their permanent occupancy of Man has left indelible traces on the character of its population and monumental remains. An interfusion of the old and the new races ensued, visible in their institutions, habits, traditions, and to some extent even in their language and topographical denominations; whilst the old Irish alphabet appears to have altogether fallen into disuse, the Runic assumed its place, and is now alone to be found on the old lithic remains.

"In every church-yard," says the writer of an old "Description of Man," in 1744, "there is a cross, around which they go three times (at funerals) before they enter the church."—p. 122. These crosses are of elegant form, consisting of shafts supporting circles, and transverse arms elaborately sculptured, and covered with interlaced knot and scroll work. They are occasionally valuable, as illustrating costume, musical and other instruments, and the peculiar habits and ideas of their age. In type, as well as in their general style of ornament, they differ to some extent from our Irish crosses, with which, although extremely curious, and laboriously and minutely executed, they will not bear a very close comparison. They rather approximate more to those of Scotland, which are, however, themselves but modified derivatives from those of Ireland, where the form and style were first elaborated.

Of about thirty stone crosses, either entire or mutilated, at present remaining, thirteen bear inscriptions incised in the Runic character, and it is not a little remarkable, that these exclusively occur in the northern part of the island. Few of those are cut out of the stone entire, or have the spaces between the arms and within the circles perforated. Kirk Braddan cross is the only one of this character of which we have obtained a cast. The majority of them are merely raised in low relief, on the surface of unwrought upright pillar-stones, and generally carved on the back and front. They present the appearance of ancient Heathen memorials Christianized.

The rude stone pillar, it is well known, was originally a Druidical monument; and so sacred was it held that the early Christian ministers, in very numerous instances, had the cross sculptured on it, "in order," says Fosbrook, "to change the worship without breaking the prejudice." Ledwich expresses their practice in other words:—"These upright stones," he says, "were, by an easy operation of carving a cross on them, changed from an Heathen to a Christian symbol."—"Antiquities of Ireland," p. 75.

Their date, as crosses, may be assumed as between the fifth and twelfth centuries. In the former age the Isle of Man received its Christianity, and in the latter the use of the Runic character was proscribed by the Church. Indeed, it was so in Sweden in 1086, and in Spain in 1116.

Worsaae, who had seen earlier casts than those taken by the Rev. Mr. Cumming, claims too much when he would appropriate all the Manx crosses to the Norwegians; for they possess so many features to assimilate them to the Irish, that a very slight examination must show the unreasonableness of this pretension. He, however, admits that "they are *imitated* and *altered* from the Scotch models with great expertness and taste."—p. 285. Even on those inscribed with Runic characters, and these are the minority, the occurrence of Celtic names, showing a mixed population, should have suggested the possibility that all may not have been of northern erection, especially when it should be borne in mind that there are not any such crosses in Sweden or Norway, and when the very form of the monument and much of the character of its ornamentation are so essentially Irish. A very little attention to these considerations should induce us to assign them to a mixed rather than to one peculiar race. They unquestionably unite characteristics derivable from both sources. Worsaae would rely on the presence of figures of dragons and serpents, as indicative of genuine Norwegian workmanship; as if the use of these animals in sculpture had been exclusive to the North. Our own monumental crosses, shrines, illuminated initial manuscript letters, &c., will sufficiently exhibit the fallaciousness of this view. Serpents and interlacings form as much the staple of Irish and Scotch ornamentation as they did in Scandinavia; and therefore, as a test of origin, their presence is quite inconclusive. It requires no very acute powers of discrimination to arrive at the very obvious fact, that the recently converted and naturalized Norsemen, in Man, imitated a class of monuments which they found already in existence in the island. They varied some of the ornamental details in accordance with their own national tastes, adding or substituting devices and figures, familiar in their own sculptures, for those which they found prevalent on those now imitated. We accordingly find the outline form of the Irish circle cross universally adopted. The Irish ornamentation, its triquetra, interlacings, and

imagery, were in the main copied; but added to these were Northern beasts and birds of prey, snakes, and hybrid animals, Runic knots and inscriptions interspersed, derived from the myths of the Sagas and still well-remembered Pagan imaginings.

The inscriptions, although speaking in the language and character of the Viking, and in general recording Scandinavian names, show, by the occasional presence of Celtic denominations, such as Malmurra and Mal Brigit, that intermarriages and affinities with the old natives had been formed. As inscribed records, they are brief, simple, and meagre; merely declaring by whom, and for whom, they had been erected, and containing neither details nor dates. They contrast remarkably, indeed, with our more ambitious and communicative, but inflated and too eulogistic modern epitaphs. In the formulæ, as well as matter of the inscriptions, they differ much from those of Ireland of the same period. Phraseology similar to our *oroit do* (a prayer for) never occurs in the Manx Runic inscriptions; but in lieu of this we are informed, for instance, that Mal Brigit erected a cross for his own soul. The only name of an artist which occurs is that of a person named Gaut, who, it is mentioned on one of the five crosses at Kirk Michael, made that and all others in Man, probably all the Runic crosses on the island in his time.

The most remarkable cross is that of Kirk Braddan, taken from the church-yard of that name in the centre of the island. It is four feet nine inches in height and fourteen inches broad at the arms, according to the cast. Instead of interlaced cable-work, the shaft is sculptured with dracontine figures intertwining. It is decorated on three sides, the fourth being occupied by the following inscription:—"Thurlabr Neaki risti krus thana aft Fiak sun in bruthur sun Iabrs;" i. e. Thorlaf Neaki erected this cross to Fiak, the son of his brother, a son of Iabr. There are characters in the under part of the circle, which have been figured in Camden, and are supposed by Wilson to read IHESUS: "a curious example," he says, "of the transition from the use of Runes to Roman characters."—p. 542. This reading, however, is doubtful.

In the opinion which I have ventured to form on this monument I fear I shall be deemed very presumptuous; for it happens to be entirely opposed to that of Dr. Wilson, the able Scottish antiquary, who pronounces it to be "the most thoroughly Scandinavian in character of all the Manx Runic crosses." "The style," he says, "implies the work of some Norwegian artist, which he derived from his own fatherland, though in some degree modified by the favourite models of Celtic art, which have influenced the form of other Christian monuments in the island."—"Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," pp. 541-2. "I am not aware," he adds, "if crosses of this form are found in Denmark or Norway; but in nearly all the principal details, especially on the shaft, it differs entirely from the other Manx crosses,

and corresponds to those on Scandinavian relics of the Iron period." As far as I am capable of judging, there is not another Manx cross which so completely assimilates with the Irish model as this. Its form, the perforations within its circle, its tracery and style of ornament, completely establish its Irish affinity. Its main difference is in the absence of subdivisinal compartments or cartouches from the face of the shaft; but the crosses of Tuam and Killaloe are equally defective in this respect. The Runic inscription and Norse language could have been supplied to the sculptor by Thorlaf Neaki himself. It is right to observe, that the Kirk Braddan cross has been broken in the shaft, and is now kept together by an iron band, and a part of the circle has also been mutilated.

The writer of the "Description of the Isle of Man," already cited, says, in reference to a tradition of Man having been originally peopled by giants, that "when a new vault was being dug in Kirk Braddan church-yard they found the leg of a man very near four foot in length from the ankle to the knee." He further adds, in illustration of the tradition, that in Kirk Carbra church-yard was found "a human head of that monstrous circumference that a bushel would hardly cover it."—p. 123.

There are five crosses at Kirk Michael, of which three have Runic inscriptions. The largest of these is a pillar-stone, seven feet eight inches in height, by twenty-three inches in breadth, standing in front of the church gate. The cross and sculptures are slightly raised on the face of the stone, the latter representing a man and horse, a stag, dogs, knotted scaled dragons, spiral volutes, &c. Above the outer circle, which incloses the arms of the cross, occurs in each angle the interlaced device called the triquetra, from its trefoil form. This is a common ornament in ancient Irish monuments, as at Clonmacnoise, Killaloe, &c. It is also found on coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Ibero-Danish kings.

The inscription, which is placed on one of the sides, reads from the bottom upwards, as is generally the case:—"Iualfr sunr Thurulfs eins Rautha risti krus thano aft Frithu muthur sino;" i.e. Ioalf, son of Thorolf the Red, erected this cross to his mother Frida. The occurrence of Scandinavian names on this monument, especially those of old deities still retained, Thor and Friga, is peculiarly interesting.

Another stands on the north side of the gate of Kirk Michael church-yard. It is also a pillar-stone, four feet two inches high and eighteen inches broad. On it is the figure of a man playing on a harp of the genuine Irish type; two other figures hold in the hand either swords reversed, croziers, or staves. We have also the figures of a stag and dogs. The inscription in this case is on the back of the stone, and reads—"Raisti krus thana eftir Mal Muru fustra

sin M. Todir Dufgals kona is a thisi ati;" i. e. McTodir Dugald erected this cross to Mal Muru, his foster-brother.

A third cross is also a pillar-stone, three feet ten inches in height, and eighteen inches broad. It stands on the wall on the south side of the church gate at Kirk Michael. Its face is covered with cable-work. The inscription contains the name of its sculptor, Gaut, or, as he calls himself, Gaut Biarnar, on a monument at Kirk Andreas, and states that he had made all then in Man. It is remarkable as giving the manner in which the name of the island was pronounced by the Norwegians, "Maun." It also contains the ubiquitous name of Smith. The inscription—"Mail Brigdi sunr Athakans Smith raisti krus thano fur salu sind sin Brukuin, Gaut girthi thano auk ala I maun;" i. e. Malbrigd, son of Athakan (the) Smith erected this (cross) for his soul. Gaut made this (cross) and all in Man. A portion of this inscription is brought round from the side of the upper face of the cross.

A fourth cross, also at Kirk Michael, is but a fragment. Its inscription reads simply—"Grims the Swarthy."

On Kirk Andreas cross the inscription states that it was erected for Ufaig, but Gaut Biarnar made it.

On another, also at Kirk Andreas, the inscription records that Sandulf the Swarthy erected this cross to his wife, Arinbiorg.

On a cross near the Tynwald Hill the inscription announces that "Tnosruir erected these Runes to"

It is a singular fact that, although the Runic character is said to have been in use among the northern nations in Heathen times, that no Pagan Runes have been found in Man, although the Norsemen had held it in possession at least a full century before their conversion to Christianity. This circumstance, added to others, is calculated to throw suspicion on the pretensions to a pre-Christian origin which some have set up for it. In investigating its history very little can be found, in the obscurity which envelopes the subject, to justify the claims of northern antiquaries to its Pagan use. Tacitus ("Germania," c. 19) denies to the Germans the knowledge of letters:—"Literarum secreta tam viri quam mulieres ignorant." The *notæ* or lots, with which they were in the habit of divining, must not be confounded with literary characters, and the earliest mention we have of Runes represent them as merely used for magical incantations and sorceries.

Runes may be of high antiquity, but the monuments reputed Pagan, on which they have been found in the North, are, to say the most, extremely few, and it may be questionable whether these be sufficiently accredited. The simplicity of the form of the letters, and the limited nature of the original alphabet, said to contain only sixteen letters before the addition of binde-runers, or compound cha-

acters, carry with them a better evidence of antiquity than the alleged invocation of Thor, in the sepulchre at Glavendrop, in Fuhnen.

Be their origin as it may, certain it is that the vast majority of inscriptions in the North, as in the British Islands, have reference solely to Christian sepulchral uses, and that principally in records graven on stone, like the Assyrian cuneatic character and the Irish Ogham. On some monuments the inscription must be read from right to left, but generally the rule is the other way. We have no evidence of any Runic manuscript writing before the eleventh century.

The proscription of this character by the Church took place, as already remarked, towards the commencement of the twelfth century. This, it may be concluded, arose from their use, or rather abuse, according to Varelius ("Runograph. Scand."), in diabolical exorcisms and other magical conjurations, by which they became so obnoxious as to have been designated by ecclesiastical writers as the handwritings of the devil. Before this, however, Runic writing had become much diffused, and extensively practised wheresoever the Scandinavian power or influence prevailed. In Scotland it was adopted as the common letter on many monuments, even in inscriptions in the Gaelic language. In different nations we find an alphabetic variance. The Anglo-Saxon scale and letter differed from the Scandinavian; the Marcomanic from both; and that especially under consideration, the Manx, varied in several respects from all. In fact, the several nations using the Runes distorted and changed the forms, the order, and the powers of the letters, as if desirous to mystify, and justify the significance of the term *Rune*, which Spelman derives from Ryne; i.e. *Mysterium*, a word cognate with the Irish *Ran*, and the Welsh *Rhin*, occult or mysterious.

It is worthy of observation that in Ireland, where certainly the Vikings had formed settlements, and held considerable possessions, especially in Dublin and others of our maritime cities, for at least a century and a half, we have not a single monument inscribed in this character. It is true, that in Lewis' Topography of Ireland a Danish inscription is mentioned on a tomb-stone at Tibroughny, in the county of Kilkenny, near Carrick-on-Suir; but this happens to be a palpable mistake, as Mr Prim has assured me. We have seen too much of this absurd Danish origination assigned to all our ancient remains, the intrinsic worth of which is beneath contempt. But failing to produce Runes, some of our archæologists are prepared to give us a derivative substitute in our Ogham character, between which and the Scandinavian letter they affect to perceive some points of resemblance. An idea so visionary could only have originated in the paradox-loving mind of Ledwich, heated by his anta-

gonism to Vallancey, and be received by a "school" who look to the Danes as the source of all civilization in Ireland, and are satisfied to take up opinions without the labour of investigation.

And now, turning for a moment to our own crosses, of which so many beautiful specimens were collected and shown in the late Dublin Industrial Exhibition, it is with extreme regret it must be stated, that the hopes a short time since entertained of procuring for Cork duplicate casts have been altogether disappointed. After incurring considerable expense, and after Mr. Brash, one of our members, had, at considerable inconvenience to himself, volunteered to proceed to Dublin, to superintend the necessary process of selecting and re-casting such of those monuments as were deemed most suitable, he found that, subsequently to the sale of the exhibited casts to the Directors of the Sydenham Crystal Palace, the moulds had been ruthlessly cast aside, and, under masses of rubbish, after a toilsome search, could a few fragments only be procured! The reward of much expenditure and exertions has been the disjointed portions of three crosses and some few particles of sculptured arches and columns, of no possible value.

The fact is but little creditable to the officials charged with the care of these remains after the close of the Exhibition. But it is unfortunately too much in keeping with the neglect and mismanagement so indignantly attributed to them lately in the "Art Journal." We should have thought that no man of ordinary education or intelligence could have been insensible to the value or the preservation of such objects, much less could we have dreamt of the wanton destruction that impended, or of the barbaric indifference that could have permitted it, and brought such a weight of opprobrium upon the reputation of our country.

By this act of Vandalism, the kind and generous desires of Mr. Dargan, who had intended to present to the Cork Athenæum some beautiful casts of ancient ecclesiastical monuments, full of archæological interest, have been also rendered abortive; for when they came to be sought for, they were found quite mutilated, and in a state utterly useless. The sympathy expressed for our objects and wishes by Lord Talbot de Malahide, and the great trouble that his Lordship had taken on our behalf in their furtherance, not only by correspondence, but also by personal exertions, in conjunction with Mr. Brash, were, in like manner, wasted to no purpose.¹

¹ Mr. Windele having very justly excluded Lord Talbot de Malahide and Mr. Dargan from the odium attaching to the lamentable destruction of the casts in question, we are sure that every one must also feel that Dr. Lenthaigne

and the other zealous members of the Executive of the Exhibition of 1853 must equally lament that the carelessness of officials should have caused such an irreparable loss to the student of the antiquities of Ireland.—Eus.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIVATE MEMORANDUM BOOK OF
CAPTAIN GEORGE GAFNEY, OF KILKENNY, AN OFFICER
IN THE ARMY OF JAMES II.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

It needs no apology to introduce to the notice of the members of a Society, such as ours professes to be, the following extracts. It is one of our objects to collect and place on record the materials of history; and although the extracts I am about to give may to many seem trivial and unimportant, yet, in my mind, they are far from being so, inasmuch as they serve to introduce us to the private life of an officer who formed one of that formidable army which the devoted loyalty of James' Irish subjects enabled him to oppose to the forces of William III. From these memoranda we may learn how that army was fed and clothed. By their means we get a peep into the jovial habits of the officers, whilst one or two entries, such as that of the list of regiments encamped at Ardee, and the orders of the day, dated a few days before the battle of the Boyne, are of higher and more general historic interest.

The family of Gafney seems to have been founded, or at least raised to noticeable position in the Irishtown of Kilkenny, by the prelate of that name, who filled the See of Ossory from 1565 to 1576. The name frequently occurs in the Corporation Records of the Irishtown; and there can be little doubt that the writer of the memoranda which follow was of that family.¹

The original MS. is at present in the keeping of Henry James Loughnan, Esq., of Kilkenny, one of the members of this Society, who kindly permitted me to make from it what extracts I pleased. Mr. Loughnan, whose ancestor appears from it to have been an ensign in Captain Gafney's company, obtained the MS. from the late James Gafney Billing, Esq., of Dublin, a lineal descendant, in the female line, from the writer. The MS. consists of the remains of what was at one time a thin paper book, eight inches long by three wide, originally bound at the narrow end, pocket-book fashion, the writing running across the narrow page. The binding has, however, given way, and the leaves are very much worn at the top and bottom. The dates of the entries extend over a period of about eighteen months, terminating a few days before the battle of the Boyne. There, perhaps, the writer fell; at all events there are no subsequent entries. It is an undoubted autograph.

¹ In front of an old house in Vicar-street, at the foot of the Coach-road, Irishtown, is a slab bearing the inscrip-

tion, "GEORGE GAFFNEY. AN^o. DOM. 1704." This George was probably a son of Captain Gafney.

In the order which I have chosen for my extracts I have followed as nearly as possible the order of the dates, and commence with Captain Gaffney's entry of—

An Account of what Cash I have by me.

Jan y^e 1st 1689

To ten gini att 24 ^s $\frac{1}{2}$ gini	£012 00 00
To one portingall pece	£001 15 00
To to broade Jabous att 26 $\frac{1}{2}$	£002 12 0
To to half Jabous at 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	£001 06 00
To one quarter Jacobus	£000 06 06
To one broad Carolus	£001 05 00
To one half dito att 12 ^s 6 ^d	£001 05 00
To to quarter dito att 6 ^s 3 ^d	£000 12 06
To one halfe Edward	£000 13 00

in goulde y^e sume of 21 15 00

To Cash in silver y ^e sume of	£086 16 08 $\frac{1}{2}$
To English money	£013 00 07 $\frac{1}{2}$
To Cash in silver in one purs	£100 00 00

in goulde & silver y^e sum 171 12 04 (*sic*)
in bras money 020 00 00

Feb y^e 12 1689

To bras money in one purs 110 00 00 .

It will be seen that the writer carefully enters the rate of exchange of the sterling money, showing a considerable premium in consequence of the depressed state of the currency, of which an indication also occurs in the quantity of "bras money" in the worthy Captain's exchequer—£130. Next I subjoin a list of his company, from which we learn that it constituted a portion of the Right Honourable Col. Edward Butler's regiment of foot. The Colonel was a Kilkenny man, being eldest son of Edward, second Viscount Galmoy; he retired into France after the termination of the war, where he died without issue.¹ Under the date of March 29th, 1689, there are entries of payments to the men; these lists are nearly the same in names and number. Each man seems to have been paid every fortnight 1s. 6d., as pay or subsistence money. The muster roll presents many Kilkenny names, and is as follows:—

A list of Cap^t George Gaffney his company of foote in the Right Honorable Coll Edward Buttlers Regiment March y^e . . . 1689

Cap^t George Gaffney
Lef^t John Brenan

Ensigne John Loughnan
Sargen^t Florins fith Patrick

¹ Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage," vol. vi. p. 49, note.

William Boorke Sargen ^t elect	John Phelican
Corporalls	William MaGra
James Donough	William Phelan
Thomas Quin	Denish Cormock
Edmond Purcell made corporall in	Richard Comerford
y ^e field, and confirmed y ^e same	Tadey Mackaboy
time by Duke Tirconell.	John Boorke Senior
Peeter Boorke drumer.	John Boorke Junior
Peter Holehan.	William Boorke
John Coffi	James Roth
John Boorke senior	William Quigly
John Boorke junior	John Taply drumer
. . . . Boe [<i>page defective</i>]	Martin Callan
John Coffe	William Farrell
William Mansell	Peter Holehan
Thomas Quing Corporall	Edmond Megher
Edmond Megher	Simon Delaney of Lackin
James Curin	Denish Reyan
John Hini	John Boogi
Edmond Cash	Henry Cursi
Mortogh Costaly	Denish Kelley.
Michaile Fenell	Tady Phelan
Patrick Kinsalagh	Tady Flinn
Morgan Fing	Philip Kelley
James Reyan	Edward Glendon
Thomas Lawlor	John Murphy
Peeter Glendon	Patrick Wier interd March y ^e 16
Derby Boe	John Commin
James Kelley	Daniel Muldouni
Nicholas Kerey Corporall	Bryan Kenedey
Hugh Newman	William Kenedey
Edmond Purcell Corporall	John Maring

It may now be interesting to have a peep at our gallant Captain's private affairs. The date at the head of the entry is defective from injuries done to the leaf on which it is written. The words ". . . . self anno Domini 16 . ." only being apparent. But from a subsequent entry the year is ascertained to have been 1688. It may be necessary to remark that the commencement of the year was on March 25th at this period, the old style being still in use. The Captain's uniform was sufficiently gay, as appears by the items given below :—

March y^e 18.

P ^d for 2 y ^{ds} of muslin w ^{ch} made 2 payre of	}
rufels and 2 caravats	
P ^d Mary ffining for making of them 1 ^s 6 ^d , in	
thread 2 ^d	
$\frac{3}{4}$ of a y ^{de} fine scoth cloth for 3 necks 15 ^d	00 02 00

y ^e 19	P ^d for a hatt and lace	01 00 00
	for caravatt string 3 y ^{ds} scarlett	00 04 00
	for 1 y ^{ds} $\frac{1}{4}$ of scarlet riban for y ^e hatt band } at 16 ^d $\frac{1}{2}$ y ^{ds}	00 02 04

March 20th '88.

	Bought of Cap ^t Edw. Cadow, ¹ for a vest, 1 y ^d } $\frac{1}{2}$ of scharlett att 26 ^s $\frac{1}{2}$ y ^d is	01 12 06
	2 y ^{ds} of Endian silke to line it	00 06 00
	$\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce of gould thread	00 04 00
	4 dosen of gould butons	00 04 00
	p ^d for 20 y ^{ds} of gould breade	01 08 06
	for silke	00 00 09
	for making	00 03 00
y ^e 22	p ^d Ge. Cooke for a bagnett blade	04 00
	1 ounce of silver for y ^e buckels of y ^e belt } 2 oz to y ^e bagnett att 5 ^s $\frac{1}{2}$ oz	00 15 00
	p ^d Laurence Rinehan for y ^e making	00 04 00
	for y ^e Braille handel	00 01 01
	p ^d Peeter Milod for y ^e belt	00 04 00

07 0 . . .

March y^e 26

p ^d Nick Cormock for 3 y ^{ds} $\frac{1}{2}$ cloth at 7 ^s $\frac{1}{2}$ y ^d	01 02 09
4 y ^e $\frac{1}{2}$ shallune	00 08 00

01 08 09

March 28 1689.

	s. d.
to 2 nd thread	00 04
to 3 rd silke	01 03
to $\frac{1}{2}$ y ^{ds} buckram	00 04
to $\frac{1}{2}$ y ^{ds} deyed linen	00 04
to 4 y ^{ds} tape	02
to 7 th nec butons	
to pocketts	
to macking	00 02 00
to 2 payre of sleeves 2 y ^{ds} fine scoth cloth: } three &c.	00 04 0

The next entries relate chiefly to regimental affairs, comprising some curious particulars, such as £1 8s. 6d. the charge of going to and from Dublin, the making of "my owne leding-stafe," &c. &c.

Aprill y^e 4th 1689.

To my charges going & coming from Dublin to gett y ^e 3 Comisions interd in y ^e mustermaster generalls office, & for expedition	01 08 06
---	----------

¹ Edward Caddow was constituted a member of the corporation of Kilkenny

under the charter of James II.—Harris' "Life of William III.," App. viii.

y ^e 4 th	p ^d for a drum in Dublin & carige	01 00 00
	p ^d for a new drum hed & putting it on	00 01 06
	for drumsticks	00 01 06
	p ^d for 16 speare heads att 8 ^d ^{ap}	00 10 08
	‡ a " steele putt in y ^e s ^d speares	00 00 04
	for nayles for y ^e spears	00 00 04
	p ^d Paule Heare for making my owne leding- stafe	} 00 06 00
	p ^d Paul Heare for a muskett 3'	
	for fixing y ^e lock 6 ^d	} 00 03 06
	p ^d for a scabard & handel for y ^e broad backsorde	
	p ^d Paul Heare for y ^e other backsorde	00 02 00
	p ^d for 2 rapiers to P. Heare	00 03 00
	p ^d for a rapier y ^e was broken by y ^e sargent	01 00 00

The expenditures on "y^e Left Coll.," "y^e Magerr," and "y^e men" of his regiment, are given as under:—

1688.

	Expended at severall times on y ^e men	00 10 06
March y ^e 4 th .		
	expended	00 00 06
y ^e 4	expended	00 00 06
y ^e 5	expended	00 02 04
y ^e 6 th	expended in treating y ^e Magerr &c. 6 botels of clarett. 2 po ^{tes} of March beere &c.	} 00 08 01
y ^e 6	expended on y ^e men	
y ^e 8	expended	00 00 09
y ^e 10 th	expended	00 00 10
y ^e 11	expended	00 00 06
y ^e 12	expended	00 00 05
		1 04 05
y ^e 18 th	expended	0 01 09
y ^e 20	expended	0 00 09
y ^e 30	expended on the Left Coll.	0 08 06

The following item is of some historical importance, as relating to a visit of James II. to Kilkenny, of which I have seen little elsewhere noticed:—

Aprill y^e 9th. 1689.

	expended 6 ^d . 4 ^d & 5 ^d	0 01 03
	gave y ^e men a barrell of beere to drink y ^e Kings health y ^e night he came to Kil- kenny	} 00 16 00
	1 ^d of powder for to give a volley ¹	
		00 02 00
		2 15 03

¹ Somewhat more than fifteen months after, when William was marching to

Limerick from the victory of the Boyne, he also stopped at Kilkenny, and was

The commissariat of the army would seem to have been left very much to the private exertions of the officers, as appears by the following entries of money received for the "subsistans" of Captain Gafney's company; the items are curious:—

March y^e 6th 1689.

Receaved of Magior Corbett ꝑ y ^e hands of Cap ^t Roch a fortnight subsistans for my Companey, untill y ^e 14 th of March £14:01:04, & for y ^e 5 odd dayes of y ^e former accomp, £5:0:5	19 01 09
That is to say	
2 Sargens 6 ^s ꝑ week	
3 Corpo ^s and 1 Drum ^s att 3 ^s ꝑ	
50 privat men at 2 ^s 4 ^d ꝑ	

March y^e 28 1690.

Receaved of Magior Corbett ꝑ y ^e hands of Lef ^t Wading towards March subsistans for my Companey y ^e sume of	07 00 00
--	----------

Aprill y^e 6th.

Receaved of Magior Corbett ꝑ y ^e hands of Cap ^t Pendergas towards y ^e subsistans for my Company y ^e sume of	14 00 00
7 th Receaved of Magior Corbett ꝑ y ^e hands of Solomon on 'bove accomp ^t y ^e sume of	20 00 00
y ^e 10 th Receaved of y ^e Magior 27 ^s & 4 ^d & 6 ^s to himself for a five weeks subsistans for myself & my insigne	01 13 04
y ^e 15 th Receaved of Magior Corbett on 'bove ac- comp ^t ꝑ y ^e hands of his servant John y ^e sume of	15 00 00
y ^e 16 th a fortnights subsistans for myself to y ^e 24 th instant y ^e sume of	03 10 00
y ^e 24 th , To cash receaved of Magior Corbett— for myself a weekes subsistans until y ^e 31 instant	01 15 00
for my companey a fortnights untill y ^e 7 th June	09 08 00

received by the Duke of Ormonde; the Castle of Kilkenny, the Duke's princely residence, having been chivalrously preserved from the violence of the retreating Jacobites by the orders of Count de Lauzun.

In the Ormonde household Account Book, entitled "Charles Gosling's First Gen^l. Accompt. passed wth Valentine Smyth, Esq., the 17th of November 1691," I find the following item:—

1690, November 10th.

Paid severall Bills for the King's Entertainem^t. when at Kilkenny, £46:12:07.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to recover the bills of particulars of the entertainment, but they may still exist amongst the mass of manuscript household accounts in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle. The silver fork used by King William is still preserved in the Ormonde family.

and for my Lef^t foure weeks in y^e month of } 04 04 00
 May }

June y^e 7.

Reaceaved of Adgutant Sturdiuill a weekes } 08 06 04
 subsistans for myself, Lef^t and company }
 Cap^t 1 15 00
 Lef^t 1 01 00
 2 Sargens att 5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
 3 Corporalls att 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
 1 Drumer 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
 50 men att 1 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ p

8 06 4

y^e 7th p^d y^e Lef^t 1 01 00

To cash reaceaved of Magior Corbett p y^e
 hands of his servant Solomon a fortnights
 subsistans:—

Cap^t 14 days att 35^s p weeke 03 10 00
 2 Sargens att 5^s 2^d p weeke 01 00 08
 3 Corporalls att 2^s 2^d p weeke 00 13 00
 1 Drum^r att 2^s 2^d p weeke 00 04 04
 50 privatt men at 18^d p weeke is 07 10 00
 50 men shooing money at 6^d p weeke is 02 10 00
 3 Corporalls & 1 Drum^r 00 04 00

15 12 00

The 3^e reaceaved of Ensigne Comerfod is in-
 cluded in this sume

To contengent charges 18^d & 1^s 00 02 06

y^e 16th To cash reaceaved of Magior Corbett for }
 my Company, one weekes subsistans to } 04 14 00
 y^e 24th instant }

y^e 14th Reaceaved of Agutant Surdivill (*sic*) a }
 weekes subsistans for myself Lef^t & com- } 08 06 04
 pany as above, y^e sume of }

y^e 21st Reaceaved of Cap^t Roch a weekes subsis- }
 tans for myself Lef^t insigne and Com- } 09 03 10
 pany y^e sume of }

P^d y^e Lef^t & Ensigne same time

y^e 27th Reaceaved of Cap^t Roche on 'bove accompt }
 a weekes subsistans for myself, Lef^t En- } 09 03 06
 signe and company y^e sume of }

P^d y^e Lef^t & ensign y^e same time.

“ Peter Denn, Redmond Ffreney, James Roth, Roger Maro, John Maro, Daniell Maro, Derby Maro, James Roth” (amongst other names local to Kilkenny), appear in the lists of the company as paid their subsistence-money at Dundalk in April and May, 1690.

Under several dates, extending over the months of April and

May, 1690, there are accounts kept of the distribution of "pumps," "sherts," "stockings," &c., supplied to Captain Gafney's company at Dundalk and Drogheda. Amongst these are—

Ap^l y^r 9

William Magra at Dundalke a payre of } pumps, and a payre of stockens . . . }	00 01 00
--	----------

Ap^l y^r 23 1690

Derby Glison p ^d for a ramer at Drooda . .	00 00 4
---	---------

Ap^l y^r 23 1690

Tadey Hogan p ^d at Drooda for a new main- } spring 2 ^d 6 ^d & 3 ^d for a scrupin . . . }	00 02 09
---	----------

Ap^l 29 '90.

Murtogh Doran lent him to buy a shert .	00 02 00
---	----------

May y^r 9.

Edmond Kelley for a neke stock, and mending
y^r brich 5^d 6^d

June 16

at Dundalke one payre of broggs,	00 01 08
and a payre of stockins	00 01 01

Memorandum, June y^r 15 1690

remained of y ^r pumps	13 payre
and two payre of broggs	2

Dundalk

15

We now come to, perhaps, the most curious entry in the book, namely, some General Orders of the army, which, like a careful officer, Captain Gafney had copied into his memorandum book. Unfortunately, the leaves on which they are written are the most injured of any in the MS., rendering the Orders very imperfect; however, what remains of them will be read with interest. The date of the first order is torn off, the second is dated June 18, 1690 :—

.
the first line, the generall to be beate att 3 Clock in y^r morning, att 4 y^e asemble to be mustrd by y^r inspectors, y^e second line nott to shut, y^e gards as usuall, y^e pickets as usuall; none of y^e foote to put there horses in any medow, and must not send there horses beyond y^e horse gards, y^e retrete to beate att 9 att night, & take it from y^e gards. Y^e y^e regments named last night for y^e gards of y^e generall officers must furnish them exactly. Each Lef^t generalls garde must be 30 men, Lef^t &c. My Lord Tirconell and Mager Delosone¹ must have 40 men each, a Cap^t, a

¹ De Lauzun.

Lef, 2 sargens, & a Drum, Mageir Delosone requires none tonight. No soldier to ease himself between y^e linea.

13 men w^t a sargent to goe to y^e to parade in y^e same place y^e same time: Westmeath, Tirone, y^e Grand Prior's, & Gordian O Neale¹ to furnish each 30 men, y^e Grand Priors² a Lef^t Coll., each of the other three a Cap^t, Lef^t, 2 Sargents and a Drum to be att y^e hed of y^e gards to releive a Lef^t Coll., and a like number of men att Mara Castell³ on y^e rode to y^e Nurey and 5 men to be brought immediately to y^e Coll. of y^e Grand Priors Regiment, w^t a sargent, & a Drum from Westmeaths regiment, the gards to mount at y^e broken brige att y^e head of y^e first line, and they are to draw up when y^e horse gard marches to there gard post.

S^t Peeter is y^e word.

pickett 40 men.

8 men a Cap^t & an Insign att 3 o Clock next morning to meet att y^e gards at y^e hed of y^e gard

June y^e 18th, Orders, 1690

The generall to beate att 4, the assemble when ordered, the gards for Moyra to be relieved by 30 men from O Bryan,⁴ Bagnell,⁵ Hamilton⁶ and Bellu;⁷ O bryan Lef^t Coll.; a Cap^t and subalterne from each, w^t Drum, 2 sargens, att 3 o Clock, to be att y^e head of y^e gards to relieve y^e like number at Moyra Castle on y^e rode to y^e Nurey, y^e detachment for y^e horses as usually is att 3 o Clock in y^e morning: when y^e gards beate y^e assembly.

. are to of att y^e Magiors to be att y^e head of y^e gards to reaceave orders in y^e morning. Simpitar Brigadere for y^e day, Lord Bellu Coll.; Hamilton Lef^t Coll. Lef^t Generall Hamilton lost a gulde wach w^t seales to it, if anney souldier y^e found it shall have 10^s for his pains, and if enney officer bought it he shall be returned his money.⁸

y^e word S^t Poule.

Order June y^e 19. 1690

The incame [?] regular is to be 300 foote distans, bey streete 2 foote, the large streete 15, the fire of souldiers to be 12, y^e Lef^t 20 from y^e fire, y^e Cap^t 45 feete behinde y^e Lef^t, the Coll. to be 15 pases behind y^e Cap^t tins, y^e Lef^t Coll. and Mager to be in a line 2 pases before y^e Coll.

The campe garde to be 100 pases from y^e stand of armes.

20 pases from y^e fronte tent, to y^e reare tent.

Orders y^e 20 of June 1690

100 men to be sent on y^e left of y^e army w^t 2 Cap^t, 2 Lef^t, 2 Ensigns, and 4 Sargens: 150 firelocks, 2 Cap^t, 2 Lef^t, 2 Ensigns, 6 Sargens w^t a dayes bread for them all; 50 men to Drumgule Castell, w^t a Cap^t, Lef^t, & Ensigne, & 2 Sargens who is to bring pen, inke, and paper w^t him, to write to y^e Lef^t Generall of y^e day what hapens; 120 men to Moyra

¹ Gordon O'Neill's regiment of foot.

² Grand Prior's regiment of foot.

³ Moyra Castle.

⁴ Charles O'Bryan's regiment of foot.

⁵ Dudley Bagnall's regiment of foot.

⁶ John Hamilton's regiment of foot.

⁷ Lord Bellew's regiment of foot.

⁸ This is a curious entry.

Castle, a Lef^t Coll., 3 Captins, 3 subalterns, 6 Sargens, and 3 Drums; all these to parade at y^e hed of Antrim's Regiment att 3 o Clock in y^e morning. Grand Prior, Louth, and Gordian O Neale, Antrim & Bellu to furnish y^e above number.

Wacobb Brigadere for y^e day.

Bercon [?] Coll. for y^e day.

When the King goes bye y^e line, y^e picte garde is to draw out, y^e officers to salute.

The Word is S^t Andrew.

A few days before the battle of the Boyne, James encamped at Cookestown, near Ardee. Here we have the list of regiments and the order of the encampment. This entry dates a short time after the General Orders just given. One of the leaves in which the entry is made is imperfect at the bottom, which may account for Gafney's regiment not being mentioned:—

Camp of Ardee y^e 24th of June 1690.

The first line on y^e right

Seaven troops of Gards	1	
Duke of Tirconnell Regiment of hors		2
Three Batalions of y ^e Royall Regiment		
51 companeys, compute three Regments		3
Lord Antrim		
Lord Bellu		
Gordian O Neale		5
Lord of Louth		
Granprior		
Seaven of french each com ^t 16 companeys & Regm ^t	7	
Golmay's ¹ Regiment of hors com ^t nine trups	1	
Maxfild's ² Regiment of Draguns	1	
In Ardee Coll. Gase ³ and y ^e to Coll. M ^t Mahons ⁴	3	

Second line on y^e right

Lord of Clare his Regiment of Draguns	1	
Sunderland his Regiment 5 trups	1	
Parkars Regiment of Hors	1	
Hamiltons foote		
Lord of Westmeath		
Sir Michael Cregh ⁵		
Mahgilicutt ⁶		8
O Bryan		
Buslo		
Bagnall		
Lord of Tirone		

¹ Lord Galmoy.

² Maxwell's.

³ Colonel Richard Grace.

⁴ Art and Hugh.

⁵ Creagh.

⁶ Denis Mac Gillicuddy.

Mangan ¹ his Regiment of Draguns	
5 Regments of hors	5
. . . . Draguns	3
.	

Wth Coll. Sarsfild

Coll. Sarsfild Regiment of hors
 Aprukorns² hors
 Clifords Draguns
 Sir Neale O Neales Draguns
 Coll. Carrolls Draguns

Foote

Lord of Slane
 Dilon
 Clanrickard
 Galway
 Borke
 Nugent
 Cormonstowne³

The MS. contains several other entries, but not of sufficient interest to be transferred to the immortality of print; I cannot, however, resist giving one more extract, especially as it throws some light on the sanitary condition of James' forces, showing the prevalence of that decimator of armies in former times in Ireland—ague; in the fly-leaf of Captain Gafney's pocket-book we find the following by no means disagreeable—

Cure for y^e Eague.

One ounce of cortex newe, one Dram of powder of snake weed, one dram of powder of nutmegs made up into an electuary, with a sufficient quantity of syrup of lemmons, you are to take the bigness of a chesnut of it three or four times in y^e four and twenty hours, whilst it [the ague] lasts shaking, after it a glass of claret, or milk warmed mixed with brandy and sugar.

Whilst placing the foregoing extracts in what seemed to be their natural sequence, I have purposely refrained from entering on the general history of the stirring times to which they refer, although many a tempting open for historical disquisition is afforded by the various incidental notices which occur in the "jottings" of Captain Gafney. In Harris' Life of William III., and the graphic and impartial narrative of Storey, the general history of the period has had ample justice done it, whilst the details have been illustrated by the publication, in our own day, of the "Macariæ Excidium,"

¹ Lord Dungan?² Abercorn.³ Gormanstown.

edited for the Irish Archæological Society, with copious and valuable notes and appendices, by Mr. O'Callaghan. But although the prominent features of the picture may have been well and clearly painted, yet it must be confessed that the minor details are sadly defective. Mr. John D'Alton has lately announced the publication of an original Army List of James the Second's forces (should sufficient encouragement be afforded by the public), to be illustrated by an historical and genealogical commentary; Mr. O'Callaghan also promises a history of the services of the Irish Brigade abroad. It is to be hoped, that when the labours of these gentlemen see the light many *desiderata* will be supplied : but even though the publication of the works may be all that the character of their authors would lead us to expect, I cannot refrain from expressing a wish that the historian of the period could refer to many documents of a nature similar to Gafney's memoranda, that so he might be the better enabled to warm into life and action the vague shadows of the past !

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, September 20th (by adjournment from the 6th), 1854,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL MAC DONALD, C. B.,
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

Rev. John Browne, LL.D.	Rev. James Mease, A.M.
H. P. Clarke, Esq.	Hugh N. Nevins, Esq.
Rev. W. C. Gorman, A.B.	John G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.
Rev. J. Graves, A.B., Hon. Sec.	James G. Robertson, Esq.
John James, Esq., L.R.C.S.I.	B. Scott, Jun., Esq.
Zachariah Johnson, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S.I.	Patrick Watters, Esq., Town Clerk, Kilkenny.

The following new members were elected :—

The Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin : proposed by Joseph Greene, Jun., Esq.

John F. Maguire, Esq., M.P. for Dungarvan, Grenville-place, Cork ; and Morgan A. Mac Donnell, Esq., 8, Newington-place, Kennington-road, London : proposed by Mark S. O'Shaughnessy, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Robert Conway Hickson, Esq., J.P., Fermoy, Castle-Gregory, Tralee ; Henry Roche Rice, Esq., Abbeydorney, county of Kerry ; John Kelly, Esq., 38, Mountpleasant-square, South, Dublin ; Ferdinand Charles Panormo, Esq., 25, Lower Castle-street, Tralee ; Frederick George Hutchinson, Esq., Moorstown, Dingle ; and John William Busted, Esq., M.D., L.R.C.S.I., Castle-Gregory, Tralee : proposed by R. Hitchcock, Esq.

William Ponsonby Barker, Esq., D.L., J.P., Kilcooly Abbey, Urlingford ; and James M. Delaney, Esq., Solicitor, George's Park, Urlingford : proposed by Mr. Daniel M'Evoy.

Colonel Kingsmill, Niagara, Canada West : proposed by Dr. Bradley.

The Rev. Hugh Hamilton, A.M., Benmore, Church-hill, Enniskillen ; Robert E. Cane, Esq., M.B., Trinity College, Dublin ;

Hugh N. Nevins, Esq., Pastime Knock, Waterford; John Ryan, Jun., Esq., Limerick; and Mr. John Kelly, High-street, Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Thomas Woods, Esq., M.D., Parsonstown; the Rev. James Birmingham, P.P., Borrisokane; and Maurice Lenihan, Esq., Proprietor of "The Reporter and Vindicator," Limerick: proposed by Thomas L. Cooke, Esq.

John Turner, Esq., Master of the Dundalk Institution, Dundalk; Mr. Thomas Power, High-street, Kilkenny; and Mr. Christopher Humphrey Prim, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. John G. A. Prim.

William Slade Parker, Esq., Secretary to the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway Company: proposed by John Maher, Esq.

Robert Jacob, Waterford; and Joshua W. Jacob, Waterford: proposed by the Rev. Thomas Gimlette.

Alexander Ambrose Masson, Esq., 10, Oriel-street, Oxford: proposed by the Rev. W. D. Macray.

The Rev. P. Meany, R.C.C., St. Mary's, Clonmel: proposed by Mr. M. Kearney.

Braithwaite Poole, Esq., F.R.S., Liverpool: proposed by W. Slade Parker, Esq.

The Rev. Eustace F. Murphy, P.P., Denmark-street, Dublin: proposed by M. A. O'Brennan, Esq., LL.D.

James M'Loughlin, Esq., Inspector of National Schools, Waterford: proposed by H. P. Clarke, Esq.

Samuel Robinson, Esq., Proprietor of "The Fifeshire Journal," Cupar, Fife: proposed by A. Colville Welsh, Esq.

Ambrose M. Baird, Esq., Donoughmore, Queen's County; Mr. Kyran Marum, Newpark, Kilkenny; and Mr. Thomas Reardon, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. Michael Molony.

The following donations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. I. part 2.

By the Council of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 42.

By the Council of the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," new series, No. 18.

By the Author, Richard Hitchcock: "Notes on the Round Towers and some other Antiquities of the County of Kerry."

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 596 to 606, inclusive.
By R. MacAdam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 7.

By James Quin, Esq., Solicitor: Ptolemy's Map of Eirin, corrected by the aid of Bardic History; also a Map of Ulster, A.D. 1607.

By R. Hitchcock, Esq.: specimens of mortar from Aghadoe Round Tower; bones found in a rath souterrain; and bog-butter, from the county of Kerry. Mr. Hitchcock accompanied his donations by the following observations:—

“ The freshness and hardness of the lime mortar of the Round Towers form one of the points that have often puzzled me in relation to these structures. In some of those which I have seen I could find but little difference between their mortar and that of the adjacent old church, when it was composed of lime and sand; and yet there is great difference in the architecture. This fact is in itself of but little importance, but still it may not be altogether unworthy the attention of writers on our Round Towers. I am sorry to say that the Round Tower of Aghadoe is in a very deplorable state; and, if something is not done to arrest its utter destruction, must soon yield to time and that more effectual destroyer of our antiquities—man. In a letter on Aghadoe which I addressed to the Editor of ‘The Tralee Chronicle’ soon after my visit to the place in August last, and which will be found in his paper of the 18th of that month, I referred to the very dilapidated condition of the small portion of the Tower which now remains; but as yet nothing, I believe, has been done towards the object for which I appealed to the antiquaries of Kerry, and those visiting her far-famed Lakes, which are in the immediate vicinity of Aghadoe. We shall, consequently, I fear, soon lose this Round Tower, and Kerry will then have left but the solitary example at Rattoo. In any case, I have to congratulate the Kilkenny Archæological Society on possessing in its Transactions for the year 1853 what I am happy to state is a very accurate representation of what remains of Aghadoe Round Tower. I say this, not because the sketch is the work of my own humble pencil, but because I have been greatly struck with its accuracy when comparing the engraving with the original on the occasion of my late visit to Aghadoe. Having thus shown myself an advocate for the preservation of the little that remains of the Round Tower, it may be right to add, that the specimens of mortar which I forward to the Society for inspection were not taken by me from the Tower, nor would I do so. I picked them up from under a part of the ruin out of which they had either recently fallen or been pulled.

“ The few portions of bones which I send were picked up by myself in an underground chamber discovered, towards the end of June last, on the Messrs. Hilliard’s farm at Ballydunlea, near Tralee. As this was evidently the first time the souterrain had been disturbed since its desertion by the original occupants, perhaps I may be permitted to give some account of it. The ‘cave’ was discovered in the course of digging up an old stone fence which ran down through the length of the field. There is no trace of a fort on the surface; but a mound like a portion of a tumulus is to be seen, overgrown with blackthorn, briers, &c. This mound may have formed part of the embankment of a fort; but it is now difficult to ascertain this, as it seems to have lost much of its original form, and no further trace of a fort remains. The entrance to the cave is from the west side, where we get into a long passage, which slopes down deeper till it reaches the level of the floor of the inner chamber. This passage from where we entered to the little

doorway leading into the chamber is about seventeen feet long; its average breadth three feet, and average height four feet. A great part of one of the side walls is formed by the natural lime-stone rock, the whole structure being built with the lime-stone of the place. The rest of the passage is composed of middle-sized stones, covered over at top by large flags. The doorway leading to the inside chamber is two feet high, by one and a half feet broad, the bottom and part of the sides being also formed by the natural rock, hollowed for that purpose. The chamber is of a circular form, being five feet broad by six feet long, and it is about six feet high, built of middle-sized stones, brought in, one over the other, in the form of a bee-hive, till they are overlaid at top by a few larger stones. The whole building is very rude. The floor of the entrance passage and also that of the chamber are covered with stones, which seem to have lain there a long time. The floor of the chamber, under the stones, was partly strewn with small bones and portions of bones, and it is a few of these which I send the Society. I heard that a horse's skull was found in the chamber by some person who went in soon after it had been opened, and that, as usual in such discoveries, the greatest hopes of finding treasure were entertained. The entrance passage and chamber lie nearly east and west, and as the old fence lay in the same direction, it must have passed over them. I could see no trace of an inscription on any of the lintels in this souterrain. In the adjoining field, and nearer to the river, there is what I always considered an interesting fort. It is formed of small stones—I believe rather a rare occurrence—and in the centre is a large and rude stone, placed in an oblique position, as if it had served the purpose of an altar for sacrifice. I have often sat on this stone, meditating on its probable use, and on the curious fort in which it is situated.

“In Maylast a number of bronze celts, or ‘battle-axes,’ as they are called, were discovered under a block of bog-deal, on the clay subsoil at the bottom of a partly cut-away bog near Abbeydorney. A paragraph in ‘The Tralee Chronicle’ of June 9, mentioning the discovery of the celts and a quantity of bog-butter, states, on the authority of Mr. Henry R. Rice of Abbeydorney, that there were about two dozen of the celts found; but Mr. Rice, who has since supplied me with the particulars of the discovery of both, mentions, in letters to myself, only twelve. The place where they were found was the *second* cutting of the bog, at the first cutting of which there must have been a surface of twenty feet over them. Mr. Rice says that each of the celts weighed about three and a half pounds; but this looks like a mistake, or else they are unusually large specimens. The finders supposed them to be gold, but after having them ‘analyzed’ were disappointed. The celts were afterwards broken up and sold as old copper, at ten pence per pound! Mr. Rice, however, in his last letter to me, mentions two of them as being still in existence, which, he says, are only ‘miniatures’ of the rest. The celts were of the usual material and form, having a sort of ‘heel,’ which had no groove in it, but which must, Mr. Rice adds, have been fixed in a long, weighty pole, and pinned [or wedged] overhead through the shaft or handle, in a temporary manner, by a strong pin or bolt. A friend who has two of the celts, unbroken and in good preservation, informs me that they weigh, respectively, only one pound and a half and one pound;

but whether these are the 'miniature' specimens mentioned by Mr. Rice, or not, I cannot say. These two celts, which I have since seen, have nothing remarkable about them, except that one appeared to be of some inferior metal, perhaps brass, and that both are well-preserved examples. Could we believe the celts found near Abbeydorney to have been deposited at the root of the 'block of bog-deal,' when, as a living tree, it stood in one of the primeval forests of ancient Ireland, and could we form any idea of the catastrophe which felled it, and of the depth of bog which had since accumulated over it,—we could not help concluding, that many centuries, indeed, must have passed away since this hoard of ancient implements was placed beneath the root of that tree! An account of another and perhaps more curious find of bronze celts in Kerry is given by Maurice O'Connell, Esq., in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,' vol. iv. pp. 166–7. In this case, also, it would seem as if the celts were intentionally deposited in their remarkable hiding-place.

"The bog-butter was found in June last at a depth of over ten feet¹ beneath the surface of the bog of Aghamore, in the parish of Killahan, between Abbeydorney and Causeway. It was covered by a coarse cloth, of a very strong texture, resembling matted hemp, which when exposed to the air immediately crumbled into dust; but the butter itself was well preserved. There were about twenty pounds weight of it found, the greater part of which was sold in Tralee at six-pence per pound. Mr. Rice further informs me that the bog-butter is every day becoming more deteriorated in quality, by gradually becoming lighter and drier in substance. A small portion of the specimen forwarded by Mr. Rice to the Editor of 'The Tralee Chronicle,' kindly given to me by the latter gentleman, and which I herewith send for the Society's Museum, is of a yellowish-white colour, soft and unctuous to the feel, and emits a rather unpleasant smell.

"Vessels full of bog-butter are frequently met with deep in the bogs of Ireland. Several specimens, with the rude vessels in which they have been found, are preserved in some of the metropolitan museums. In the July part of our 'Proceedings and Transactions,' p. 132, mention is made of one of those discoveries; and 'Saunders's News-Letter' of July 17, 1854, contains an account, taken from 'The Coleraine Chronicle,' of a large specimen found in Boveedy bog, at a depth of about eight feet from the surface. It still bore the distinct marks of the thumb and fore-fingers of the right hand, evidently where it was grasped when being thrown into the bog. The man who found it melted some of it, intending to oil his carts with it; but on cooling it became harder than it was originally. The Editor of 'The Coleraine Chronicle' further informs me, in a letter, that such specimens are often found in that district. But perhaps a more remarkable example, as showing the extreme age of these deposits, is that recently dug out of a bog at the foot of Slieve Snaght mountain, between Buncrana and Carn, in the barony of Inishowen, county of Donegal, noticed in 'The Derry Sentinel' of July 7, 1854. It consisted of a butt, filled with butter, the butt or tub itself displaying evident marks of having been made at a time anterior to that at which the cooper's art became gene-

¹ Mr. Rice in his first letter to me says "twenty feet;" but I take his latter statement—ten feet—to be the most correct.

rally known in this country. It is formed from a piece of bog fir, which was cut down the centre and then scooped out, so as to make it sufficiently hollow. The halves were then laid together; and, after having had holes bored through them, sewed with untanned thongs, which still retain some of the hair upon them. Handles rudely formed, and cut out of the solid wood, are placed at either side of the tub. Thongs are also run through the holes in these handles, in order that the butt may more easily be carried from place to place. The butter itself is in a wonderful state of preservation, but emits a disagreeable odour. Antiquaries have frequently felt at a loss to account for the deposit and subsequent discovery of such quantities of this bog-butter as are daily turned up in our bogs; but I believe the precise period when the vessels enclosing the bog-butter were used, and the reason of its being concealed in bogs, are questions involved in considerable mystery. It would seem as if they had been placed in the bogs designedly, but for what purpose does not appear very clear."

By Dr. Keating, Callan; the Rev. J. Graves; Messrs. P. Strange, Aylwardstown; W. Lawless, Kilkenny; J. Ryan, Jun., Limerick; J. F. MacCartan, Thomastown; P. M'Gragh, Mill-street, county of Cork; and M. Molony, Kilkenny: various ancient coins.

By W. J. Long, Esq., M.D., East India Company's Service: the belt and scarf of a Naga chief, from the south side of the valley of Assam.

Mr. H. P. Clarke presented a fragment of the neck of an ancient earthenware bottle, ornamented with a bearded mask, in relief, which he stated to have been turned up during the removal of the ancient earthen banquette of the town wall of Kilkenny, in the course of erecting the local National Model School. The portion of the banquette in which the discovery was made had evidently never been disturbed since its construction.

The Rev. J. Graves remarked that, in his opinion, this fragment of ancient pottery was a portion of a "grey beard," as bottles or jars with a hideous bearded face fashioned upon the neck, immediately under the opening, were designated. Mr. Secretary Windebank, writing to Strafforde, then Lord Deputy, under the date of November 20, 1633, says:—"There never appeared a worse Face under a Cork upon a Bottle, than your Lordship hath caused some to make in disgorging such Church Livings as their Zeal had eaten up."—"Strafforde's Letters," vol. i. p. 161. The allusion here was evidently to the "grey beard" of the period, and was admirably illustrated by the fragment before the meeting. In Marryat's "History of Pottery and Porcelain," London, 1850, p. 253, there is an engraving of an earthenware bottle of the "grey beard" class. From the fact of the fragment presented by Mr. Clarke having been exhumed from the earthen rampart of the ancient town wall, the bottle to which it originally belonged would seem to have dated previous to the year 1400, when the defences of Kilkenny were completed.

Mr. Graves directed the attention of the meeting to an Ogham stone, presented to their Museum by Mr. Hugh N. Nevins, of Waterford. This Ogham, which was unfortunately imperfect, was inscribed on an oblong water-worn sand-stone boulder, presenting no angle to supply the *fleasg*, or medial line. It was the only Ogham yet discovered in the county of Wexford, and he trusted that Mr. Nevins, who was present, would give the meeting the information as to the locality in which it had been found. ✓

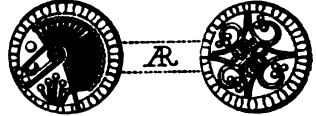
Mr. Nevins said that, in the course of some geological researches on the promontory of Hook, he had accidentally lighted on the monument beneath the clay cliff under the ruins of St. Bricane's Church, an ancient ecclesiastical remain of very small size, at present standing within three feet of the edge of the bank. The stone might have been thrown over; but it was more probable that it had been washed down with the greater part of the burial-ground, which was every year yielding to the violence of the waves. He had made diligent search, both on the beach and in the neighbouring farm-yards, for the remainder of the stone, but without success, and he removed that portion which he now had the pleasure of presenting to the Society, because, if left in the position in which he had found it on the beach, it might have been washed away in the next storm. He had exhibited the stone, shortly after its discovery, to the Royal Irish Academy, where it had attracted the attention of Dr. Graves, and that learned gentleman had got it engraved for his forthcoming work on Oghams. Dr. Graves had deciphered the portion of the inscription remaining, and had suggested, from its rounded oblong form, that it originally served as the pillow of the ascetic or anchorite of the neighbouring church, and had been inscribed as his monument on his death. The present ruin was certainly not older than the thirteenth century, but, if Dr. Graves' supposition were well founded, it must have been preceded by an earlier cell. He was happy to present this Ogham monument to the Museum of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, as the association embraced the district in which it had been found.

A special vote of thanks to Mr. Nevins, for his very valuable donation, having been moved by the Rev. Dr. Browne, and seconded by the Rev. James Graves, passed unanimously.

Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork, communicated the following observations on an unpublished Hiberno-Danish coin. The wood engraving which illustrates Mr. Hoare's paper has been kindly presented to the Society by that gentleman:—

“I send a very accurate drawing of an extremely interesting Hiberno-Danish silver coin (weight, eleven grains), which belongs to my collection, and is as yet unpublished; it was found in the neighbourhood of the town of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, about the year 1820, in breaking up one of those curious circular earthen mounds, or intrenchments, so very nume-

rous in almost all parts of Ireland, and termed generally and traditionally by the country people '*Danish forts*' or '*raths*;' it was given to me, a few years since, by the gentleman on whose property it was found, and who had retained it since the time of its discovery. To attempt to appropriate it with certainty to any particular personage, will be, I fear, a hopeless task, as not a letter is to be found on either obverse or reverse, the places of the legends being altogether occupied, on both sides, with strokes, resembling the letter *i*. The reverse, however, is most interesting, as it has been evidently copied or imitated from a penny of Henry the First of England, which will be found figured in the 'Supplement' to Ruding, and perhaps, therefore, this coin may



be considered somewhat in the light of an evidence that the intercourse between each island was greater in those days than some persons have hitherto imagined or supposed, or, at least, have been willing to allow. It is also the only Hiberno-Danish coin, except one other specimen, I have ever seen, on which the three pellets thus arranged are to be found, and which, afterwards, for centuries, became of such general use in the English coinage. The ornaments outside are, no doubt, representations of Ireland's national emblem, the shamrock, and therefore, coupled with the other mentioned incidents, clearly denote it to be of Irish origin, which, I fear, many of the so-called Hiberno-Danish coins are not. As contemporaneous with the reign of Henry the First, it may have belonged to Regnald the Third, who, at that period, flourished as one of the Northern Sea-Kings of Ireland."¹

Mr. Prim called the attention of the meeting to a discovery made in the shop of Mr. Thomas Power, High-street, in the course of some recent alterations. Mr. Power having occasion to add to his premises the house adjoining, formerly occupied by Mr. Basil Gray (which latter was of considerable antiquity, and traditionally said to have formed the residence of the regicide Axtel, whilst Governor of Kilkenny), it became apparent, in pulling down the shop fittings and recent masonry, that the building originally opened to the street, and communicated with the houses at either side, by archways of dressed stone, a portion of the ancient open colonnade, or pent-house, serving for the exposition of goods and a covered side-way for foot passengers. But what was still more curious was, that those piers, themselves some centuries old, rested on foundations formed of ancient tomb-stones, one bearing a raised floriated cross of the sixteenth century, the other an incised one of the fourteenth. As it was impossible to expose any large surface of the tombs, with safety to the house, the inscriptions, if any, were not apparent.

¹ An ornament, precisely similar to what I have designated the shamrock, is to be found on an ancient silver ring, dug up during the month of July, 1844, in the vicinity of the city of Cork, and

now in my collection; it will be seen represented and described in the "Journal" of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 6, June, 1845, vol. ii. page 198.

Mr. Clarke informed the Society, that since the last meeting he had found at Kilcreene another very small sepulchral cist, somewhat similar in character to the *second* then mentioned, and which also contained burnt human bones, mixed with small fragments of charcoal. He had likewise observed a number of stones scattered on the top of the bank, which he had no doubt were the remains of another cist; thus the anticipation of the Rev. Mr. Graves, as to this place being on a very ancient cemetery, might be therefore now considered as fully verified. On looking over the "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*" for July (p. 192), he saw a similar cemetery noticed as existing in the townland of Church-walls, county of Down. The author says—"The spot seems to have been at some remote period a burying-place, as several ancient graves of peculiar construction were met with at about three or four feet from the surface. These graves appeared to have been formed by placing long narrow flag-stones, edgewise, along the sides and at the extremities; and to have been covered at top by similar stones, somewhat in the manner of slating." The similarity of the graves as to construction and position he considered remarkable.

Mr. Graves stated (with reference to the recent extraordinary discovery of gold ornaments in the county of Clare, a portion of which, purchased for upwards of £500, at the current price of gold, he had recently seen in Dublin), that he had been informed by Mr. F. Barnes, C.E., the then contractor for the Limerick and Ennis Railway, that the discovery had been made about two miles north of the town of Newmarket-on-Fergus, in the following manner:—Whilst ditching the line, the ganger ordered some of the navvies to straighten an inequality which had been left in the dike, bounding a portion of the line which passed close to the lake of Mooghaun;¹ whilst they were obeying these orders a large stone tumbled out, and revealed a small chamber, rudely built, about fifteen inches or two feet square, covered at top by a flag. The cavity was entirely filled with antique ornaments composed of the precious metal, amongst which were a few ingots. A scramble immediately took place amongst the navvies, who, on dividing the treasure-trove, shortly after decamped, and disposed each of his share for a few pounds to travelling dealers in such matters. The field in which the discovery was made had never been covered by the waters of the lake. Dr. Todd having recently given a detailed notice of the various articles composing this remarkable "find" to the Royal Irish Academy, Mr. Graves said he did not consider it necessary to refer further to them; but he wished to place the above facts on record, as very

¹ In the townland of Mooghaun, and close to the lake, there is a most remarkable group of earthworks, apparently,

from its vast size, in ancient times the residence of a king or toparch.—See Ordnance map of Clare, sheet 42.

little appeared to be known as to the circumstances attending the discovery.

Mr. J. D. Mac Mahon, Blackrock, Dublin,¹ communicated the following observations on tulachs as places of sepulture:—

“The preservation of all the aids to elucidate the ancient names and usages of Ireland is an object well worthy of the care of every Irishman. Indeed, it is in this view that such associations as the Kilkenny Archaeological Society are chiefly useful. The isolated facts furnished by its members may appear to a superficial observer to be of little import; but they, nevertheless, are an accumulation of materials which may be made available by some future historian in constructing a history of the country based upon something like adequate authority.

“Apparently the most trivial circumstances collected from an examination of the remains and traditions of the country, as preserved in her monuments and the names of her localities, may serve to illustrate or explain matters otherwise inexplicable. The names, for instance, of the raths and mounds which are so thickly scattered over the island, when examined philologically, may point to the scene of many a noble achievement, or chronicle the existence of some personage who otherwise might be esteemed fabulous. Care should be taken, however, that nothing should be received on inadequate evidence. The collector should proceed with caution, and authenticate every statement by all the authority within his reach; and when hypothesis is indulged in, it should be only taken for so much as it is worth, and duly sifted before it is elevated to the dignity of fact. Crude and undigested criticism darkens the object it is intended to illuminate; while ignorant and presumptuous opinions disgust the caudid and ingenuous inquirer.

“In this spirit my present object is to make a few observations upon Mr. John O'Daly's paper, read at the May meeting of the Society, ‘On Tulachs as places of Sepultura.’

“The essay was called forth, as it appears, by a passing observation of Mr. Prim's on the name of Tullaherin. Taking the ordinary meaning of the word tulach, Mr. Prim stated that the name was ‘generally supposed to signify the height of Kieran;’ but added, ‘It was sometimes pronounced and spelled Tullaherim, which would mean the dry hill, a term certainly descriptive of its peculiar situation, it being elevated ground nearly surrounded by a marsh.’ In opposition to this opinion, or rather to this statement of what Mr. Prim believed to be the fact, Mr. O'Daly says:—‘I now beg leave to intimate, that, in my opinion, the word, tulach, signifies a burial-place, and that the original name, which has been corrupted into Tullaherin, literally meant the burial-place dedicated to St. Kieran of Ossory, or founded by him.’

“I may here premise, that I am totally unacquainted with the Irish language; upon any grammatical criticism, therefore, of Mr. O'Daly's opinion

¹ The communication forwarded by Mr. Mac Mahon (?) is here printed, because it serves to elucidate, in a degree, the interesting question of ancient Irish sepulchral remains. It is but right to

state, however, that a letter, addressed as above, has been returned to the Honorary Secretaries from the Dead Letter Office, endorsed, by the Post Office authorities, “not known.”—Eds.

upon the name, I do not intend to observe. The logical deductions, however, which he attempts to draw are fairly open to remark from any one who can estimate in how far his premises justify the conclusions at which he arrives.

"As a preliminary to the investigation, I consulted the only Irish authorities within my reach, namely, O'Brien's and Conneys' Dictionaries, and O'Donovan's translation of the Annals of the Four Masters. In the two first I found the translation of the word given, a 'hill' or 'mound;' and on referring to all the names in O'Donovan's index, with which the word is compounded, in the two or three places where it is translated, hill and mound are the only terms used, and there is not a single hint that 'tomb' or 'burial-place' might be employed for the purpose. I regret that time or opportunity did not enable me to look further into the subject; but as Mr. O'Daly does not himself quote any authority on his side, I am justified in supposing that he is single-handed in his endeavour to establish the opinion which he has expressed so confidently; and that the proofs which he has produced, so far as the controversy has as yet extended, are the only ones available.

"His first instance is derived from what he calls a Fenian romance, of great antiquity and value, in which St. Patrick is said to have been standing on a verdant *tulach* (which Mr. O'Daly, between parentheses, translates 'mound'), and inquiring into its origin and history. Caoilte replies, 'The cause of this sepulchre is this,' &c., using the word *feart* instead of *tulach*. The probability is, therefore, that Caoilte, instead of referring to the large hill (or *tulach*) itself, with which no particular story might have been connected, points to a tomb (or *feart*) erected upon it: an opinion which is borne out by the next sentence, in which it is stated that the very man, Airnealach, who was interred here, was standing on this identical *tulach* when certain events occurred, which Caoilte proceeds to narrate. I am not aware of any grammatical form, or of any figure of speech, which permits a narrator to speak of a thing as existing at a period prior to the existence of the thing itself. There is considerable confusion, indeed, in the passage, or at least in Mr. O'Daly's translation of it, which makes it very difficult to be comprehended; for instance, the following words occur in one sentence:—'On a day that he [Airnealach] *had been on this tulach*, a poet came to him with poems, and Airnealach said to him, "Great is thy name, O man of song! excuse me at present, and allow me a respite from rewarding thee, until I shall have my jewels and wealth at hand." "By my word," said the poet, "I shall grant you no such indulgence, but, on the contrary, I will satirize, persecute, and defame you this very day." When Airnealach had heard these threats, he became downcast in his face and countenance, and never raised his head till he died of shame. *This tulach was constructed over him*; his sepulchral stone was erected, and against it is your back, holy Patrick!' It is not an unfair deduction from this passage to state the facts contained in it thus:—Airnealach stood upon *this tulach*—Airnealach died—and over Airnealach was *this tulach* constructed.

"Mr. O'Daly's second instance is taken from the same extract from the Fenian romance. The only words bearing on the subject are:—'"Whose *feart* (grave) is that other on yonder *tulach*, to the south, Caoilte?" inquired St. Patrick.' The mode of expression in this sentence, while

it offers no support whatever for Mr. O'Daly's meaning of the word *tulach*—for the word *feart* is used as expressing the grave erected on the hill—is confirmatory of the explanation just given by me in the preceding paragraph, namely, that Caoilte was pointing to a grave on the *tulach* when he said, 'The cause of this sepulchre is this,' &c. Certainly, it affords no evidence that *feart* (grave) and *tulach* (mound) are exchangeable terms.

"Mr. O'Daly's commentary on these passages is well worthy of attention. 'If these *tulachs*,' he says, 'had been the burial-places of two Pagan princes, namely, Airnealach, son of the King of Leinster, and Salbhuidhe, son of the King of Munster, there is every reason to believe that *other burial-places* had also been denominated *tulachs*;' and concludes, 'Hence, *tulach*, means a place of sepulture; and Tullaherin, in the county of Kilkenny, *may* mean the place of sepulture or cemetery dedicated to St. Kieran of Ossory.' It *may*, but Mr. Prim's suggestion *may* be equally correct.

"Mr. O'Daly's next instances are a group of names which he takes unlimited license in forcing into his service. The first is Tullaroan, 'which *is* the burial-place of, or *dedicated to*, St. Odhran,' different things, it might be supposed; then follows Tullamaine, where it appears a man with red hair lies interred; Tullinally, called so, '*probably* from the *fact* of some Fenian heroes being interred there;' Tullyvin, where Fionn Mac Cumhaill [Fin-ma-cool] *may have been* interred; Tullyvanish and Tullowbeg, where two men, it appears, were really buried; and Tullynanevee, 'another instance of *tulachs* being the burial-places, or *dedicated to* Irish saints.'

"A poem furnishes the next of Mr. O'Daly's proofs. The word 'grave' occurs four times in the translation, but in no instance as the rendering of *tulach*. In fact, the word *tulach* does not appear in the poem. The diminutive form, *tulcha*, 'little mound' (see O'Brien's 'Dictionary'), is the word used throughout, and the sense of it evidently is, as if an Englishman, in enumerating in a grave-yard the names of those buried therein, were to say, 'beneath this hillock,' or 'under this little mound lies,' &c.; and as well might it be argued that 'hillock' and 'little mound' were synonymous terms with 'grave.'

"Referring back again to the Fenian romance, there is one instance, given at page 89, which would seem to favour Mr. O'Daly's opinion, and which I would not wish to pass over without notice.

"'Whose *feart* (grave) is that other on yonder *tulach*, to the south, Caoilte?' inquired St. Patrick. 'Another young chief of the Fians,' replied Caoilte, 'who died there; namely, Salbhuidhe, son of Feileachair, son of the King of Munster.' 'What was the cause of his death?' said Patrick. 'He was killed by elfin shots or arrows, and his thirty hounds and thirty followers, who attended him, were also killed there by fairies; and that vegetating verdant *tulach* was raised over them.' 'We would wish,' said Beirheart, a disciple of St. Patrick's, 'to procure the jewels which he possessed and which were buried along with him.' 'You shall get them,' said Caoilte, and having opened the grave, he drew forth the handle of his spear,' &c.

"Upon the first part of this extract I have already observed. Caoilte, having explained whose was the *feart* (or grave) upon the *tulach*, in reply to St. Patrick's question, now proceeds to narrate the history of the *tulach* itself. Thirty hounds and thirty followers of Salbhuidhe had been killed

by the fairies; and the people, afraid of injuring or polluting themselves by handling those devoted beings, without even separating the men from the hounds for the purpose of giving them the usual rites of sepulture, covered the entire mass in one undistinguished heap, forming thereby this 'verdant tulach;' and upon the top of the mound thus raised they interred in a grave the remains of Salbhuidhe, selecting him from amongst the others on account of his rank, but burying him out of the usual place of interment, in consequence of his having shared a similar fate with the others, and entombing with him the spear and jewels which he had about him at the moment of his tragical and miraculous end. This view of the subject is fully confirmed by Caoilte 'having opened the grave,' a mode of expression which would not be used to indicate the removing of a huge mound to arrive at what was concealed beneath it.

"In conclusion, I have merely to add, that tulach may mean grave, but Mr. O'Daly has not proved that it does so; and that it yet remains for some one to establish the fact, *'that the Irish word tulach means, beyond the possibility of doubt, a place of sepulture.'*"

The Rev. James Goodman, Skibbereen, also contributed the following remarks on the same subject:—

"Although it does not follow of necessity that the word *tulač* always means a burial-place, and never a sloping hill, yet it is quite evident that Mr. O'Daly is correct in stating that all the terms, *peap̃t*, *leac̃b*, *lia*, and *tulač*, are used in connexion with the sepulture of the ancient Irish. The expressions, however, are not to be considered synonymous, nor can one stand for the other.

"The following remarks, bearing on this subject, may perhaps be found not altogether devoid of interest. First, as regards the distinct meaning of these several terms: the word *peap̃t* signifies a grave dug deep in the ground; *leac̃b* means a pile of stones, and is *generally* applied to a pile raised in memory of the dead, but of a totally distinct nature from *cap̃n*, a heap of stones thrown promiscuously one on another, such as the *carns* to be seen through the country, supposed to mark the spot where some murder has been committed, and on which it is customary for every passer-by to cast a stone, in order to mark his disapprobation of the crime. *Lia* signifies a large flag or flat-surfaced rock; and lastly *tulač*, in its primary meaning, signifies a mound or hillock, but, like the Latin *tumulus*, it comes to mean a tomb from the fact that mounds of earth in the form of a hillock marked the graves of persons of note in olden times. All these are distinct words, and should not be confounded one with another. Let us now see how these form the component parts of an ancient Irish burial-place.

"The simplest mode of interment was, no doubt, that of digging the *peap̃t*, and, having placed the body therein, sometimes with a thin flag over it (as the word *ačlac̃b*, the Irish for burial, derived from the word *leac̃*, a flag, would seem to intimate), then to cover it over with the mould. This is, probably, what was done in the case of the poorer class. I remember that a few years ago a man, in ploughing up a field in the neighbourhood of Ballintaggart, within a mile of Dingle, turned up a number of flags which lay about a foot below the surface; these on inspection were found to be the coverings of graves that must have been very ancient, as

I understand that there was no tradition of a burial-place being situated in that locality. The bones, but especially the skulls, exposed on that occasion, are said to have been of a great size. Where, however, a warrior or person of note was concerned, his body was not suffered to mingle with its kindred dust without some lasting monument to mark the place for posterity: the *peapτ* was not enough for him: one, or two, or all the other component parts were added to make him a suitable resting-place; he had his *leačb*, and *lia*, and occasionally his *culač*.

"I shall just cite one passage to prove this, not because others cannot be adduced, but because the book I shall quote from is easy of access to all.

"At page 120 of the 'Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin,' established in the year 1808, the following words occur in Deirdri's lamentation over the sons of Usnach:—

‘*U phip tóclap an nuab̄ p̄eapτ,
Ná b̄én an uaiḡ ḡo bocpač.*’

‘O! man, who *diggest* the new grave (*peapτ*),
Make not the tomb narrowly.’

And at page 126 we read:—‘*Ch-airle na laeib̄e rin, do linḡ D̄eirp̄e ap̄ m̄uin Naiepe ran p̄eapτ, acap̄ puap̄ b̄ar gan̄ moill̄ acap̄ do c̄oḡbač a liaḡ ór a lečτ, do p̄c̄p̄bač ananmana oḡaim, acap̄ do p̄ep̄ač a ccluič̄e caem̄te.*’—After this lay, Deirdri flung herself upon Naisi in the grave (*peapτ*), and died forthwith, and their large rock (*lia*) was raised over their monumental pile (*leačb*); their Ogham name was inscribed, and their funeral dirge was chanted. We are here informed that in the sepulture of Naisi, his body, with those of his brothers and Deirdri, was laid in the *peapτ*, a pile of stones (*leačb*) was then erected, and a large rock (*lia*) placed on the top. Such was the usual mode of interring any chief or prince. Many of these monuments remain to the present day. A class of antiquaries, however, following out some fanciful notions of their own (such as led them to assert that the meaning of the name Baltimore, a small town in West Carbery, was ‘the great house of Baal,’ and that there must have been a temple of the sun there in old times), have designated these by various titles, of which the favourite one seems to be ‘Druidic altars,’ or cromleacs; while the common tradition among the people (and which seems to be the most natural and correct supposition) is that they are the *graves of ancient warriors*. Over these graves a mound of earth was occasionally raised for the purpose of preserving them, or of making them more remarkable, and this mound was called *culač*, as may be seen by referring to the passages quoted by Mr. O’Daly in his paper on that subject, page 87, *ante*. A *culač*, therefore, when it is used to designate a place of sepulture (as it undoubtedly does sometimes), will, on dissection, be found to contain within it a large stone (*lia*) resting on a number of others (*leačb*) enclosing a grave (*peapτ*).

“Perhaps some one more competent than I am, and with greater powers of development, may be induced to write an article on this subject. I conceive that one object of this Society should be to propound rational theories in opposition to the fantastic ones of visionary enthusiasts, whose absurd notions have brought ridicule on the antiquities of our country.”

The following papers were then submitted to the meeting.

DESCRIPTION OF A CROMLEAC AND OGHAM MONUMENT
NEAR CASTLETIMON CHURCH, COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

BY MR. J. C. TUOMEY, N. T.

DURING a recent ramble through one of the many beautiful glens into which Wicklow county is cut up by its innumerable hills and mountains, my attention was attracted by some gray stones, standing in an upright position, by the side of what appeared to me a large mass of rock of the same colour. On a closer examination the group proved to be the component parts of what had once been a very fine cromleac. With the exception of the covering-stone having slipped from its original position, the monument appears to be in as perfect a state as it was when first erected.

This cromleac stands nearly in the centre of a small pasture field, belonging to a man named Brennan, in the townland of Brittas, parish of Dunganstown, and barony of Arklow, about seven Irish miles from the town of Arklow, five from Wicklow, and one from the sea-coast at Brittas mill, on the old sea road leading from Arklow to Wicklow. The field has a northern aspect, and slopes down to the right bank of the little river Potter, or "Potter's river," from the nearest point of which the cromleac is distant eighty-nine paces. At fifty-eight paces from the cromleac the land dips down suddenly, and presents an almost perpendicular declivity of various depths; the remaining thirty-one paces to the river's brink are over a dead flat or marsh.

In the adjoining field on the opposite side of the river, on a southern slope, stand the ivy-covered ruins of Castletimon Church, surrounded by a goodly array of tombs and head-stones, whilst a little to the north of the burial-ground, Castletimon hill flings its shadow over the valley of the Potter. From the top of this hill the *legend* has it, that some mighty giant of old hurled the covering-stone at his brother giant of Ballinaclea hill in a moment of anger, but, falling short of its intended aim, the stone rested on the bank of the river, there meeting the pillar-stones flung by him of Ballinaclea at his antagonist of Castletimon.

This certainly may be termed the battle of the giants, when I shall have given the dimensions and approximated weight of the "finger stones" thrown from the summits of two hills, at the least three miles distant from each other. When the people here speak of anything of a very zig-zag shape, they say it is as crooked as Potter's river, and here the river having dragged its slow length through the handsome valley of Dunganstown, crosses a road leading towards Wicklow, at Castletimon mill, a little to the westward of the cromleac, which having passed, it pursues its course until it is lost in the sea at a place called Ballynacarrig, a little to the eastward

of the mill of Brittas. I have been thus something particular in describing the locality of the field in which the cromleac is situated, that parties who may feel an interest in visiting such a vestige of antiquity may find no difficulty in making out its whereabouts.

And now for the cromleac itself. The four pillar-stones I will number 1, 2, 3, and 4. No. 1 bears S. E. from No. 3; No. 3, N. W. from No. 1; No. 2 bears S. W. from No. 4; and No. 4, N. E. from No. 2. No. 1 stands nearly perpendicular, inclining a little to the N. W., and measures 6 feet 9 inches in slant height from the grass. The breadth of the east face of this stone at the base is 3 feet, and near the top, 2 feet 8 inches. Breadth of south face at base, 2 feet, and near the top, 1 foot 2 inches. Its girth about the middle is 9 feet 6 inches. No. 2 pillar-stone presents a very irregular surface; one point of its uneven south side, or rather edge, touches No. 1 stone. This stone forms an angle with the horizon of forty-five degrees or less; its slant height from the grass to its point is 5 feet, and its greatest breadth from the extreme point of its base west to where it touches No. 1, 6 feet 5 inches.

No. 3 stone is of more regular shape than No. 2, approaching something to a square; its slant height is 5 feet 5 inches, and its greatest breadth 5 feet 10 inches. It stands nearly perpendicular, and touches the north edge of No. 2. This stone measures 12 inches in depth at the top, and its girth taken nearly round the middle is 13 feet. I could not take the circumference of No. 2 at any useful point, in consequence of the enclosed space against it being filled up with small stones and briers. No. 3 has a whiter appearance than any of the others, and I could observe small particles of mica glittering on its surface, yet I think it is of the same description of stone as the rest; but having a smoother and clearer surface, the action of the weather has had a greater effect on it, and brought out the shining specks of mica.

The face of No. 4 stone is also extremely irregular: it stands at an angle of about fifteen degrees from the perpendicular, and comes to a jagged point at the top; its slant height is 7 feet 5 inches, and girth about the middle 12 feet 5 inches; its greatest breadth is 5 feet 7 inches.

All the slant heights are taken on the exterior faces or backs of the pillar-stones. I could not take them on the interior faces, as the enclosed space has been made a receptacle for the small stones gathered off the field from time to time. The pillar-stones Nos. 1, 2, and 4, all *incline* towards a common centre, but No. 3 leans in a contrary direction to the rest; this I attribute to the effect of the shock it received at the moment the covering-stone slipped to the ground. I also noticed the earth to be looser about the base of No. 3 than about any of the other three; in fact, there is a hollow about it; but I only state facts, and leave it to others more competent to draw conclusions.

The four pillar-stones enclose a space of nearly an elliptical form. As well as I could measure among the small stones, the distance from the inside of stone No. 2 to the inside of No. 4 was 10 feet; and from No. 1 to No. 3, 6 feet. The tops of Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are nearly on a level, with a gentle inclination down the hill; and as I could not well ascertain the relative perpendicular heights of the four pillar-stones, in consequence of the slanting position in which they stand, I adopted the following method:—I removed the small stones from the centre of the enclosure, until I came to the soft earth; and as the apices of Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are not far from being on a level with each other, I placed a straight rod across the enclosure, resting on the tips of Nos. 2 and 4. I then measured the perpendicular height from the spot from which I had removed the small stones, to the rod, and I found it to be 5 feet 8 inches. The top of No. 1 stone is also on a level with the highest point of the covering-stone.

Again, I laid the rod on the top of No. 1 and the covering-stone, and took the perpendicular height from the same point in the enclosure as before; and I discovered it to be 8 feet 7 inches; therefore, the top of pillar-stone No. 1 is 2 feet 11 inches above the level of the tips of pillar-stones Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

The distance from the top of No. 2 to No. 4, across the enclosure, is 4 feet 10 inches, and from No. 1 to No. 3, 7 feet 3 inches. If I be correct in my suggestion that No. 3 stone was diverted from its original position by the weight and velocity of the covering-stone, when sliding to the earth, and also by the great pressure which the covering-stone still exercises on No. 3, by reason of its resting a great portion of its weight on it,—the distance from the top of No. 1 to the top of No. 3 was not so much when the cromleac was erected, as it is at present.

The covering-stone rests its heel on the shoulders, or I should rather say the necks, of Nos. 3 and 4, and is of circular form. To a spectator placed in a straight line between it and the river, it has the appearance of the segment of a sphere standing on a portion of its circumference, and leaning from him, the two longest lines crossing each other nearly at right angles, measured 14 feet S.W. to N.E., and 12 feet 6 inches from N. to S. These lines include the thickness of the curved edges at the S.W., N., and N.E. points, but not at the south point, for reasons to be hereafter mentioned.

A portion of the underneath surface is smooth, and also of a circular shape, and measured 12 feet 3 inches from E. to W., but towards the south it is uneven, and of greater thickness than in any other part of it. The covering-stone projects 6 feet eastward over No. 4 stone, and 2 feet 2 inches westward over No. 3. In consequence of the uneven surfaces which the *heel* and under face of the cover present, and of the unequal thickness in different places,

I cannot accurately compute its solidity in cubic feet or yards. I ascertained that a cubic foot of the stone weighed nearly 228·24 pounds, avoirdupois. If we assume the covering-stone to be the segment of a sphere—diameter 12·25 feet, and height 2·88 feet—the solidity will be 181·92 feet, which I think too little. Now, let the covering-stone be the segment of a cylinder cut parallel to its base, and of the same diameter (12·25), and height 2·25 feet; then the contents will be 337·64 cubical feet, probably too much. Let us then take the average of both, and we have 259·78 cubical feet; but a cubic foot weighs 228·24 pounds, hence 259·78 feet will weigh 59292·1872 pounds, or 26 tons, 9 cwt. 1 qr. and 14 pounds, which is as near an approximation to the true weight as I can at present make.

The stone is of close, hard texture, of a dark blue colour when broken, and very heavy in proportion to size. I estimated its weight by comparison with a small stone of the same description.

The ruins of Castletimon Church are situated on the opposite side of the river. The eastern gable, with nearly the entire of the southern side wall, is gone. The western gable, with the north side wall of nave, and a portion of the chancel, is still standing, and almost covered with ivy. The church originally consisted of nave and chancel. The nave was entered by a door on either side, but the dressings of both doorways have been torn away, and now only present two large openings through the walls. A holy water stoup lies inside the northern doorway, of coarse granite stone, and of very rude workmanship. The burial-ground seems to contain the dust of the ancient sept of the Byrnes, who once mustered in strong force among the hills and fastnesses of this county. In fact, the great majority of the head-stones inform you that beneath “lie the mortal remains” of a Byrne. I have not noticed the prefix O as being used by any of the clan Byrne on their tombs.

At about 15 perches distant from the northern boundary of the church-yard, and on the left-hand side of the public road leading to the coast-guard station at Ballynacarrig, may be seen a gray stone about 5 feet long, 1 foot high, and between 1 and 2 feet wide. It presents rather an inviting resting-place for the foot-sore wandering mendicant, from which to watch the spiral columns of blue smoke ascend from the chimney-tops of the surrounding farm-houses, and, by an instinct peculiar to his craft, therefrom to divine the exact dinner hour of the peasantry—those hereditary benefactors of his race.

As a listless loiterer, and one of a class of Irishmen, in a worldly point of view, not much raised above the mendicant, I seated myself one fine evening in the month of July last, on this stone, to smoke my pipe, and contemplate the gray covering-stone of the cromleac in the little field on the opposite side of the “crooked Potter” beneath me. At the moment I sat down I was quite unconscious of the antiquarian character of my seat; for I was a stranger

in the neighbourhood, and had, as yet, no intercourse with the people.

My attention was first attracted by two small red crosses painted on the front of it,—the work of some idler. On looking more closely, I observed the *scores* or mystic characters on the edge of the stone; and as the grave will sometimes mingle with the gay, two different ideas took possession of my mind at the same instant,—one, that I had discovered an Ogham; and the other, a recollection of the *milk-scores* which I had so often seen on the inside of the cupboard door of a female friend of mine; but here the “round O” for the shilling was wanting.

I communicated the nature of my discovery to the Rev. James Graves, fearful that, on the side of a public road, within half a mile of the parsonage at Dunganstown, and in the county of Wicklow,—the *haunt* of a thousand and one *book-making* tourists, such an antique curiosity had long since been brought before the notice of the public. From that gentleman’s reply I believe that *my* Ogham is one hitherto undescribed, and I take leave to lay before the Society the following details of it. I also send a rough sketch of its front and upper faces, as it lies in a flat position against the ditch of the road. On the edge of this surface I have marked the mystic symbols in the relative positions in which they appear upon the front and upper faces of the Ogham stone, preserving, as nearly as possible, the direction of the scores.

The stone is of the same heavy, compact description as the covering-stone of the cromleac, both being of the common stone of the neighbourhood. It has a whitish appearance from the action of the weather, and from the moss with which the front of it is more or less covered, but when chipped or broken it presents a bluish tint. It measures 5 feet in length, and 1 foot in depth. At the top, or rounded end, its chord measures 13 inches, and at 1 foot from the top, its breadth is 16 inches. At 2 feet from the top, its breadth is 18 inches, and at 3 feet from the top, 17 inches. The underneath and back faces I have not seen, but I removed some clay which had fallen from the ditch on the upper face, so as to see the back edge of it; and I found that there were no scores marked on it. The back edge is of a very irregular shape.

The scores extend 3 feet along the front edge from the top towards the base, and in the centre of the base is a hole 6 inches by 3, and 2 inches deep. This hollow is of circular form, and this end of the stone appears to have been broken.

The scores begin at about the centre of the circular end. The first set contains five scores, and each score is two inches in length. They are not well defined on the stone, and I had to feel with my fingers, to ascertain the length of the incisions. I was obliged to find the lengths of others of them in the same manner. In the second set

there are but two scores, each five inches in length, and appearing on both faces. The next mark is but one inch in length, and, with the exception of this one, all the other short marks are cut across



the edge of the stone, and are each of them about an inch long. These marks I shall not designate as sets, but simply call them marks. The third set has four scores, each five inches long, and something curved. Then comes one mark. The fourth set has three scores, each score four inches in length; then come four marks drawn right across the edge of the stone. These four sets are inscribed on the front of the stone, but the second set extends to both faces. The fifth set has four scores, each score four inches long. The scores of this set are partly defaced, and are upon the upper face of the stone. Then follow five marks, drawn across the edge. The sixth set is composed of five scores drawn across the edge, and appearing on the front and upper faces, and the scores are each about seven and a half inches long. This set presents more or less the appearance of an impression left by a hand, and which must have given rise to the saying of the people—that all the scores are the marks of the fingers and nails of the giant who threw the stone from the top of Castletimon hill. After this set we have one mark, and underneath it on the front of the stone is seen engraved a small circle, or oval, less than an inch in diameter. The seventh set contains four scores, two of them three, and two, four inches long; then comes a mark. The eighth set has but three scores; each score three inches in length. Now comes the last bunch of marks, four in number; after which we have the ninth and last¹ set of scores, five in number, and each four inches long; this set is also partly defaced. By looking at the rubbing which I send, it will be seen that five sets of scores, or mystic symbols, are confined to the front surface of the Ogham stone; two sets to the upper surface, and two sets drawn across the edge, and appearing on front and upper faces. All the marks, save one, are drawn across the edge of the stone, and, with the exception of the mark between the third and fourth set of scores, are at right angles to it. I have now given as accurate a description

¹ The scores of this interesting Ogham, as represented in the woodcut above given, which was made from the

rubbing forwarded by Mr. Tuomey, seem to *commence* with the set which he calls the *last*.—EDS.

of the Castletimon Ogham stone as I possibly could, and shall close with a notice of the legendary lore associated with it.

The "giant's stone" is the name by which it is known in the neighbourhood, and we are told that it was thrown by him from the top of Castletimon hill, and that the scores are the marks of his fingers and nails when handling it, previous to flinging it down. Others admit the scores to be the marks of his fingers, but assert that it was kicked down, and that the hole in the end of it was made by the top of the giant's shoe when he struck it with his foot. If you object to the possibility of sending so large a stone such a distance with the force of a kick, you are met with the reply, "Oh! sure the same giant cast the big stone in Brennan's field" (the covering-stone of the cromleac) "from the top of the hill, at the giant of Ballinaclea, and if so, he could easily kick down this stone." Good logic, certainly—for the party who had the hand that threw the covering-stone had a foot sufficiently strong to kick the Ogham stone, and the latter only fell some sixty or eighty perches short of the former. The legend further saith, that once upon a time, and as the story-tellers say, "a very good time it was," a neighbour not having the fear of the "*good people*" before his eyes, took it home for a "*hob-stone*;" but those spiteful little gentry so annoyed him, by keeping the spoons, trenchers, and noggins dancing on his dresser every night that it remained in his house, that after a week he returned it to its former place. Others say that the man did not take it home, but only got it into his car for that purpose, and that the rest of the neighbours compelled him to throw it out again.

Again, you hear that when the Danes erected the altar (cromleac) in Brennan's field, it was on this stone they *scored* the number of kings they had beheaded in their travels; but that, being so hotly pursued after the battle of Clontarf by Brian Boru's soldiers, they dropped the stone here on the side of the road, as they ran down to their ships at Ballynacarrig.

Associated as the history of the Ogham stone is with these old stories, I am glad to find that the people would not wish to part with it. Some time ago a lady of rank in the neighbourhood wrote to the proprietor of the land on which the stone lies, for permission to have it removed to her own home. When this application was made known to the people, they evinced a reluctance to having it taken away. They were asked did they ascribe to it any *cure*, or *charm*; they said *not*, but that if it were of any value, the place in which it had rested for so many ages was best entitled to it.

The lively interest taken by these poor and primitive people in this vestige of antiquity does them great honour, and should put to the blush many in the higher ranks of life, who would probably think that Dunbrody Abbey would make a capital cow-shed, and the Ogham stone at Castletimon an excellent sill for the door of it.

The lady was refused, and the Ogham has a trusty warder in the person of a tailor named Hyland, residing within a few perches of it.

The Ogham stone is on the north side of the road, the field on the opposite side runs down the slope to Potter's river, and adjoining the river on the south side is Brennan's field, in which the cromleac is situated. In the north-west corner of this field is situated the old church and burial-ground of Castletimon; therefore, the cromleac, the church, and the Ogham, may be said to be in adjoining fields.

How long the Ogham stone may have remained in its present position I cannot say. A man now 38 years of age tells me he had it from a person who died at 86 years of age, that it was there when he was born; and not only that, but the man who died at 86 was told by his father, who died aged 80, that it was in its present place when the 80-year man was born.

I am now done with the Ogham, ruin, and cromleac, and shall leave them under the protection of the *genii* of Castletimon hill, and the peasantry of the neighbourhood; and I hope that the dreaded anger of the former, or the stout hands of the latter, may preserve them from the Vandalic clutches of those who would convert them into gate-posts, hob-stones, or road-metal.

NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF HOOK, COUNTY OF WEXFORD.—PART I.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

THERE are few portions of the southern coast of Ireland that present to the intelligent observer so interesting a field of inquiry, or to the sea-side loiterer such a variety of noble sea and coast views, as that extending from Bannow, by the headlands of Ingard and Baginbun to the point of Hook. The artist, the geologist, the natural historian, and the archæologist, have here food, enough and to spare, for their peculiar cravings, and for one who happens to combine a liking for each of these pursuits in his idiosyncrasy there is spread a rich banquet indeed. I do not, tempting though it may be, purpose at present, however, to extend my "notes" from Bannow to Hook, or, even were I competent for the task, to treat of the geology or natural history of the district further than may be absolutely necessary to elucidate the topography of the latter locality.

If we take the Ordnance index map of Wexford, and, reversing it, look at the south-eastern boundary of Waterford harbour, the pro-

montory enclosed between that noble estuary and the sand-choked bay of Bannow will, perhaps, to the more imaginative of the beholders assume somewhat of the shape of a red Indian's head decorated with the long scalp-lock, the chin being represented by the western enclosing point of Bannow bay, the nose by Ingard head, the brow (a little too prominently) by Baginbun, thence the flat receding cranium slopes back to Houseland bay, whence the parish of Hook stretches out into the sea like a stiffened and erect scalp-lock; the coast of the Waterford harbour, from Harrylock bay to Broom hill, forming the back of the head, of which Broom hill represents the projection generally found at the base of the skull. It will be seen at a glance that the peculiar rock which bounds the sea must have influenced the production of the remarkable littoral outline I have endeavoured to describe; and, as it is therefore plain that any account of the parish of Hook would be incomplete without a slight sketch¹ of its geological features, a few observations touching thereon can hardly be considered out of place, even in an archaeological paper, more especially when it is remembered that many of the ancient as well as of the modern peculiarities of any district are the results of causes which lie beneath the surface of the soil.

Without, then, going into any technical particulars, I shall briefly touch upon the more salient points of interest. Taking as a basis the slates of the silurian period, with their strange faults, twistings, and broken strata, bits of volcanic rock showing themselves here and there, and leaving more visible traces in the contortions above them, we shall dismiss this part by mentioning a large mass of the old red sand-stone, which has, so to speak, dropped into a fault of the slate formation just at Broom hill, jutting out into the harbour of Waterford in the headland so named, whence it runs across the peninsula in a south-easterly direction, and overlies the slate at Carnivan close to Baginbun head. Following up the strata of the old red sand-stone, and remarking the even alternation of fine and coarse beds, as the water in which they were deposited happened to be deep and still, or shallow and boisterous, we come, at a short distance from Harrylock, upon the beds called by Griffith the yellow sand-stone, but more properly, in my opinion, belonging to an intermediate formation in which the old red sand-stone passed almost imperceptibly into the carboniferous series; for here we have beds of red interspersed through the yellow portions, the former becoming scarcer and scarcer until they altogether disappear, and then after a series of purely yellow beds, containing plants (fucoids?) we have, creeping in, little layers of bluish or blackish slaty stone, containing small shells and fish spines; these transitional strata running across from Harrylock and Oldtown bays to Sandeel bay and the

¹ For this I am indebted to the pen of Hugh N. Nevins, Esq., of Waterford.

Houseland cliffs, and by their soft and yielding nature accounting for the gradual narrowing of this portion of Hook promontory before the assaults of tide and storm. These strata are succeeded by impure lime-stone beds containing crinoids and other remains of the true carboniferous period. I cannot omit mentioning here the beautiful appearance presented by some of the fossils in this yellow sand-stone, when the carbon of which they usually consist has been replaced by green carbonate of copper. Above the impure beds already mentioned, we have the true carboniferous lime-stone for which Hook point is justly celebrated, with its crinoids, pentacrinites, fish teeth, shells, corals, and crustacea, the position of which, and the beds containing them, tell to a close observer a strange tale of the habits of animals dead ages before Adam trod this globe. We find in marked and distinct groups the inhabitants of the soft black mud, and of the clean sandy bottom; the most unclean feeders of all appear to have been the trilobites, thus showing themselves to be the true forerunners of our more modern crustacea; the cleanest of all being the corals and the encrinites, whose beautiful heads and stems are invariably found most perfect and most plentiful on the hardest and most crystallized strata. Each portion, too, has its peculiar fossils, and a history of many ages marking "generations gliding swiftly by," and succeeded by generations similar in family, but differing in minor points, is here written by the finger of God himself upon the leaves of solid stone that, lying one above another, age after age, lay bare their riches to the ken of that being whose place is only lower than the angels, and whose destiny an eternity is required to complete. The crystalline and solid lime-stone which thus forms the more prominent portion of the parish of Hook, ending in the well known "point," presents to the waves an almost indestructible barrier; and besides its own peculiar and sublime story, tells us how it has come to pass that this long, narrow, and low tongue of land has for ages withstood the action of the sea—so certainly does the geology of a district govern its physical and topographical peculiarities.

Although I have long felt a peculiar interest in everything belonging to "the next parish to America," as the inhabitants in familiar conversation term their native district, yet it so happens that I had my attention more particularly drawn to its history, and especially to the etymology of its name, by parties interested in ascertaining the exact line which should separate the jurisdiction of the harbour authorities of New Ross and Waterford. It was well known that Hook point and Credan head were the boundaries of the harbour; but, strange to say, the name of Hook is nowhere mentioned as a boundary in the charters granted at various periods to the municipalities of Ross and Waterford—and the constant rivalry which existed between these two ports produced charter and coun-

ter-charter in quick succession, as the bribes or influence of the rival corporations swayed the "backstairs" influence of those olden days.

In the year 1226 King John gave a charter to his liegemen of Waterford, granting them "all the city of Waterford with the appurtenances, and the *great port* of the same, which enters between *Ruddybank* and *Ryndowne*." About 1230 Henry III. confirmed this grant, and as "*Ross-ponte*," a port belonging to a subject (being within the bounds of the great Regality of Leinster, that *imperium in imperio* possessed by the Earls of Clare and Gloucester in right of descent from Strongbow and Eva), was then rising into notice, and promised to bear away the palm from the royal municipality, Henry strictly forbids merchants from unloading their ships at Ross, "which the citizens of Waterford had showed was frequently done to the very great loss and damage of his said city of Waterford." Subsequently, however, the men of Ross found means to incline the royal balance in their favour, for in the year 1377 we find Richard II. issuing his royal letters, giving permission to merchants to load and unload as well at the port of Ross as at Waterford (his grandfather, Edward I., had issued his kingly edict in 1275, that Waterford alone should be the depot for all merchandise), and this liberty is specially granted to all ships and boats "passing through the water of *Randouan*, which said water of *Randouan* is that which holds its course between *Randouan* and *Rudibake*," which the charter specially particularizes as being the bounds of Waterford harbour indicated by the prohibitory edict of Edward I. James I. confirms Ross in this privilege, his charter ordering that "all vessels which shall enter or go into the great port or haven between *Ruddibank*, in our said county of Waterford, and *Rindown*, in our said county of *Wexford*," may freely discharge at Ross. His son Charles I., in the second year of his reign, again, however, threw the weight of the royal sceptre into the Waterford scale, enjoining "that all manner of ships, vessels, boats, and craft, whatsoever, which shall go into and enter the great port of Waterford, between *Ruddybank* and *Rindown*, may load and unload at the key of the city of Waterford, and no where else." Whilst again, when in 1687 James II. favoured Ross with an extension of its privileges, erecting it into a city, with mayor and recorder, &c., the same terms of *Rindown* and *Ruddybank* are used to designate the headlands of Waterford harbour.

The charter of James I. having fixed the locality of *Rindown* as being in the county of *Wexford*, I at once perceived that it must be identical with Hook point; but how to extract the latter from the former (notwithstanding that admirable canon made and provided for all antiquaries, viz., that as a vowel stands for anything, and a consonant for nothing, any one word may be transformed into any other) rather puzzled me. As to the first syllable of the olden name there was no difficulty; *Rinn* in Irish means a point of land

running out into the sea, being identical with the Greek *πύρ*, i. e. *nose*;¹ but what to do with *doayne*, *down*, or *dowan*, the second portion of the name, was the question. In this dilemma I applied to that charitable assistant of all distressed antiquaries, Dr. O'Donovan; nor was I disappointed in my expectation of relief. I received a prompt reply, in which the Doctor says:—"In my opinion *Rindoayn* is an Anglicised form of *Rinn-dubhain*, i. e. *Duane's point*, and was so called after St. Dubhan, a Briton, treated of by Colgan and all the calendars under the date of the 11th of February. It is a fact that a vast number of false translations of Irish names of places have been made, and are now established in many parts of Ireland, as Freshford, for Achadh-ur, &c.; and *Hook* may have become the English name of St. Dubhan, although the proper translation would be *nigellus*, a black little man. We have it still in the surname O'Dubhain, now Anglicised Duane and Downes. A notion, however, prevails that the tower of Hook was called after a certain Mr. Houlke, who built it shortly after the time of Mrs. Rose Mac Crew; but this is one of those vulgar Anglo-Irish traditions which, in my opinion, are far below the level of the real Irish ones. Another silly legend of this description introduces Strongbow as saying, 'I must take Ireland by *Hook* or by *Crook*,' assuming that *Hook* was the name of the place in Strongbow's time! The truth seems to be, that *Hook* was the barony of Forth name for St. Dubhan, who was a Briton of royal extraction. The Irish word *dubhan*, as a common noun substantive, means a *fishing-hook*, hence probably the origin of the metamorphosis." Having also submitted my difficulties to Herbert F. Hore, Esq., of Pole Hore, a gentleman whose ample collections illustrative of Wexford history and topography would well qualify him to be the historian of the county, I received from him the important information "that by the Patent Roll, 34 Henry VIII. it appears that *St. Dowan* was the patron saint of *Hook*." By this combination of testimony, totally independent of each other, the question may be considered as finally set at rest. It cannot, however, but be acknowledged that the transformation of *Rindoayn* into *Hook point* is one of the most curious philological metamorphoses that could be imagined; and I may perhaps be excused if I endeavour to trace the process by which it was effected.²

When Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice de Prendergast landed at Bannow in 1169 with a handful of knights and archers, and later still, when Strongbow disembarked a more imposing, yet still small, force on the west coast of Waterford harbour, the eastern headland that shut in the estuary from the waves of the outer sea was no

¹ The Norse term *ness* has the same meaning, and is similarly applied.

² Ruddybank seems to have been the English name for Credan head—derived from its red sand-stone cliffs.

There is, however, immediately opposite *Hook*, on the Waterford coast, a promontory called "Red head," which may be the ancient boundary of the harbour, rendered in the charter Ruddybank.

doubt known as *Rinn-dubhain*, and understood to mean St. Dubhan's point, and so it continued to be until the English colonists gradually gaining ground, the Irish traditions as gradually wore out. Still, the knowledge of the Irish language was not effaced, and although St. Dubhan was forgotten, it was yet known that *dubhan* meant a *fish-ing-hook*, and at that period Rin-dubhan was translated by the Irish-speaking fishermen to the Saxon settlers as the "point of the hook." Gradually, the Irish language departed in the wake of the Irish traditions; everything was forgotten, as well relative to *St. Dubhan*, as to the implement called *dubhan*; and the promontory came to be known alone by its falsely translated title. In charters, which notoriously copy each other, the old name was indeed preserved, but we see by the pages of Stanihurst that Houlk, or Hook, was the name by which the point and its light-tower were popularly known in his day, and probably for some generations before the era of that quaint and graphic, but, I very much fear, highly imaginative historian. Having thus, to my own satisfaction at least, settled this knotty etymological question, I shall not at present enter further on the history or topography of the parish, hoping at a future meeting of the Society to be able to resume the subject again.

ON SOME EARLY IRISH MONUMENTAL REMAINS.

BY E. FITZGERALD, YOUGHAL.

It is pleasing to think, that the olden lore of Ireland, at last, seems to have raised up hosts of admirers in almost every quarter we turn to; and no wonder such should be the case; for scarce a step can be taken, or the most trivial research made in our great archæological field, which is not well calculated to repay the inquirer, in rich intellectual enjoyment of a high order, as every portion of it teems with legendary, traditionary, or historic reminiscences of thrilling interest.

Our Oghams are generally allowed by most of our learned Olamhs to be the most ancient inscriptions we have in Ireland, and it seems fairly proved that some of them are of a date anterior to the introduction of Christianity among us. There seems also good ground to conclude that many of them belong to a period subsequent to the introduction of Christianity. Much attention has been given, of late, to this subject, and it is to be hoped ere long much of the mystery which has so long enshrined it will be completely swept away, so that "he that runs may read," aye! and understand also. In a recent visit to the "ancient citie of St. Declan," Ardmore, county of Waterford, the writer discovered a fine Ogham inscrip-

tion; and though it is located within the walls of what he considers the earliest Christian structure in Ireland, he has good reasons to conclude it to be a pure Pagan relic: however, he hopes to be able to submit, for the satisfaction of the members at the next meeting, an accurate sketch of the monument, and a notice of this remarkable locality, merely remarking for the present that the Ogham is in good preservation, is inscribed on both edges, and is built into the east gable-end of St. Declan's oratory—a structure of the early part of the fifth century. The discovery of this relic *now* is the more remarkable, as Ardmore was made the theatre of much research by the South Munster Archæological Society, so that to glean up a glaring Ogham after such celebrated archæological reapers is no mean feat of more modern investigation; but it so happens that, as a learned friend who visited it a few days ago says, it is like "Columbus' egg" (now that it is known); the wonder is, how it should be passed over by *any one*, the matter is so palpably plain to all. A short notice of it, which is taking the rounds of the newspapers, is incorrect in the statement that the inscription is on a lintel, being not so, but on a common building stone near the top of the gable.

Though our beautiful Irish letters must necessarily have long preceded the occult Ogham characters, yet it is generally understood that we have no inscription in the Irish language, on stone, earlier than that given by Drs. Petrie and O'Donovan, of *lie lúgnædon macc lmenueh*, i. e. THE STONE OF LUGNAEDON SON OF LIMENUEH (nephew of St. Patrick), which occurs on a stone in the island of Inchaguile, in Lough Corrib, county of Galway. We have then another very early inscription given by Dr. Petrie, but it is one step in advance of the former, for here we have got a cross enclosed in a circle, incised on one end of the stone, and inscribed with the brief legend of *lie colum mec mel*, i. e. THE STONE OF COLUM SON OF MEL.

This combination of the cross, circle, and legend, brings us naturally to the subject of the illustration on the opposite page, namely, the Irish inscriptions on monumental remains lying in the nave of Lismore Cathedral, which, of late, have been justly much noticed by archæologists for their beauty and interest; for here we have not only the Irish inscription, but the circle, emblematic of eternity, the cross, and a brief but simple prayer solicited for him to whom the monument was inscribed. These memorials of the dead are as follow:—

NO. I.

SUIBNE¹ MAC² CONHUIBIR.³

Suibne, son of Cu-odhir.

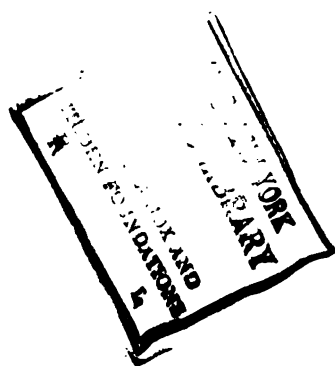
¹ Suibne, now Sweeney. See O'Donovan's "Grammar of the Irish Language," p. 43.

² Cognate with the Welsh *map*, now *ap*.

³ Conhuibir, *recte* Conhuibhir, genitive of Cu-odhar,—a man's name, signifying *Canis pallidus*. We have many names similarly compounded.



OLD IRISH GRAVE-STONES IN THE NAVE OF LISMORE CATH



NO. II.

BENDACHT FOR ANMAIN MARTAN.¹

A blessing upon the soul of Martin.

NO. III.

BENDACHT FOR ANMAIN COLGEN.²

A blessing on the soul of Colgan.

NO. IV.

OROIT DO' DONNCHAD.³

A prayer for Donnchadh.

To Dr. O'Donovan's kindness the writer is indebted for the accompanying translation and notes, and who, in a subsequent communication on the subject, says:—"I have not been able fully to fix the periods of these persons, but take them to date from about 900 to 985."

This most interesting group of early Christian memorials was dug out in excavating for the foundation of the tower, which was erected to Lismore Cathedral some thirty years ago. They present a most primitive appearance, being perfectly free from any signs of the stone-cutter's chisel, save in the incised crosses and beautiful Irish inscriptions. They are simply boulders of dark lime-stone, rounded and water-worn, as if taken direct from the bed of the Blackwater, which glides on majestically beneath the romantic site on which the venerable Cathedral was founded, and applied to their present purpose without further preparation. No other record is known to exist relative to any of these old worthies, except a ham-

¹ bendacht is now written beannacht, and is derived from the Latin *benedictio*. This is one of the words which came into the language of the Scoti through the preaching of the Western Church.

² For, now an, or an, on. See O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p. 282.

³ Anmain. Anman, the oblique form of anam, a soul, Latin, ANIMA. I suspect that we Scoti got this from the Western Church also, as well as *spiritus*. We have no trace of *πνευμα*.

⁴ Martan. This is the present form of the name Martin in West Munster. According to Irish tradition this name was common among the old Irish, because it was the name of St. Patrick's uncle, i. e. St. Martin of Tours. It is

strange that they wrote it Martan, not Martin, as if they intended to represent phonetic the present French pronunciation.

⁵ Colgen is intended as the genitive of COLGAN, of which the present genitive is Colgan, i. e. Colgani.

⁶ Oroit, a prayer, derived from the Latin *oratio*. It is sometimes written ORAIT, which clearly points to its origin.

⁷ Do. This is clearly cognate with the English *to*, and perhaps with the Latin *ad*. See O'Donovan's Grammar, pp. 283, 300.

⁸ Donnchad, now Donnchadh,—a man's name very common among the Irish, usually Anglicised Donagh; but it is now made Denis by some, and refined to Dionysius and Donatus by others.

let some two miles to the west of Lismore, which still retains the name of Bally-Martin, most probably being the original seat of the "Martan" commemorated on the stone.

With Mr. Windele's usual desire to preserve records of our national antiquities, he had sketches from these memorials lithographed some years ago. The present illustration was made from an accurate sketch taken directly from the originals by measurement, yet a discrepancy exists between the two. His artist or lithographer probably has been at fault in the matter.

Lismore has been noted in our annals for its early religious foundations, and as one of the chief seats of learning in Ireland, down nearly from the introduction of Christianity, as we find it noticed as a bishopric as early as 540. In the "Acta SS.," p. 539, and at p. 193, we have the death of St. Lugad of Lismore announced in the year 588. The Annals of the Four Masters record that in 610 died St. Neman, abbot of Lismore, &c. Then we have the Annals of Innisfallen recording that "in 630 St. Carthagh, being driven out of Rathenin by King Blathmac, fled to the territory of Nandesi, or Decies, in Munster, and there, on the banks of a river, he laid the foundation of a great monastery and school, which flourished exceedingly for many ages." It is also recorded that "half of this city was an asylum into which no woman ever dared to enter, it being full of cells and holy monasteries; thither holy men flocked from all parts of Ireland, many also from Britain, being desirous to remove from thence to Christ."

A numerous list of bishops, abbots, anchorites, saints,—of burnings and buildings, are duly registered by our annalists down to 1363, when this ancient See was united to that of Waterford by Pope Urban III.

Considerable remains of the old Cathedral can still be descried through its modern mask, which would lead us to suspect a complete rebuilding in the Hiberno-Norman era of architecture; but certain *improvers*, some thirty years ago, knocked out the Norman heads of several doors and most of the windows, and replaced them with pointed arches, and nicely stuccoed the ceilings, &c. The same party also lent a helping hand to *decorate* another relic of the same period at Ross, and had all those *unsightly superfluities* in which our old Irish architects so delighted, such as the billets, beak mouldings, and chevrons, that surrounded the principal entrance, all well chiselled away, and replaced by nice modern mouldings of a neat churchwarden pattern!

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, November 1st, 1854,

THOMAS HART, Esq., J. P.,

High Sheriff of the City of Kilkenny, ex-officio Vice-President of the Society, in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

James S. Blake, Esq., J. P.	John James, Esq., M.R.C.S.I.
Robert Cane, Esq., M. D.	Zachariah Johnson, Esq., M. D.
Henry P. Clarke, Esq.	John Maher, Esq.
Alexander Colles, Esq.	Michael Molony, Esq.
Abraham Denroche, Esq.	Robert Molyneux, Esq., V. S.
W. J. Douglas, Esq.	John G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.
John Fitzsimons, Esq.	James G. Robertson, Esq.
The Rev. James Graves, A. B.,	James St. John, LL.D.
Honorary Secretary.	John Walsh, Esq., J. P.

The following new members were elected :—

John Greene, Esq., J. P., Mayor of Wexford : proposed by Robert W. Carleton, Esq.

Charles Newport Bolton, Esq., Brook Lodge, Waterford : proposed by Hugh N. Nevins, Esq.

Dr. Rudolf Th. Seigfried, Dessau, Germany; Frederick George Lee, Esq., S.C.L., F.A.S., Thame, Oxfordshire; William O'Connor, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S.E., Fellow of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society of London, &c., &c., 30, Upper Montague-street, Montague-square, London : proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

Edward Johnson, Esq., Dingle : proposed by Richard Hitchcock, Esq.

Michael Mullally, Esq., Ballycullen, Mullinahone : proposed by Mr. John Dunne.¹

¹ Mr. Dunne wished to correct an error respecting the gentleman whose name he had proposed. Mr. Mullally was the proprietor of the farm at Cloghmanty, whereon was the great

carn explored by the Society in the year 1851, erroneously stated in the Transactions of that year to have belonged to "Mr. Mulhall, of Mullinahone."—See vol. i. p. 290.

The following donations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By the Society of Antiquaries of London : "Archæologia," Vol. XXXV. part 2, and "Proceedings," Nos. 37 to 40, inclusive.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire : their "Proceedings and Papers," 1853-4.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq. : "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 8.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society of the County of Buckingham : "Records of Buckinghamshire," Nos. 1 and 2; and "An Account of the Annual Meeting and Excursion of the Society, held at Aylesbury, July 27th, 1854."

By the Publisher : "The Builder," Nos. 606 to 612, inclusive.

By Mr. John Dunne, Garryricken : "Socrates, a Dramatic Poem," by Amias Bushe, Esq.

By the Rev. Thomas Gimlette : a very fine impression of the ancient seal of the chapter of Waterford; an exquisite example of the circular ecclesiastical seal, dating about A.D. 1290, and exhibiting the representation of a church, with the inscription—*S'. CAPITULI . SCANCTE . TRINITATIS . WATERFORDENSIS . ECCLESIE*.

By J. Richardson Smith, Esq. : a lithograph of an ancient cross existing on Oronsay island, Scotland.

By J. H. Glascott, Esq., Killowen, New Ross : fragments of two large fictile vessels, together with a portion of the mass of indurated burned bones and clay, which one of them had contained, still retaining the shape of the vessel. One series of fragments exhibited rude zig-zag and wave-line patterns; the portions of the other vessel were more elaborately ornamented, presenting a series of raised knobs and intricate patterns impressed with some sharp-pointed tool. Mr. Glascott informed the Society that about the 1st of June last, as some workmen were raising sand out of a pit on part of his father's property, called Dunganstown, near the river, about half a mile from Killowen, and three and a half miles from Ross, they came on the "crocks," which were broken either by the picks of the men, or before they were discovered. There was no appearance of a mound or any ruins near the place, which was a natural sand-bank. The vessels lay about six feet below the surface of the field. The workmen, expecting to find money, dug up the whole bank, but made no further discovery.

The Secretary read a letter from the Rev. A. Newdigate, Hon. Secretary, Buckingham Architectural and Archæological Society, proposing that friendly relations should be entered into between the institution and the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

The proposition was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Graves stated that Mr. Taylor, Gowran, had reported to the Secretaries that the curious Ogham monument, well known

antiquaries as existing in the church-yard of that town, having been displaced by a recent burial, he would take precautions for its protection from injury. This, Mr. Graves remarked, was an example worthy of being followed in other localities.

THE LATE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

Mr. Graves said that, as the Society had been deprived by death, since their last meeting, of its earliest Patron and best friend, the late Marquis of Ormonde, the Committee had felt, that although several papers were contributed by members, with the intention of being read at this meeting, it would yet be more becoming, under these melancholy circumstances, to abstain on this occasion from all but the mere routine business; and, if it met the approbation of the meeting, to conclude the proceedings of the day by passing a resolution expressive of their deep regret for the loss they had sustained.

The Chairman observed that such a course would afford the least mark of respect which they could pay to the memory of the deceased and deeply lamented nobleman, their late Patron.

The meeting unanimously concurred in the opinion expressed by the Chairman.

James S. Blake, Esq., J.P., then said that he deeply felt the propriety of their taking part in the expression of the general feeling of sorrow which prevailed throughout the community for the common calamity which had been sustained. Much as Lord Ormonde's loss would be felt in every social institution of the county and city of Kilkenny, it would doubtless affect this Society in a particular degree. If anything could possibly tend to mitigate the grief of his Lordship's family and friends under their great bereavement, it would be the unanimous expression of regret which emanated from all ranks, classes, and parties of society. He begged leave, therefore, to propose the following resolution:—

“That the members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, assembled at this, their first general meeting convened since the death of one of their Patrons, the late Marquis of Ormonde, cannot refrain from placing on record their deep and sorrowful regret for the removal of one who—in addition to the faithful discharge of the many public duties pertaining to his high station—by his untiring aid, countenance, and support, as well as by the generous access given by his Lordship to the stores of historic treasures preserved amongst his ancestral archives at Kilkenny Castle, mainly contributed to raise this association to its present state of efficiency and prosperity.”

Dr. Cane seconded the resolution. He deeply regretted the circumstances which made that resolution necessary, and deplored the loss of the noble Marquis from amongst them as a serious de-

privation to this Society, as well as to the best interests of Kilkenny, where he had ever been foremost, not only to advance science and literature, and to preserve the remains of the past, but had been equally prominent wherever the interests of Kilkenny and Kilkenny men needed him.

The Chairman said that he, in common with every other member of the Society, and the public generally, fully concurred in every word which had fallen from the proposer and seconder of the resolution, which it was now his painful duty to put to the meeting. Much as it gratified him to preside at a meeting of this Society, he could not but deeply regret that to him had fallen the present mournful task.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1855.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. III.—PART II.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
BY M. H. GILL,
FOR THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
1855.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1855.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
Patrick-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 10th (by
adjournment from the 3rd), 1855,

REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL.D., in the Chair.

Present, the following members:—

Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister- at-Law.	Thomas B. M'Creery, Esq.
Robert E. Cane, Esq., A. B.	Rev. P. Moore, R. C. C.
Abraham Denroche, Esq.	James Poe, Esq., Solicitor.
Rev. Philip Doyne, A. M.	John G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.
Rev. J. Graves, A. B., Hon. Sec.	J. G. Robertson, Esq., Architect.
John James, Esq., L. R. C. S. I.	John F. Shearman, Esq.
Zachariah Johnson, Esq., M. D., F. R. C. S. I.	J. M. Tidmarsh, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny.
Henry M. F. Langton, Esq.	Patrick Watters, Esq., A. M., Town Clerk.

The following new members were elected:—

George Le Hunte, Esq., B. A., J. P., Artramont, Castlebridge,
Wexford; John Stuart, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries
of Scotland, Edinburgh; William Heron Cooper, Esq., Kilmogar,
Kilkenny; and John Kearns, Esq., L. R. C. S., Parade, Kilkenny:
proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The Right Rev. David Moriarty, Bishop Coadjutor of Kerry:
proposed by J. M. Tidmarsh, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny.

Robert Ball, Esq., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Director of the University Museum, 3, Granby-row, Dublin: proposed by R. Hitchcock, Esq.

Richard Corbett, Esq., M.D., 84, South Mall, Cork; Nicholas Peterson, Esq., 10, South Mall, Cork; the Rev. Patrick O'Connell, R.C.C., Nelson Hill, Youghal; Mr. Arthur Miller, Friar-street, Youghal; Richard F.G. Lindsay, Esq., Old Youghal Press, Youghal; James Barry, Esq., Solicitor, Nelson-place, Youghal; Isaac Barnes, Esq., Merville, Youghal; Michael Keane, Esq., Nelson-terrace, Youghal; Thomas Harvey, Esq., Grattan-street, Youghal; Rev. R. T. Tracey, Nelson-place, Youghal; Henry Brown, Esq., William-street, Youghal; Samuel Walker, Esq., Currigrine, Castlemartyr; Miss Marianne Morgan, Friar-street, Youghal; Mr. Edward Thomas, Youghal; Rev. Thomas Walsh, R.C.C., Cloyne; Rev. William Tuomy, R.C.C., Nelson Hill, Youghal; Thomas John, Esq., J.P., Bank of Ireland, Youghal; Terence Walsh, Esq., Youghal; Walter Croker Poole, Esq., M.D., Tinnescart, Youghal; James Curran, Esq., L.R.C.S.I., Youghal; Mr. Stephen O'Driscoll, Lithographer, Pembroke-street, Cork; Wm. Garde, Esq., Bilberry Hill, Middleton, county of Cork; and John Seymour Murphy, Esq., Duncan-street, Cork: proposed by Edward Fitzgerald, Architect, Youghal.

Sobieski Kildahl, Esq., Prospect Hill, Youghal: proposed by the Rev. Dr. Browne.

Thomas William Hill, Esq., Stoneleigh House, Clifton Park, Bristol; and Charles Whetham, Esq., 38, Gracechurch-street, London: proposed by William Slade Parker, Esq.

Robert Clayton Browne Clayton, Esq., Carrigbyrne Lodge, Adamstown, Enniscorthy: proposed by Robert B. Wright, Esq.

Samuel Philip Townsend, Esq., Garrycloyne, Blarney: proposed by Horatio Townsend, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Rev. D. Corcoran, P.P., Oakfield, Mullinahone: proposed by Mr. J. Dunne, Garryricken.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following Annual Report for 1854:—

The Society's career has, during the past year, been chequered by gain and loss. *One hundred and twenty-six* new names, comprising many calculated to reflect credit on the Society, have been added to its muster-roll; whilst the losses by death or withdrawal have not been *numerically* large. Foremost amongst those whose death we have to deplore, stands the name of the Society's earliest Patron and best friend, the late Marquis of Ormonde. In the Report for 1853 was recorded the munificent gift of the Life of St. Canice, privately printed at his Lordship's own expense, and gratuitously presented to such of the members of this Society as had fulfilled certain conditions laid down by him. Lord Ormonde's priceless store of ancestral MSS. was on all occasions freely thrown open by him to your Secretary's inspection, and, by their noble owner's liberality, always available toward the illustration of local or national antiquities; whilst by frequently pre-

siding at its meetings, and by the exertion of his widely extended influence, he proved the warm interest felt by him in the prosperity of this Association, and was mainly instrumental in raising it to its present high position. The loss sustained by the country at large in the death of this truly noble man it is not our province to dwell on, but we may be permitted to express our share in the grief so universally felt, and to lament that not only on the community in general, on the wide circle of his friends, and on his immediate family, but also on the ranks of literature so great a calamity should have fallen. Amongst the sad list of those whom death has removed from amongst us, we may mention the names of the Rev. George Stanley Faber; T. Crofton Croker, Esq.; and Patrick Chalmers, Esq., of Aldbar; whilst it is also our sad task to record the glorious fall, on the blood-stained slopes of Inkermann, of another of our members, distinguished for his zeal in the study of numismatics, Captain Edward Stanley, who nobly died whilst leading into action his Regiment, the gallant 57th. The roll of the Society's members now extends to *five hundred and thirty-six* names; but large as this list may seem, the objects of the Society cannot fully be carried out until it at least numbers *one thousand* strong. If each member would beat up for recruits in his own district, there can be no doubt but that ample success would attend his exertions, especially when such a return can be promised for the annual subscription as that afforded by the publications of the Society.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Transactions for 1852, extending to 176 pages, with numerous illustrations, have been issued. The Transactions for 1853, completing the second volume, are nearly ready; whilst the Proceedings and Transactions of the past year, forming the first portion of the third volume, extending to 206 pages, and largely illustrated, have been completed and issued to the members. Thus, in a short time, the arrear in which the publications of the Society had fallen will be fully brought up, and the interest of the members in the proceedings not allowed to flag.

In the early part of the last summer the necessary steps were taken to stamp the Transactions as a newspaper, in order to facilitate their transmission through the post, but in consequence of a misunderstanding with the Post Office authorities, your officers were unable fully to carry out the design. We are happy to be able to announce, however, that all difficulties appear now to be overcome, and that the bi-monthly stamped issue of the Transactions will for the future, we trust, be steadily carried out.

The Library has received many important additions during the past year—chiefly consisting of the Transactions of kindred Associations. To your Museum, also, many valuable presentations have been made, amongst which may be specified the unique ancient Irish crozier-head, figured in last year's Transactions, presented by James S. Blake, Esq., J. P., and a fine specimen of the ancient bronze cauldron, presented by Mr. Daniel M'Evoy, Urlingford.

The work of reparation commenced at Jerpoint Abbey, in the autumn of 1853, has been long since brought to a satisfactory conclusion; and a statement of the receipts and expenditure will be laid before the Society at the next Meeting.

On the motion of Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. James Poe, the Report was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. James Graves, Acting Treasurer, then brought up the Accounts of the Society for 1854. He observed that subscriptions for that year, amounting to about £60, were yet outstanding; however, in reply to his last circular this money was now fast coming in. With respect to the large item, in the Accounts, of £14 9s. 6d. for postage, he remarked, that if members considered their subscriptions as due in advance on the 1st January each year, and paid up accordingly, it would save the Society a large amount at present uselessly expended in the postage of circulars, and relieve the Secretaries from an enormous amount of labour. The compunction of some members, indeed, seemed to have been touched by the number of circulars which they had received calling for their subscriptions, and they had forwarded an additional sum to reimburse the Society for all the postage stamps expended upon them. It might seem to each individual that the penny paid for the postage of his circular was no great loss, but it should be remembered that a circular, posted to over 500 members, involved an outlay of over five hundred pennies, to say nothing of the expense of stationery and printing, and the waste of labour.

Messrs. J. G. Robertson and M. Molony were requested to act as Auditors, and report on the Accounts at the next Meeting.

On the motion of Mr. Burke, the Committee and Officers of the Society for the last year were re-elected.

On the motion of the Rev. James Graves, Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, by whose zeal such a large addition had been that day made to the Society's list of members, was elected Local Secretary for Youghal District.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: its "Journal," No. 43.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Nos. 19 and 20.

By the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool: its "Proceedings," No. 8. 1853-4.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: its "Original Papers," Vol. IV. part 3.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History: its "Proceedings," Vol. II. No. 2.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: its 8vo. Series, No. 4.

By the Ossianic Society: its "Transactions." Vol. I.—"The Battle of Gabhra."

By R. Hitchcock, Esq.: the Sale Catalogues of the Library and Collection of Antiquities of the late T. Crofton Croker, Esq., interleaved and bound.

By the Author, Horatio Townsend, Esq.: "Thoughts on Church Architecture."

By Edward Fitzgerald, Youghal: "Dilucida Conscribendi Epistolas Ratio," Valentia, 1585, with curious contemporary MS. additions; and "I Quattro Vltimi Libri Dell' Historie D'Italia Di M. F. Gvicciardini Gentil' huomo Fiorentino." In Parma. 1564.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 613 to 622, inclusive.

By the Author, J. B. Doyle, Esq.: "Tours in Ulster: a Handbook to the Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Ireland."

By Dr. A. Alcock, New Ross, six late Roman brasses; and by J. H. Rogers, Esq., S.I., an ancient tobacco pipe, per Rev. P. Moore, who also himself presented a specimen of the mortar from the roof of Cormac's Chapel, Cashel.

By Mrs. Pilsworth, Rev. James Graves, Mr. H. Preston, and Mr. F. Mathews, huntsman to the Kilkenny Club: several ancient coins.

By the Rev. George H. Reade, Rectory, Inniskeen, Dundalk: two silver pennies of Edward I., struck in Canterbury and London, and found some time since at Ballyshannon, under the following circumstances, as communicated by the donor:—

"A road was about to be lowered, and the height was of solid lime-stone rock; the labourers had made every effort to remove it with pickaxe and crowbar, but in vain; it was so close and solid they could not insert the bar. It was, therefore, blasted, and immediately after the blast a shower of these coins fell around! I happened to be riding past at the time, and saw them picking them off the tops of some cabins. One of the men to whom I applied said that a shower of studs (small buttons) had followed the blast, and I succeeded in purchasing a few from him; but they rose in value after my inquiry. There were a few pennies of Alexander III. among them, but I did not get a duplicate."

By Mr. J. G. Robertson: an impression of an ancient Chinese porcelain seal, in his possession.

Mr. Graves exhibited a beautifully illuminated grant of arms, which he had lately secured in Dublin for the Society. It was an exemplification of the original grant recited in an official certificate obtained by Valentine Smyth, Esq., of Damagh, printed at length in the "Transactions," vol. i. p. 261, and was dated 29th June, 1640. By a contemporary endorsement on the back it is stated that—

"The reason of the within achievement of the Doue bearing an olive branch for the Crest was bycause it was imparted by the withinnamed Earle James to the withinnamed William Smyth, by way of secresie, that the happie match in marriage betweene the said Earle and his now Countesse was made sure and done; and willed the said William Smyth (who was then going from the Court of England into Ireland) to tell the said Earle his

mother so much, and to bidd her be of good Comfort; which ioyfull newes the said William Smyth brought into Ireland, and was the first that euer imparted the certaintie therof unto the said Earle—his mother, the Ladie Viscountesse Dowager of Thurles, by way of secresie; which was concealed by the said Earle [.] bycause at that time the King and State of England were against that match: and therupon was it that the said Earle used these words unto the sayd William Smyth, when he sent him awaye—‘More I could let you knowe, but he that cannot keep his owne counsell will hardly keep another man’s.’”

This was in allusion to the marriage between James Viscount Thurles, afterwards the great Duke of Ormonde, and his cousin, Lady Elizabeth Preston, which restored to the Ormonde family the greater part of their estates, alienated from them by James I., who had assigned them to one of his Scotch favourites, Preston, in right of his marriage with the lady’s mother, the daughter of Thomas the tenth Earl of Ormonde.

Mr. Robert B. Wright, Foulksrath, sent a copy of an ancient but imperfect inscription from the old church of Coolcraheen. From internal evidence it appeared to be the epitaph belonging to a tomb of the Purcell family, the ancient proprietors of Foulksrath Castle, as the seventh line refers to the “porcus,” or “porcellus,” the cognizance of the Purcells. The slab bearing this epitaph probably formed a portion of the monument of Robert Purcell of Foulksrath, having been, perhaps, originally inserted in the wall above the still existing altar-tomb of that ancient proprietor of the lands of Foulksrath and Coolcraheen. The monument is of the sixteenth century. The inscription, as copied by Mr. Wright, is as follows:—

O . HOMINES HOMINES . LTOS . TVÆRITIS . AGRO^s .
 LOCA TVIBVS . SEPT . . . CIT . VRNA . PEDES .
 MAIOR NOSTRA . SOLO . S . . SCĀDIT . OLYMPVM
 ΦLLA . TAMEN . CON . . . NET . VRNA . MEV
 DANTE DEO . FINE PEREMĒT . VRĒ .
 ALTIOR . EST . HV RTE . LOCI .
 PORCI . SI . GENE GNIA . NOSTRI .
 SCIRE . VIATO ETA . LEGE ———

Mr. James Brennan, classical teacher, Gurteen, forwarded through Mr. John Dunne, Garryricken, copies of three ancient inscriptions from the county of Tipperary. The first was from a tomb in the church-yard of Cloneen, near Fethard. The monument was adorned with a cross, in relief, of the class usual in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The letters are in raised Roman characters, and the inscription runs thus:—

HIC . JACET . RICARDUS . BERMINGHAM . NOBILIS . DE . BALLYHOMICK . QUI .
 OBIT . XXV . JUNII . ANNO . DNI . MDCLXXII .

This Richard Bermingham is still remembered in the local traditions of the peasantry. His mansion or castle of Ballyhomick partially existed in ruins till lately, when the very foundations were uprooted to build the house of John Martin, a neighbouring farmer. In the excavation some ancient fire-places were found in the basement story of the castle, still containing ashes, apparently of the stone coal of Slieveardagh. Richard Bermingham's brother, John, lived at Kilburry, where some slight remains of his residence are still visible. According to popular belief, he was guilty of some abominable act of sacrilege or impiety, and was carried away from earth by the evil one in a thunder-storm!

The second inscription found by Mr. Brennan was from the church-yard of Drangan. The monument bears a cross similar to that at Cloneen, and the inscription, as follows, is also in raised Roman characters, but much defaced:—

HIC . JACET . THADEUS . GRANKAGH . O'MEAGHER . GENEROSUS . QUI . OBIT .
19^o DECEMBRIS . A . D . 1627 . CUJUS . AIE . PROPITIETUR . DEUS .

The tradition of the locality was silent as to the occupant of the tomb, but a Mr. John Meagher O'Ryan, of Ballycurkeen, near Carrick-on-Suir, always declared himself to be descended from him, and left directions at his death that he should be buried at Drangan,—directions which, however, were not complied with by his family.

The third inscription, Mr. Brennan states, was inserted in a bridge near Drangan Castle, a residence of the Dunboyne family, and is said to have belonged to a more ancient bridge, which originally formed the private entrance to the demense attached to the castle:—

. colt . Barons . Bund
oyne . defuncti . bnt . hunc .
pontem . posuit . uxor . illa .
superstes . Margarita . De .
Brien . comitis . Chumonia :
Gra . dnter .

The last resident of Drangan Castle was a Colonel Butler, who lived there in the beginning of the last century, and the orchards and fruit-trees of Drangan were famed as the finest in the south of Ireland. The last remaining wing of the building fell fifteen years since.

Mr. R. Caulfield, A.B., Cork, communicated a copy of the expenses consequent on the wake and funeral of Anthony Ronayne, Esq., of Ronayne's Court, in the county of Cork. The original was found by Mr. Caulfield amongst a highly interesting series of MSS. relating to the Ronayne family, and reaching as far back as the time of Edward I. This document serves to illustrate the manners of the native Irish gentry in the early part of the last century:—

Acc^t of Expences about y^e wake and ffunerall of Unkle A. Ronayne.

Imp ^m		
1729 May y ^e 18 th	pay'd for 3 pñd of roll tabaco.	£00 02 00
	Do. for 1 pñd cutt & dry tabaco & for 2 Doz ⁿ . pipes	00 01 09½
y ^e 19 th	pay'd for 4 loafes of bread	00 02 00
	Do. for a large p ^e of beeffe	00 06 00½
	Do. for jugs & mugs to serve at y ^e ffunerall	00 01 10
	Do. for ¼ Doz ⁿ wine glassess for s ^d occāon	00 01 04
	Do. for 5 y rd s linnen for a shroud	00 06 08
	Do. for gloves for y ^e Bearers & mourners	01 05 01
	Do. for 17½ y rd s of syress to ffran. Austen	00 18 00
y ^e 22	pay'd James Gallwey's serv ^t for Lutestring syress & ribb ⁿ	08 00 03
	Do. pay'd m ^r Sym ^a m ^e Hugh for 2½ Doz ⁿ wine I took up for s ^d ffner ⁿ	01 09 06
y ^e 23	pay'd m ^r Wood for pall cloaks syress and for poll m ^a &cc	02 01 06
	Do. pay'd for y ^e coffin & drink to y ^e joyn ^t	01 02 09
	Do. pay'd for ale Bisk ^t and for charges & ne- cessary's for y ^e tomb to m ^r Quiclu ^a	01 14 02½
	Do. for brandy & rum for s ^d ffner ⁿ	00 04 04
	Do. pay'd for admittance to y ^e church	00 01 01
	Do. pay'd m ^r Carres coach ^m livery m ^a and pos- tell for carrying y ^e corps	00 10 00
June y ^e 6	pay'd m ^r Wood for 2 cloaks he forgott to charge for in his note	00 02 00
June y ^e 14	paid for wine for y ^e dirges	00 08 02
June y ^e 15	p ^d for ale biskett pipes & tabaco for Do. acc ^t	00 02 07
totall sum of y ^e ffuner ⁿ Expenses		£19 01 1½

Charles C. Babington, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Treasurer to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, forwarded transcripts of some deeds relating to a transaction between the monasteries of Christ Church, Canterbury, and New Tintern in the county of Wexford (see p. 81, *ante*):—

"The following documents concerning the abbey of New Tintern or De Voto, in the county of Wexford, are copied from the original nearly contemporary transcripts, contained in a manuscript headed, 'Registrum veterum cartarum conventus [Ecclesiæ Christi Archiepiscopalis Cantuariensis] et aliarum literarum tam patentium quam clausarum tempore Henrici Prioris,' which forms part of a large parchment volume entitled, 'Registrum Henrici Prioris,' now preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and numbered and marked 1078, Ee. v. 31.

"They consist of four deeds between the convents, showing the original transfer of the lands, &c. from Christ Church, Canterbury, to the house at New Tintern, in consideration of an annual payment of ten marks from the latter to the former body; a subsequent addition of three marks to the annual rent-charge, and the ultimate redemption of the rent-charge of 13

marks, or £4 6s. 8d., after an interval of seventy-three years, by one payment of £100.

"The difficulty found by the monks of Canterbury in obtaining any certain return from lands and churches which were situated in a recently conquered and disturbed country, at so great a distance from their monastery, and at a period when communication was very difficult, was probably the cause of this transaction; and the irregularity of the payment of the annual rent-charge (as I deduce from the last deed) rendered them willing to commute it.

"It will be seen that the transfer of this property took place in the year 1245, and the addition of three marks to the annual rent-charge commenced in 1255, and that the redemption of the rent was made in 1318.

"The first deed states that the lands and churches were given to Christ Church, at Canterbury, by Hervey de Mountmaurice, to whom it will be remembered that a tract of land was given, adjoining the coast between Wexford and Waterford, by Dermot Mac Murrough. This grant took place very soon after his arrival in Ireland as the companion of his nephew, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, at the first invasion of the country in the year 1169. Perhaps no documents exist by which we might learn the date of his gift to the monks of Canterbury; but as he was apparently not a young man in 1169, it is probable that the convent of Christ Church had been at least fifty years in possession of the property when they transferred it to that of New Tintern. Some documents concerning transactions with the abbey De Voto are said to exist in the archives of Canterbury Cathedral, but I do not possess the opportunity of examining them.

"A want of knowledge of the tract of land where this property was situated prevents me from being able to identify all of the places mentioned, but probably a local antiquary would determine them without much difficulty. They must, of course, be looked for in the district formerly held by Sir H. de Mountmaurice.

"We learn from the copy of a letter preserved in the same volume, that in the year 1285 a certain Dominus R. de Burgo, clericus, was the agent of the monastery of Canterbury in Ireland, and that he had been concerned in some negotiation between them and the convent De Voto, and had conducted some legal proceeding in the 'curia regis.' Nothing is stated that will explain to us the nature of these proceedings; but as reference is made to a concession that he had asked of them for the convent De Voto, and which they hesitated to make, we may, perhaps, conclude that, as by the first of the following deeds they granted all their lands, &c. in Ireland to New Tintern, the new concession requested of them most probably concerned the reserved rent-charge.

"The documents are full of contractions, as is usual with those of similar date, but it has been thought better to transcribe them at length. The copy has been very carefully made, and is believed to be quite correct.

I.—Carta Conventus de terris Hibernicis venditis anno Domini Millesimo CC°. xlv°.

"Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Fratres Prior et capitulum ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis salutem in Domino. Noveritis quod nos dedimus concessimus et hac presenti carta

nostra confirmavimus dilectis nobis in Christi Abbati et conventui De Voto Cisterciensis ordinis ffernensis Diocesis in Hibernia omnes terras et predia urbana seu rustica que possidemus et tenuimus hucusque in Hibernia ex dono pie memorie nobilis quondam viri Hervei de Monte Maurici. Quas videlicet terras nominatim presentibus duximus exprimendas videlicet totam terram nostram de Kilmor¹ de Kenturc² de Banewe³. Et totum redditum et jus nostrum de Thamasre⁴. Totum eciam redditum et jus nostrum de terris ad ecclesiam de Kylboghan⁵ pertinentibus cum insula de Banewe⁶ et duas insulas de Salteye⁷ cum earum omnibus pertinentiis et appendiciis ad nos spectantibus sicut melius et plenius predicta tenementa cum suis pertineciis et predictas insulas tenuimus et habuimus cum omnibus suis juribus libertatibus et aliis pertinentiis salvis tamen episcopo et capitulo ffernensi villa et ecclesia de fficherede⁸ cum suis pertinentiis que fuerunt eis a nobis per amicabilem compositionem et confirmationem aliquando concessa et salva collacione facta nobis super terra de Thamasgre domino Galfrido de Sancto Johanne et heredibus suis et ejus assignatis sicut in

¹ *Kilmor*.—Mr. Babington rightly identifies the present parish of Kilmore with this name.—Eds.

² *Kenturc*.—Probably the present parish of Kilturk, adjoining Kilmore on the east.—Eds.

³ *Banewe*.—Mr. Babington is, of course, correct in supposing this name to be Bannow.—See "Transactions," vol. i. pp. 187-210.—Eds.

⁴ *Thamasre*, or *Thamasgre*.—Not identified; unless it be the present Tomhaggard, near Kilturk, or Tacumshin, eastward of Kilmore.—Eds.

⁵ *Kylboghan*.—Not identified; perhaps it may be hid under the present Kilcowan, a parish adjoining Kilmore.—Eds.

⁶ *Insula de Banewe*.—Now joined by drifting sands to the mainland of the parish of that name.—See "Transactions," vol. i. pp. 193, 205.—Eds.

⁷ *Salteye*.—Still called the Saltees. Mr. Babington suggests that this name, and also the old form of Banewe, are Scandinavian, *ee* being the term for an island in the language of that country. He says:—"My reason for supposing that the termination of the word *Saltee* is the Scandinavian term for island is founded upon the constant occurrence of such forms having that meaning in this part of England. With us it takes the forms, 'ey,' or 'ea,' which are pronounced alike, such as Whittlesey, Horningsey, Maney, Longey, and many others in the fens. They are spelt *ey*,

or *ea*, according to fancy, but the former is the older mode. They are the names of places situated upon raised spots in the fens that were always above the floods, and so were well called islands, many of them not being approachable at any time except across water. The same forms occur in 'Iona,' and in such names as Colonsay, and others in Scotland. On the coast of Norway it appears as *öe*, the representative of a very similar sound, I am told."

Dr. O'Donovan in part agrees with Mr. Babington. The learned Doctor says, in a letter to the Editors:—"I incline to think the name means Salt-islands; but whether it is of Saxon or of Danish origin I should not like even to conjecture. Ireland's *Eye* and Anglesey are of Danish origin, meaning, the one, Ireland's island, and the other, England's island, they being the two points of land visible to the Vikings in the middle of the Irish Sea. *Dalkay*, near Dublin, is also Danish, and is the Delg-inis of the Irish annals; but I cannot find many other *eyes* in Ireland. The Saxons used *eyotte*, for a small island, from which I infer that they, too, had the word *eye*, or *et*, for island, and may have imposed the name Salt-eyes on the islands in question."—Eds.

⁸ *Fficherede*.—Fethard, a prebendal parish, in the diocese of Ferns. There is a fine old castle here, still inhabited, formerly a residence of the bishops of Ferns.—Eds.

carta nostra plenius continetur. Dedimus eciam et concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus prefatis Abbati et Conventus De Voto quod ipsi libere et integre percipiant pacificeque in perpetuum possideant omnes fructus proventus obventiones et oblationes omnium ecclesiarum et capellarum in predictis terris constitutarum. Et eciam omnium aliarum ecclesiarum et capellarum que tempore istius concessionis facte ad nos in Hibernia pertinebant sicut easdem fructus proventus obventiones et oblationes ecclesiarum et capellarum predictarum plenius et melius percipere consuevimus pro decem marcis bonorum et legalium sterlingorum solvendis nobis singulis annis in perpetuum aut nostro certo nuncio ad Nativitatem beate Marie apud Bathoniam in monasterio cathedrali vel thesaurariis ejusdem monasterii commendandis nomine nostro. Et prefati Abbas et Conventus De Voto sustinebunt pro nobis omnia onera episcopalia et archidiaconalia et quecumque alia que pro tempore fuerunt sustinenda prout auctoritas ecclesiastica ea imponi contigerit. Et preterea tenentur facere deservire ecclesias memoratas per ydoneas et honestas personas continue juxta ritum fidei Christiane. Et nichilominus exhibebunt competentem ydoneum capellanum qui continue celebrabit missam defunctorum in capella beati Brandani apud Banewe¹ specialiter pro nobili quondam viro Herveo de Monte Maurici et pro aliis fundatoribus et benefactoribus ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis. Jura vero spiritualia et personatus in predictis ecclesiis penes nos et successores nostros perpetuo residebunt. Concessimus eciam eisdem Abbati et conventui De Voto omnia nomina omnes actiones omnes petitiones et omnia jura que nos unquam contigerunt in predictis terris et prediis cum omnibus suis pertinenciis ut pacifice teneant libere possideant omnia predicta sicut melius et plenius ea tenuimus et possedimus vel ea plenius et melius tenere et possidere debuimus. Et ut que subtracta vel ablata vel injuste detenta vel occupata aut violenter invasa fuerint que nobis ex predicta donacione predicti Hervei debeantur recuperent revocent et adquirant et jure perpetuo inconcussa intemerata libertate omnia predicta possideant nulla nobis in aliquo predictorum retentione servata exceptis predictis decem marcis sterlingorum quas sicut predictum est pro fructibus et obventionibus predictarum ecclesiarum memorati Abbas et Conventus De Voto nobis annuatim solvere tenentur. Ut autem hec nostra donacio concessio et confirmacio inconcussa indubitata et perpetua firmitate valletur [sic in MS.] presentis scripti patrocinio et universalitatis nostre sigillo duximus roborandum. Actum anno Domini m^o. cc^{mo}. xlv^{to}. mense Junii die octavarum translationis Sancti Elphegi quondam Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.”—[*Extracted from fol. vii. of a MS. preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and marked Ee. v. 31.*]

II.—*Obligacio Abbatis et Conventus De Voto in Hibernia de x marcis annuatim redditus.*

“Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presens scriptum visurum vel auditurum Abbas et conventus De Voto in Hibernia Cisterciensis ordinis

¹ *Capella beati Brandani apud Banewe*.—Perhaps this may be the small ecclesiastical edifice near the ruined

church of Bannow, situated on the verge of the old sand-choked strait before alluded to.—Eds.

ffernensis Diocesis salutem in Christo Jesu. Noveritis quod nos bona fide nostra reddere tenemur annuatim in perpetuum Prioris et Capitulo ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis decem marcas bonorum et legalium sterlingas ad nativitatem beate virginis in Ecclesia Conventuali beati Petri apud Bathoniam sive quodlibet contradiccione et cavillatione pro fructibus oblacionibus et obventionibus ecclesiarum suarum in Diocesi ffernensi constitutarum. Et si nos predicti Abbas et conventus De Voto in solutione predictarum decem marcarum aliquantenus sessaverimus ad terminum constitutum et prefati Prior et capitulum pro predictis decem marcis sterlingis acquirendis aliquas expensas fecerunt seu dampna incurrerint nos ejusdem Priori et capitulo tam pro ipsis dampnis et expensis quam pro principali redditu dictarum decem marcarum plenarum satisfacimus. Confitemur eciam nos dicti Abbas et conventus De Voto quod tenemur pro eisdem Priore et Capitulo Cantuariensis sustinere omnia onera Episcopalia et Archidiaconalia et quecumque alia que pro tempore quantum ad ecclesias memoratas fuerint sustinenda prout auctoritate ecclesiastica ea imponi contingit. Preterea protestamur nos memorati Abbas et conventus De Voto et confirmetur sponte et libere quod tenemur facere deservire ecclesias memoratas per ydoneas et honestas personas continue juxta ritum fidei Christiane. Et nichilominus exhibebimus competentem capellanum ydoneum qui continue celebrabit missam defunctorum perpetuo in capella beati Brendani apud Banewe specialiter pro nobili quondam viro Herveio de Monte Mauricii et pro aliis funditoribus et benefactoribus ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis. Subicientes nos et successores nostros jurisdictioni Archiepiscopi Dublinensis et eiusdem officialis qui pro tempore fuerit ut ipsi vel eorum alter quociens necesse fuerit, nos et successores nostros possint libere et sine litis strepitu compellere per censuram ecclesiasticam ad observacionem integram omnium premissorum. Renunciandum in hac parte pro nobis et successoribus nostris omni Juris auxilio canonici et civilis omni consuetudine et statuto et omni Juris privilegio nobis competenti vel competituro quod posset obici contra hoc instrumentum vel scriptum. Et volumus propter hoc coram quibuscumque iudicibus a prefatis Priore et capitulo Cantuariensis ubique locorum libere conveniri. Et ut hec omnia scripta inconcussa indubitata et perpetua firmitate vallentur ea presentis scripti patrocinio et sigilli nostri appensione una cum sigillo Abbatis et Conventus de Tinterne Landavensis Diocesis sunt munita. Actum anno Domini m°. cc. xlv°. mense Junio die octavarum translacionis Sancti Elfegi quondam Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.”—[*Extracted from the above-mentioned MS., fol. viii.]*

III.—*Obligacio Abbatis et Conventus De Voto in Hibernia de xl solidis annuatim redditus.*

“Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Frater Willelmus Abbas De Voto in Hibernia salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis universitas vestra nos ad instantiam venerabilis patris domini Bonifacii Dei gracia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et totius Anglie primatis ex mera liberalitate nostra contulisse ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis tres marcas sterlingas annuatim redditus in perpetuum in augmentum videlicet illarum decem marcarum quos prefate ecclesie Cantuariensis solvere teneamus annuatim pro fructibus et decimis ecclesiarum quos tenemus in Hiber-

nia de prefata ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis. Et sciendum quod tres predictas marcas incipiemus solvere in Nativitate beate Marie anno Domini m°. cc°. lvi°. Et sic deinceps in perpetuum singulis annis ad prefatum terminum fideliter et sine omni cavillaceone persolvemus easdem una cum decem marcis supradictis loco et termino scilicet quibus ipsas decem marcas solvere tenemur. Et ut hec nostra donacio rata et inviolabilis permaneat presens scriptum sigilli nostri impressione de assensu et concilio capituli nostri De Voto in Hibernia roboravimus. Datum Cantuarie anno Domini m°. cc°. lv°. mense Aprili.”—[*Extracted from the above-mentioned MS., fol. viii. b.*]

IV.—*Littera relaxationis arreariorum annue pensionis Abbatis et Conventus De Voto in Hibernia.*

“Universis pateat per presentes quod nos Henricus permissione divina et ceteris et ejusdem loci capitulum remissimus et relaxavimus religiosis viris domino Abbati et conventu De Voto in Hibernia ordinis Cisterciensis omnia debita et arrea debitorum in quibus nobis tenebantur pro arreariorum ejusdem annue pensionis tres decem marcarum nobis annuatim ad festum Nativitatis beate Marie virginis solvendis omnibus inter nos hinc et inde solutionibus prius factis plenius allocatis usque ad festum beati Bartholomei apostoli anno Domini m°. ccc°. xviii°. pro C. libris sterlingis nobis solutis. In cujus rei testamentum presens scriptum sigillo nostro communi fecimus communiri. Datum in capitulo nostro die Sancti Bartholomei anno Domini supradicto.”—[*Extracted from the above-mentioned MS., fol. excvii.*]

Mr. Babington also forwarded a sketch, made by a friend, of a tomb bearing a highly ornamental floral cross of the thirteenth century, by the side of which was carved a short crozier, also of the floral type, and at each side an inscription in Lombardic capitals, to the following effect:—

[LIT]: JACOB: MONACHUS: DE: TINTERN: QUONDAM:
ANNAS: DE: VOTO.

This monument is still existing at Tintern in Monmouthshire (the parent of the Irish Tintern), in the north-east corner of the cloister. Lancant is a hamlet near the original Tintern. On the same slab was carved a similar cross, and also an inscription to the memory of John de Lyuns.

The Rev. James Graves exhibited an ancient letter or memorial, written on vellum, addressed by the monks of Owny or Abingdon, near Nenagh, to James Earl of Ormonde, the representative of Theobald le Pincerna, the founder of that house. In this curious document the monks complain that an Irish-born and educated monk, named Dermot O’Glessoon, was intruded on them as abbot by the violence of the laity, headed by Cornelius Y-Molrehan and his son, contrary to the King’s statute and mandate, who (the Irish abbot)

had behaved himself so, with the aid of his lay abettors, that the monks could not stir out of the castle of the monastery, "extra castrum monasterii," and were reduced to the greatest straits by want of food, whilst divine service was entirely discontinued and neglected. Wherefore they ask the Earl, "with tearful sighs," to listen to their griefs and provide a remedy, by causing the intruding "Hibernicus" to be expelled, and an Englishman to be appointed in his place. The date of this curious document was May 31, 1436. Its tenor was as follows :—

"Nobili et excellenti Domino Domino Jacobo le Botler Comiti Ormonie viri humiles et devoti oratores Abbas et Conventus Monasterii beate Marie de Huonia Imelacensis Diocesis Salutem et se ad devota obsequia semper prestanda paratos. Nuper siquidem dolendum est quod cum monasterium supradictum dittissime et largissime extitit fundatum et dotatum per vestros progenitores ita eciam quod nullus in monasterium ibidem et presertim ad dignitatem Abbatis predicti nisi de Anglicana existet natione procreatus recipiatur nec admittatur, in dilusionem et destructionem dittissime dotacionis et fundacionis predictorum vestrorum progenitorum quidam Dermicius Oglessoon monachus aliunde professus qui de Hibernicana natione procreatus contra statuta et mandata Regiæ, potencie inordina laicorum inimicorum Domini nostri Regis et virorum presertim capitulum Hibernicorum, viz. Cornelii Y-Molreyan, se abbatem dicti monasterii de facto pretendit, et per dictum Cornelium et filium eiusdem nos et monasterium hujusmodi sustentacionibus fructibus redditibus et oblacionibus universis privavit spoliavit et de die in dies privat et spoliavit, quod nullus extra castrum monasterii exire valeat, ita quod defectu sustentacionis quasi fame [. . .] divinus cultus negligitur et dimittitur. Unde vos rogemus et requirimus lacrimosis suspiriis ut nunc ad gemitum nostri memoris aures vestras inclinare [. . .] quod nostri predicto monasterio aliter provideatur, nec ipsum in manibus inimicorum virorum Hibernicorum cum quibus nunquam gratiæ nequavit deducatur, et eidem alicui de natione Anglicana provideri disponatur, aut de professis ejusdem monasterii disponi et provideri procuretur. Acceptantes graciose se placeat quod vobis per dompnum Ricardum Genowr professum dicti monasterii ex parte nostra vobis in premissis duxerit exponenda quem in hiis nostrum fecimus procuratorem per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apposuimus. Datum in monasterio nostro ultimo die mensis Maii Anno Domini m°. cccc. xxx. sexto."

The Secretary read a communication from the Rev. Henry Cotton, D.D., Archdeacon of Cashel, to the following effect :—

"In the description of the Lismore stones (p. 201) there are a few inaccuracies, which I may as well enable you to correct. The Irish inscribed stones were *not* 'dug out in excavating for the foundation of the tower some thirty years ago.' Their recent history is thus: when I went (in 1834) to execute the office of Dean of Lismore, I inquired for any such, and the sexton showed me *two* (the two smaller ones) in different parts of the churchyard, serving for head-stones to modern graves. I took them up and removed them into the Cathedral for safety. I then searched closely for others

and discovered the two larger, serving the same office, but inverted, and nearly buried in the earth, so as not to show a letter of inscription. I removed these in like manner: the last two are of the lime-stone of the district; the smaller two are simply flat river pebbles, reddish, and certainly *not* lime-stone. I showed the two former to Mr. O'Donovan on a passing visit to Lismore; but at that time I had not found the two larger stones. These last two bear no appearance whatever of being 'water-worn and rounded.'

"I think that Mr. Windele's lithograph of them was taken from a drawing which was made for me by Mr. Armstrong, then clerk of the church, whom I used to employ for such purposes, and who afterwards executed several drawings of antiquities for the late Dean Dawson, of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

"These are trifling particulars; but it is well to have them all set right while the actors in the scenes are alive, to testify what they saw and did. I have one other small fragment, which I dug up by accident while laying the foundation of the Cathedral Library at Lismore, in 1851, being part of a circled cross, with part of an inscription, OR . DO . CORMAC."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

ON ST. DECLAN'S ORATORY AT ARDMORE, COUNTY OF WATERFORD, AND THE OLD IRISH INSCRIPTION BUILT INTO ITS EAST END.

BY E. FITZGERALD, YOUGHAL.

THE hoary little oratory at Ardmore, though a noted shrine of pilgrimage from most remote times, has hitherto received little or no attention from the tourist or archæologist. Little doubt, what chiefly contributed to this oversight was its rude humble appearance, and its being nearly connected with the celebrated Round Tower and ruined Hiberno-Norman cathedral, with its attractive sculptures and interesting early monuments; but, as in many similar circumstances, the lowly and humble exterior, though covering far more real worth, is passed by unheeded, when your high and haughty tinsel and show absorb all the attention. As one of our earliest Christian churches, this venerable relic deserves far more at our hands; for here we have a tangible monument of one of our first great Irish missionaries,—a predecessor of even St. Patrick himself,—the old moss-grown walls of which have weathered the storms of some fifteen hundred years. It may be asked, what proofs are there that such is the fact? Well, we find that numerous historic proofs connect St. Declan with Ardmore. The "Annals of Innisfallen" announce, anno 402,—“Ciaran aḡur Deaglan aḡ eacht on Róimh na n Éarcop,” that is, Ciaran and Deaglan came from Rome as bishops, to announce the faith in Ire-

land. Ciaran founded the cathedral at Saighir: "Agur beanar Dealgan Cateoir eile an Apdmop amfna Deiribh;" i. e. And Dealgan erected another cathedral in Ardmore amongst the Desii. And the author of the Irish verses, attributed by Ussher to Benningus, says that St. Patrick having baptized Aengus Mc Nafroich, in the city of Casseal, in the region of Eoganacht, in the year 449, he there constituted Declan Bishop of the See of Ardmore, over the Nandesii, according to the ancient distich preserved in the Life of Albeus:—

"Ailbe umal, Patric Muman, m6 zach path:
Declan Patric Nanbeiri, nabeiri ag Declan go bpath."

—*Primord.*, p. 866.

That is, Patrick gave Munster, and all its strong places, to the humble Albeus. He gave the Desii to Declan—he gave the Desii to Declan for ever. Colgan, Butler, Wills, and Mac Geoghegan, also support the foregoing; the last even goes so far as to say that—

"The four precursors of saint Patrick, namely, Ailbe, Declan, Kieran, and Ibar, having come to Cashel, to see the saint [Patrick], and to congratulate their king upon his conversion, assisted at the synod which that apostle had convoked. Some difference arose about the primacy, which those saints who, like him, had received their mission from the holy see, would not acknowledge in saint Patrick. However, their charity stifled every sentiment opposed to the cause of Jesus Christ. Those saints were confirmed, at that synod, in the possession of the churches they had founded;" and "That of Ardmore, in the territory of Desie, in the county of Waterford, was adjudged to St. Declan, by whom those people were converted." —*History of Ireland*, p. 146.

Thus we find Wills, in his *Lives of "Illustrious Irishmen"* (vol. i. p. 100), asserting, that "the dwelling of Dobran, which was called Dobran's Hall, afterwards obtained the name of Declan's Hall; and, having been presented by Dobran to his ward [Declan], became the site of a cell which he erected to God." And next we find, that the building under consideration is invariably pointed to by tradition as that in which St. Declan was buried; and so deep a hold has the reverence for this great man still, even down to our own day, on the people's affections, that few will visit his patron (which is the most celebrated in this part of the country) without bringing off as a trophy a purchase of some portion of the earth from his grave. And there is scarce a spot of Ardmore which is not hallowed by his name, and does not teem with tradition or legend of his miracles and works; his holy well is celebrated for its cures, and many an useless limb is laved in its limpid waters. And yet, in the face of all this, his shrine is pointed to by some as a Pagan fane, nothing less than a fire-house in connexion with the Round (fire!) Tower close by. Little argument need be wasted on such an assertion, as the simple fact of De-

clan's being interred here, as a very natural inference, at once disproves it, for what he so firmly opposed in life, surely would not be connected with him in death by any of his devoted followers.

That it was not built as his sepulchre or tomb there seems good evidence also, as it displays all the distinguishing features of those primitive Irish churches, or *boimhag*, so beautifully illustrated by Dr. Petrie in his famous work on our early Irish architecture. It corresponds with them in position and details, stands east and west, has a west door and circular-headed east window, and also a square-headed window to the south side. These particulars, coupled with the fact of Declan's grave being sunk and built into one corner of it, in a rough, coarse manner, with unhewn, uncemented stones, and without the slightest pretensions, not even occupying an honourable or principal position in it, speak for themselves, and plainly tell that this building was erected before his death, and, little doubt, served as his church or oratory during his life. St. Declan died in 450; his oratory, therefore, must date from the early part of the fifth century.

The accompanying sketch gives some idea of its primitive appearance, with the celebrated Round Tower some few perches in the distance; the ruined Hiberno-Norman cathedral stands a little to the right of the Tower, but is not shown in the sketch. The oratory measures 13 feet 4 inches, by 8 feet 9 inches, in the clear; and its walls 2 feet 5 inches in thickness; it is, therefore, we believe, the smallest as well as the most ancient ecclesiastical structure in Ireland. From the



slightness of the walls, it is most probable the roof was originally covered with wattles or reeds, and not arched in stone, as were many of the later oratories. The side walls project two feet beyond the gables, forming square buttresses at each quoin; similar projections present themselves in the oratory of St. Mac Dara, on the island of Cruach Mhic Dara, off the coast of Connemara; but in the latter the projections are carried on to a point at the apex of the gables, which is not the case in St. Declan's. The doorway shown in the illustration is not the original one, but, indeed, partakes considerably of the ancient form, which would suggest its being long used as an entrance.

The original doorway is in the west end, but is covered in soil to its lintel from accumulated burials during the lapse of ages; and though the entrance from the present doorway through this side is on a considerable slope, it is necessary to descend a few steps to the original floor from the same cause. The ancient west doorway measures, on the interior, 5 feet 6 inches in height; across its base, 2 feet 5 inches; at top, 2 feet; its lintel, on the exterior, is over 6 feet in length. The east window, also, presents the same tapering appearance as the doorway, but has a semicircular-arched head, formed of one stone. The size of this window, at its base, is 2 feet 5 inches; at the springing of arch, 2 feet; and the jambs are considerably splayed for the better admission of light. The exterior arch is also cut from a single stone, and measures over 6 feet in length, though the opening is considerably narrower than on the inside. This window was altered to a low square-headed one, seemingly at a very remote period, if we may judge from the inclination of its jambs. The window to the south had been altered or broken down, and again built up, but the jamb which remains presents the ancient sloping appearance of the rest. The peculiarities of construction here presented, of low, narrow openings, inclining jambs, well-built walls with massive stones, horizontal lintels, and arches cut out of a single stone, and, in many other oratories, of angular-headed windows, are of the earliest type of Irish architecture, and, undoubtedly, belong to aboriginal times. This, we find, is not peculiar to Ireland alone, as the earliest remains of many countries we are acquainted with, present nearly the same peculiarities, as may be still seen in the early Egyptian, Greek, Etrurian, and Sicilian remains. Treating on this subject, Dr. Petrie so often refers to the *Cyclopean* features of our primitive churches, that, indeed, it would almost seem as if he intended to insinuate a close connexion between the builders of our early churches and the constructors of those wondrous fabrics; but the idea is really ludicrous, to compare the architecture of our pigmy buildings with that of such wondrous colossal Eastern structures.

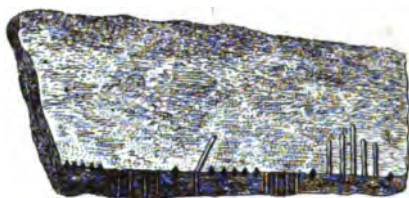
Hitherto, English writers on mediæval architecture seem to have either shunned, or to have completely lost sight of, our Irish claims to precedence over what is usually denominated Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman architecture; for *here* we have positive proof that, before the Saxons set foot on English soil, the so-called Saxon style was fully developed in Ireland. And, centuries before the Norman invasion, the so-called Anglo-Norman style can also be proved to have been fully carried out in many of our elegant early Hibernian remains. And, indeed, many proofs may be adduced to show, that at the early age now under consideration, Ireland was the great seat of learning of the day, and the constant resort of distinguished Continental and English students. The conclusion, therefore, forced on the mind is, that, instead of the Irish deriving their early architec-

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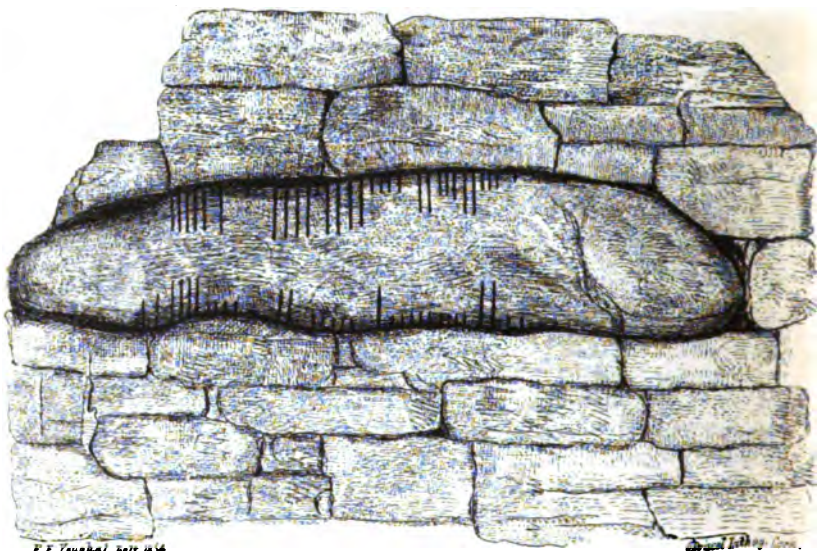
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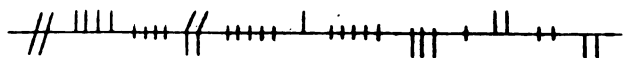
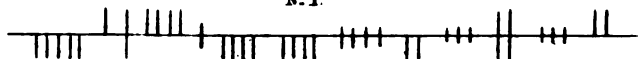


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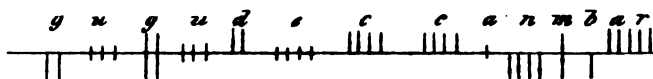
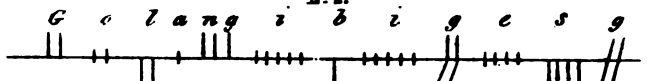
James Barry sculp.

In the east end of St Declan's Oratory.

N^o 1.



N^o 2.



OLD IRISH INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED AT ARDMORE.

COUNTY WATERFORD.

ture from the Saxons or Anglo-Saxons, Normans or Anglo-Normans, those nations themselves drew their science and architectural knowledge, as well as their learning, from the "wild Irish" and poor savage Celts of barbarous gone-by days!

At the September Meeting of the Society, a brief notice of mine was read of the recent discovery of an Ogham inscription in St. Declan's Oratory at Ardmore. With prudence, little more could have been given at the time, as it was late in the evening when the discovery was made, and the writer, on his way home, merely contenting himself for the time, by transferring a hasty sketch to his note-book; being, however, fully determined to pay in a very short period a more formal and protracted visit to this new acquaintance, but venerable relic of remote antiquity. My anxiety for this visit was the more urgent, as, when eyeing the old legend with anxious gaze (it being some dozen feet from the ground), I thought I could perceive the lines of the letters on the lower angle, or *fleasg*, turn under the bed of the stone, at once suggesting the possibility of this inscription being of an earlier date than the oratory itself, i. e. the early part of the fifth century. After the discovery, an incorrect account of it got into the public prints, which, I learned on paying my proposed visit, had drawn the attention of Richard Chearnley, Esq., of Salter Bridge, to it, who had subsequently been paying his profound respects to the "old new-comer," and had taken rubbings, and made considerable cuttings all round the stone to get at the legend that turned under and over it; which I now found, much to my satisfaction, was the case, at once establishing the fact, of *at least* this Ogham dating from pre-Christian times. On a more minute examination I found several of the lines which turned over the stone were not cleared, and after cutting away more of the overlying masonry, I added a few scores to what Mr. Chearnley could have taken. An accurate sketch of the stone and inscription is given in the accompanying lithograph: it measures 4 feet 9 inches in length; and 1 foot in height at its widest part; it is of sand-stone, and the legend in general is deeply cut and well defined, rounding considerably over the angles. Immediately on making a perfect sketch, I forwarded copies to several of our celebrated "Irishians," of course, on the tip-toe of expectation that a post or two would bring a true reading of this old Irish riddle, and fully anticipating some primitive legend to the memory of Erc, Declan's father, grandfather, or great grandsire; a Pagan carn to one or all of whom is still pointed to by the finger of tradition on one of the wild headlands of Ardmore. However, I am sorry to say, all my anticipations were woefully disappointed for the time being, as *all* seemed most chary of giving their opinion on this seemingly doubtful *cruz*.

In consequence of the just tribute of respect paid to the memory of the illustrious and excellent Lord Ormonde, none of the papers

forwarded to the last Meeting of the Society were read. This has given an opportunity of embodying several important opinions received since on the subject from some eminent Irish scholars, who were furnished with copies of the Ogham; and as the great object of archæology is the elucidation of truth, not, I imagine, for merely upholding theories, it is but fair I should give "for" and "against," as I have received them; remarking, that in one instance a gentleman to whom I forwarded a copy deigned not even a reply; but probably, *he* may yet favour your readers with the results of his learned lucubrations, which, no doubt, will be well worth having, as I am given to understand that in his antiquarian researches he has actually delved up the key to unlock all such mysteries. In the accompanying illustration the inscribed stone is shown as it appears in the building. The inscription (No. 1) shows the full legend as it turns under and over the stone, and as it appears to the front view. No. 2 shows the legend and letters as Mr. Windele recommends us to read them, as he says,—

"From the dimensions and figure of the stone, I am convinced that it originally served as an upright monument, standing upon its broader end, and that the inscription must accordingly be read upwards from that extremity, that is, as it now lies, from the right to the left."

And he further adds:—

"I avoid all attempt at translation. The language of the period antecedent to the age of St. Declan must be a *crux* to far better Irish scholars than I can pretend to be. 'Irishians' are very chary of giving their opinions on these inscriptions. We remember that the language may be 2000 years old, and we know that of the Irish language, as spoken 1500 years ago, it became necessary to write a gloss some few centuries after, which gloss itself, some ages later, became nearly unintelligible by reason of the change in the language."

Professor Connellan, Queen's College, Cork, also declines translating it, and says:—

"Many years ago I formed an opinion about these inscriptions, which is, that if they be actually of a date anterior to the Christian era, we can only give a mere conjecture as to their signification. A number of characters may be put for a word, while a single one may answer for another. We cannot at this distant time tell what was their mode of dividing them into words by which they wished to convey a certain meaning. Add to this, that the language then used must at the present day be so obsolete, that Eochaidh O'Flynn himself could scarcely understand it, were he now living. Suppose I would say, '*Go langib ig esg*,' i.e. fishing with spears or tridents, I may be as far from the real meaning as I am from the moon; and observe, that this construction would make it *modern* language, comparatively speaking. But I must, at the same time, admit that it is not more modern than the language we find in MSS. of the eighth and tenth

centuries, such as the Book of Armagh and others of that date; and I must also admit, that there was very little change in the language from the third to the eighth or ninth centuries, especially in historic or common compositions. I could render these letters into three or four other readings; but what would that avail? I could not be positive as to the intended original meaning in any of them; but if I could meet with an historical name, such as *Conn C. C.*, then, indeed, I would take my stand on firm ground. For aught I know, *Golang*, which appears in this inscription, may have been a celebrated character in his time; but with our present information we have nothing of certainty to proceed upon."

An eminent Irish scholar, the Rev. John Casey, now of Killybegs, who has long made Ogham inscriptions his study, reads one line as making "*Gol ang i bi gesq*," signifying, "Herein lies Gol the renowned diviner [or sorcerer]." The second line he divides thus, "*Gugu decc n mbar*," i. e. "Gog [or Gugu] the distinguished [or the scientific] died." Gol and Gugu he regards as of the Druidic order, and, as such, eminent of their class. These gentlemen all see the great importance of the position in which the inscription is found, and the natural inference to be drawn from it.

Another gentleman, deeply versed in our Irish lore, differs altogether from the foregoing, and does not even believe that "our Ogham inscriptions are *Pagan*." He says:—

"They are founded on the Roman *alphabet*, and are not older than St. Patrick's time, if, indeed, they can pretend to such antiquity."

He also gives it as his opinion:—

"That we had no letters here but what we learned from the Western Church of Christ. The Oghams are *tricks* of the middle ages, which will soon be exposed."

These opinions are from an excellent authority, but I am not at liberty to give the author's name. None will be better pleased than the writer to see such "tricks" exposed, and at once put a *quietus* to endless lucubrations on the subject. But, with all due deference for our learned friend's decisions, to my mind, *up to the present time*, the proofs all preponderate towards a pre-Christian origin, as we find the Ogham has been discovered inscribed on the standing stones of Druidic circles, on pillar-stones in connexion with Pagan cars, and on the roofing stones of raths¹. Yet, it may be said, these were inscribed in Christian times; well, possibly it may be so; but it so happens that many of those in the raths are found with portions of their legends so covered, that it could not have been possible to inscribe them, except they were done previously to the construction of the building in which they are found; therefore, if

¹ See Mr. Windele's paper on Ancient Irish Ogham Inscriptions, in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. i. pp. 43–52.

the inscription is a "trick" of the middle ages, the rath must be one also, which remains to be proved.¹ Again, we find as perfect an Ogham as has yet been discovered built into a structure which undoubtedly belonged to a predecessor of even St. Patrick himself, namely, the subject of our present illustration from St. Declan's Oratory; and here again we have the inscription half covered up in the masonry, plainly proving it of an earlier origin than the building itself, carrying us a *little* beyond the "middle ages," and the teachings of the "Western Church." And if we learned our letters from the Western Church, is it not most extraordinary that such unlettered Pagans would have the wisdom to invent a totally different alphabet to what their tutors taught? and begin with B, L, F, S, N, H, D, as the *ancient Irish* alphabet hath it, instead of the A, B, C, D, E, F, G, of the Romans! To my mind, the Western Church has fully as just a claim on the introduction of the Irish *language*, as of the letters, which idea, I believe, has not been broached yet. Even the very germs of our earliest architecture and all our primitive Christian churches are stamped with, not a Western, but actually an Eastern type; for the inclining jambs to all their openings are decidedly of *Eastern origin*. Mr. Windele, in his excellent paper on this subject, before alluded to, has quoted numerous proofs in support of the pre-Christian origin of the Ogham, from ancient Irish authorities. Since the publication of his paper, the Ossianic Society has come into full operation, and has just issued its volume for 1853, in which I find a passage in point from the "Battle of Gabhra," fought, A.D. 283, as follows (p. 50):—

"An Ogham in a stone, a stone over a grave,
In the place where men were wont to pass;
The son of the King of Eire was there slain,
By a mighty spear on a white horse's back."

And again, from another part of the same (p. 51), we have:—

"That Ogham which is in the stone,
Around which fell the slain;
Were Finn the fighter of battles living,
Long would he remember the Ogham."

In the accompanying lithograph, the first Ogham represented was discovered by Mr. Windele, built into a low wall in the ruins of the old Hiberno-Norman cathedral at Ardmore; and when announced to the public (for what reason it is difficult to imagine), I find the very existence of it was actually scouted by Dr. Petrie in his celebrated work on the Round Towers, page 84, as he says, speaking on this subject:—

¹ There can be little doubt that raths continued to be constructed by the Irish long after the introduction of Christianity.—EDS.

"I utterly deny that the lines on the stone at Ardmore are a literary inscription of any kind, and I *challenge* Mr. Windele to support his assertion by proof. So much then for the discoveries at Ardmore!"

Probably, the Doctor feared the "Holie Citie of St. Declan" should be defiled if those broad brands of Paganism were established on it. But I understand the Ogham *was* produced, and safely lodged in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, whether to Dr. Petrie's satisfaction, or not, is another question. At all events, we here present a faithful portrait of the stone of contention, to satisfy all malcontents. The length of this relic is 2 feet 5 inches; breadth at widest part, 1 foot; at smallest part, 9 inches; thickness, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The celebrated archæologist, "Father Matt" Horgan's reading of this inscription was to the memory of a person whom it described as "the swift and the brave." The discovery of our second Ogham, and in such an unusual position, is rather a stubborn fact, which proves St. Declan thought somewhat differently from the learned Doctor, as here there is no effort to conceal,—but the reverse, as the Pagan pillar-stone is planted in the most conspicuous position in his newly-erected oratory, no doubt as a trophy of his prowess in the conversion of the Pagan Desii.

DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE CITY OF KILKENNY MILITIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

THE military antiquities of a country form a branch of its history which generally engrosses to itself the greatest amount of interest, as it involves those notable memories which are most largely connected with the national glory, and must minister most to national pride. But where the general history of Ireland remains yet to be written, it is not surprising that its military annals are so very meagre, still less so that very little indeed should have been placed on record respecting the half civil, half military force, called into existence in the middle of the seventeenth century, and playing no unimportant part in the troubled period of the wars of James and William, and the precautions taken by the earlier members of the Hanoverian dynasty against the dangers likely to spring from the Jacobite sympathies of the great mass of the Irish people. It is true that the Irish Militia regiments, of the period referred to, can boast of none of the glorious exploits, or the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" pertaining

to the regular army, their duty having been that more immediately of a police than of a military force; but, seeing that the presence of such an armed body in the country was deemed of vast importance by the various succeeding monarchs and ministers of the period, any contribution of facts and documents tending to elucidate the early history of the Irish Militias, however dry or unpicturesque may be the details, should, at any time, be deemed of some importance; whilst at the present moment, when a new Militia force is being embodied throughout the country, a larger degree of interest may be expected for an attempt of the kind. The idea of bringing the subject under the notice of the Society was suggested to me in consequence of the Rev. James Graves having directed my attention to a collection of documents connected with the City of Kilkenny Militia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, preserved amongst the Haydock Papers in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle. Beyond the ancient municipal boundary of Kilkenny my materials do not carry me; but perhaps the publication of this paper may be the means of inducing others to make known similar records illustrative of the old Militia regiments of different cities and counties;¹ and, even as regards Kilkenny, may lead to the contribution of documents from other repositories, calculated to fill up such gaps as I have been forced to leave, owing to defects in the records at present within my reach. To many it may appear a tedious infliction, and a useless consumption of space, to occupy many pages of the Transactions with dry lists of people, chiefly of humble station, long since dead and forgotten; but it should be borne in mind that the Militia muster-rolls, which I propose to place on record, form statistical documents the preservation of which ought to be deemed a matter of some importance, as supplying the names, and frequently the trades and callings, of a considerable body of the inhabitants of a city such as Kilkenny, during the period over which they extend; besides affording us a curious glimpse of the Militia arrangements, discipline, and arms, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and serving, in some degree, to illustrate both the military and civil customs and usage of the times.

Having said so much by way of apology, perhaps before laying my store of local documents before the Meeting it may not be uninteresting to take a hasty glance at the origin of the force with which they are connected. Imaginative historians have attempted to trace the germ of the Militia system to a very remote antiquity indeed.

¹ Since the above was written I have read, in the "Kerry Magazine," No. 10, October, 1854, a paper entitled "Mems of the Militia of Kerry," from the pen, I believe, of the Rev. Dr. Rowan, which contains some curious and interesting

documents connected with that county. Mr. Hardiman, in his "History of Galway," has also preserved much historical matter respecting the ancient Militia of that city, together with the names of the officers of each successive levy.

In England they allege it sprung from the prudent arrangements of Alfred the Great, who is said to have disciplined all his male subjects of sufficient age, and to have made his people a nation of soldiers, in the ninth century. But they seek its source in Ireland at even a more distant period, regarding the embodiment of the somewhat mythical police of King Cormac, under the renowned Fionn MacComhail, as the origin of the Militias of subsequent ages.¹ These speculations, however, are rather fanciful, and therefore we must look to a period more modern than those of the legendary exploits of the Fianna Eirion and the Knights of King Arthur's Round Table for the introduction of those arrangements in the government of the country which grew by degrees into the present Militia organization. In the feudal system, established in Britain and Ireland by the conquering Normans, we unquestionably find the origin of this force,² each proprietor being bound, through the military tenure whereby he held his estates, to supply a certain number of armed men for the defence of the State, as well as the enforcement of his own seigniorial rights, thus discharging alike civil and military functions; and perhaps we may trace some of its arrangements to the power entrusted, from a very early period, to sheriffs, of calling out the *posse comitatus* for the maintenance of the law. The first Commission of Array in England, which brought the Militia system into something like the modern organization, is stated to have been issued in 1422; but the arrangements were further developed, and moulded into nearly their present shape, by the Statutes of 13, 14, and 15 Charles II., passed in the years 1661, 1662, and 1663,³ in which the subsequent acts or royal proclamations of James, William, Anne, and the Georges, only made such trifling changes as suited them to the exigencies of the times.

The ancient Militia of the county of Kilkenny was from an early period under the full direction and control of the Lord of the Liberty, whose feudatories and vassals were exempted from the provisions of the various royal Commissions of Array issued from time to time, as he had bound himself to the Crown to take the necessary order, on all occasions, for the defence of the Liberty at his own expense. The Earls of Ormonde being also Lords of the Liberty of Tipperary, the same system of defence was established in that county. A document of the sixteenth century, in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, speaking of the "*aiensientt jurisdiction*" of the Earls of Ormonde in those counties, gives the following statement of the

¹ Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates."

² Spelman says the knights were the ancient Militia, and observes—"Ad Militiæ dignitatem evocatur qui 15 librata terræ possidet.—temp. 37th Hen. III."

³ By the 13th Charles II. the Militia was placed under the direction of the Lieutenant of the county, according to the existing arrangement.—See Jacob's "Law Dictionary."

kind of Militia force which they were each liable to raise for the preservation of the peace of the district :—

“ These contaies beyng joyned to gyther und’ one capteyn & leder have ratyd & dyvidid themselves in equall porcōns to bear so . . . nōber of horsmen, galoglas & kerne as the could, so that both the conties allways bare like borden to serve for ther own defence as nede did requyre by the discrecōn of the Capteyn, and wth thassent of the gentlemen and freeholders of the same. Viz. The contie of Kilkenny in iii^{xx} [three score] beds or porcōns devyded (ev’ry bed a horseman & ii kerne) and viii^{xx} sparys [sparths or battle-axes] of galoglas in the whole for ther owne defence, w^{ch} viii^{xx} sparys makeyth vi^{xx} shorts [shirts] of mayle, the rest is alouyd to the capteynes, & to ther men to cary ther armo’ — monteth iii^{xx} horsemen, vi^{xx} kerne, vi^{xx} shorts of mayl or galoglas, and allso the lyke nomb’ for ther defence in the contie of ty’prary.”

But in cities like Kilkenny the feudal usages which prevailed through the rural districts did not hold. The burgesses purchased their exemption from military tenures by the sums paid to the proprietor of the district, and to the Crown, for their charters of incorporation, and they were not liable to be called away by the feudal lord of the locality to fight his battles, unless the martial spirit of the times prompted them, as it frequently did, to volunteer for such a service. But, consisting chiefly of colonies of English artisans planted in districts wrung by the strong hand from the original proprietors, and surrounded by the hostile native clans, anxious to seize upon any opportunity to annoy the intruder, or wrest from his possession the territory which they still deemed their own by right, each burgess found it necessary to study the use of arms, and be prepared at a moment’s notice to join his fellow-townsmen for the defence of the community from the sudden foray or the stealthy inroads of the “ Irish enemy.” The municipal archives afford us information on this subject, which will enable us to trace the origin and progress of the urban Militia system. It is stated in a by-law of the Corporation, set out in the Red Book of Kilkenny, in the year 1591, that—

“ The Lord of Bullring was, time immemorial, High Constable, and in time of necessity had the command of the forces of said town for defence thereof, and used to train up the youth in warlike exercises.”

The burgesses were not content with merely defending their town, but frequently gave their military aid to their powerful neighbour and patron, the Earl of Ormonde, either in support of the Crown, or in carrying out his private feud against the Geraldines. Thus, in 1407, on “ the day of the exaltation of the Holy Croes,” the inhabitants marched out in warlike array, under their sovereign or chief magistrate, John Croker, and did good service in the army of Sir Stephen Scroop, the Lord Deputy, the Lord Thomas of Lan-

caster, the King's son, and the Earl of Ormonde, in whose favour the quaint old annalist thus records the performance of a special miracle that day:—"Being informed that the Burkens and Carol, in the County of Kilkenny, had for the space of two days together done much mischief, they rod with all speed to the Town of Callan, and there encountering with the Adversaries, manfully put them to flight, slue Carol, and eight hundred others; and it was averr'd by many that the Sun stood still for a space that day, till the Englishmen had rod 6 miles, which was much wondered at," as doubtless well it might! Again, we are told by Baron Finglas that, "in the time of King Henry the Sixth (*circ.* 1430), in a fight between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, almost all the townsmen of Kilkenny were slain," of course on the side of the Butler. On the 9th February, 1609, the Town Council of Kilkenny passed a law for the infliction of a fine of twelve pence "on every householder making default of going to match or muster, when warned by the constable;" and that no person should be admitted to the freedom of any of the guilds of the town who did not "appear before the Corporation with his weapon and furniture." Aldermen were ordered to be present at all musters "on pain of 6^s 8^d;" whilst it was further enacted that "any persons having weapons, not being able to use the same, shall deliver them, during the time of service, to such poor people as are able to serve, and are not able to purchase weapons. Such persons as have not the weapons appointed by the Corporation to be imprisoned till they procure them. Poor men of able bodies, to be furnished with weapons at the city's charge, during the time of service." The use intended to be made of these arms is sufficiently indicated by another order, made the same day, that "any person summoned to a muster of the Militia, and not appearing, to pay 12^d." This is the earliest mention of a Militia force under that name to be found in the civic records; and that it applied solely to an armed body of the townsmen banded together for mutual defence, under the direction of their own chosen chief magistrate, and not by commission from the Crown, must be deemed most probable, as, under the provisions of the charter granted to the Corporation only a few years previously by Queen Elizabeth, the burgesses of Kilkenny were specially exempted from military duty to the State.² On the 25th April, 1623, "on a petition of Peter Archer, Mayor of Bullring, complaining of the bad attendance of the Merchants' Guild last Easter Monday, in mustering with him, it was ordered that the statutes of the Corporation be executed upon them, if they do not show sufficient cause." On the 20th January, 1642, a time of great political excitement throughout the country, and in Kilkenny

¹ Ware's "Annals," sub anno.

² Ledwich's "Essay towards the His-

tory and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny," 2nd ed. p. 452.

in particular, it was enacted that "every of the merchants and freemen that keep open shop, shall keep in their shops a good halbert, brown-bill, or short pike, and every merchant to wear a sword in the street, on pain of 5^s to the use of the Corporation;" and on the 9th May, 1645, it was further ordered that "every merchant shall by the last day of May, provide a brown-bill or halbert, and have the same daily, in his house, ready; and every freeman of any other Corporation shall provide a brown-bill or partizan; and that an alderman of every ward, and the constables, shall see that said weapons be provided, on pain of double the value of the weapons on the person neglecting." On the 12th April, 1662, it was "ordered by the Mayor and Aldermen, that y^e late Mayor, Thomas Evans, Esq., doe drawe forth y^e Traine band of this Citty, with their armes, &c., and deliver them upp to y^e present Mayor, and that on Thursday next." And on the 29th April, 1680, I find it recorded in the White Book, that "it was the day and yeare aforesaid enacted, and be it herby that noe man shall be sworne a freeman of this Citty untill he bring into court either a firelock and collar of bandileeres,¹ or a sword, which y^e board of Aldermen shall thinke fithing."

I have given extracts from the Corporation muniments sufficient to show that the city of Kilkenny from a very early period was supplied with a volunteer Militia of the townsmen, amply prepared for their own defence, and not unwilling to be led forth against those whom they regarded as rebels or disturbers of the public peace, and infringers of the laws, in the county. Thus, when King Charles II., in 1661, and the two following years, remodelled the arrangements of the Commissions of Array, and placed the Militia more on the footing of royal troops, there were ample materials existing in Kilkenny to form a local regiment or battalion. How soon after the embodiment of such a corps took place in that city, or what was its exact strength, I am unable to say, but early in the year 1667 there was a local Militia serving under the new regulations, of a company of which Thomas Evans, one of the Aldermen, held the King's commission as captain, and there are three muster-rolls of his men in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle. I give here one of them, purporting to be a record of the attendance at a parade at the Butts, on the 8th April, in the year referred to. The letters prefixed to the names show how those who attended were armed, *m* standing for musket, and *p* for pike. Those who are not marked as bearing arms were absent from the muster, or came too late. Out of a company consisting of 172, including officers and

¹ Bandoliers (Fr. *bandoulières*) were small wooden cases covered with leather, each containing a charge for a musket,

which hung to the number of twelve on a shoulder belt.—Bailey's "English Dictionary," sub. verb.

non-commissioned officers, 109 attended, and 63 absented themselves. The list is given on a long slip of paper, in double columns, as follows :—

Thomas Evans Capt ¹		Jacob Cornocke	
Valentine Read Leift ²		Charles Duke	
Josias Haydocke Ensigne ³		Francis Bradish ¹⁷	
Sam: Phillips ⁴	} Serg ¹⁰	Nathan: Lodge	
John Date ⁵		p. Francis Mitchell	
Christopher Blott ⁶		p. John Neale	
Jeptha Tovey ⁷		p. William Beaver ¹⁸	
p. Garrat Jacob	} Corpor ^{11a}	p. James Synocke Sen ^r ¹⁹	
m. Henery Yonge		p. James Tovey ²⁰	
m. Edward Bustian		p. Tho: fflag	
m. John Horsley		p. Rich ^d Prat	
Henery Dowson	} Drum ⁸	p. Willm Sewell ²¹	
John Caddan		p. Benjam: Barton	
p. Thomas Chapman ⁹		Antho: Phillips	
p. William Connell ⁹		p. Willm Davys ²²	
p. Francis Rowledge ¹⁰		p. John Phillips ²²	
John Whittle ¹¹		Thomas Heyes	
p. Barthol: Connor ¹²		Tho: Richards	
p. Michael Badge ¹³		Robert Wilson	
p. George Oliver ¹⁴		John Ablewitt	
Edw ^d Hickes ¹⁵		m. Rich ^d Wilkinson	
Willm Burch ¹⁶		Rich ^d Nowlan	

¹ Thomas Evans, the Captain of the company, was Mayor of Kilkenny this year. He filled the office of chief magistrate five times, viz. for the years 1659, 1660, 1666, 1667, and 1668.

² Valentine Reed was one of the Sheriffs of Kilkenny for the year 1656.

³ Josias Haydock was Sheriff for the year 1659, and four times Mayor, viz. in 1673, 1674, 1675, and 1701.

⁴ Samuel Phillips was Sheriff in 1662, and Mayor for the year 1681.

⁵ John Date was Sheriff in 1675.

⁶ Christopher Blott was Sheriff in 1668.

⁷ Jeptha Tovey was Sheriff in 1670.

⁸ Thomas Chapman was Sheriff in 1658.

⁹ William Connell was Sheriff in 1659, and Mayor for the year 1672.

¹⁰ Francis Rowledge was Sheriff in 1661, Portreve of Irishtown in 1663, and Mayor in 1676 and 1677.

¹¹ John Whittle was Sheriff during a portion of the year 1664, and Coroner for the year 1665. — See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 164.

¹² Bartholomew Connor was Sheriff in 1664 and 1665, Portreve of Irishtown in 1671, and Mayor in 1682.

¹³ Michael Badge was Sheriff in 1664 and 1665.

¹⁴ George Oliver was Sheriff in 1666.

¹⁵ Edward Hicks was Sheriff along with Oliver in 1666.

¹⁶ William Birch was Sheriff of Kilkenny in 1665, and Portreve of Irishtown in 1668.

¹⁷ Francis Bradish was Portreve of Irishtown in 1667.

¹⁸ William Beaver was a member of the Merchants' Guild at this period.

¹⁹ James Sinock was Sheriff in 1667.

²⁰ James Tovey was Sheriff of Kilkenny in 1672, and Portreve of Irishtown in 1669, 1674, and 1675.

²¹ William Sewell was Warden of the Guild of Shoemakers, and also of the Guild of Butchers, at this period.

²² William Davis was Portreve of Irishtown in 1661 and 1665, and Sheriff of Kilkenny in 1676 and 1685.

²³ John Phillips was Sheriff of Kilkenny in 1660.

p. George Wilkinson¹
p. Thomas Norris²
p. Edw^d Evans
p. Rand^{1a} Wilkinson
p. Adam Haydocke³
p. Tho: Cooksey⁴
p. R: Williams smith
m. John Davys⁵
 James Synock Jun^r
 Nicholas ffarie
m. Walter Williams
 Tho: Read
p. Ebenezer Mylam
 Joseph Read
p. Rob^t Rose⁶
 Willm Kymberlin⁷
p. John Kyrke
p. Thomas Talbot⁸
p. John Beavere⁹
m. William Marwood
 John Pape¹⁰
m. Thomas Cooksey
 ffrancis Harris
m. Thomas Yong¹¹
m. Willm Connell Jun^r
p. Henry Cookson¹²
 Nicholas Doyle
m. William Walters
 Willm Veike

m. Willm Keast
p. Rich^d Mukin
p. Rich^d Inwood¹³
 John White
m. William Ayers
m. John Collyns
p. Rich^d Grymes
m. Willm Bennet
 Ralph Coward
m. John Morgan
 Walter Peart
p. Richard Browne
m. William Laugharne
m. Edward Dubberley
m. Phillip Henderson
m. Rob^t Scarbrough¹⁴
m. William ffletcher
 William Lawler
m. Rich^d Core
 Christopher Berry
 Thomas Heyden
 Gameliel Holden
 Nathaniell Bolster
 Thomas Cone
 John Joly¹⁵
 Thomas Pollardt
 Willm Robinson
m. Willm Tydmarsch
m. Rich: Clarke

¹ George Wilkinson was Sheriff in 1673 and 1674.

² Thomas Norris was Sheriff in 1679.

³ Adam Haydock was Sheriff in 1667, and Mayor in 1707.

⁴ Thomas Cooksey was Sheriff in 1668.

⁵ John Davis was Sheriff in 1693 and 1694.

⁶ Robert Rose was Sheriff in 1669.

⁷ William Kimberley was joint Sheriff with Rose in 1669. He was Portreve of Irishtown in 1672 and 1673.

⁸ Thomas Talbot was the keeper of a wine-tavern, as appears from a token struck by him about this year.—See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 170.

⁹ John Beavor, or Beaver, was a Cromwellian settler in Kilkenny, a member of the Merchants' Guild, and the issuer of a token.—See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 161.

¹⁰ John Pape was Sheriff in 1677 and 1678. He was Mayor in 1696.

¹¹ Thomas Young was Sheriff in 1673 and 1674, and Mayor in 1679.

¹² Henry Cookson was a member of the Corporation, and was elected Sheriff in 1671, but did not attend to be sworn into the office.

¹³ Richard Inwood was an innkeeper, and was Sheriff of the city in 1671, and Coroner in 1672.—See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 162.

¹⁴ Robert Scarborough was Portreve of Irishtown in 1680.

¹⁵ John Joly, or Jollie, was a French Protestant settler in the city; his son Edward Jollie was Sheriff of the city of Kilkenny in 1752, and his granddaughter, Miss Sarah Jollie, of Switsir's Asylum, yet lives, the oldest inhabitant of Kilkenny, and the last survivor of a long-lived family.

m. Tho: Davijs¹
 p. Tho: Dullard
 m. Henry White
 m. Nicholas Pharey
 p. Thomas Davys
 John follows
 Francis Hamlin
 Thomas Golborne
 p. Wilfm Walters
 Wilfm Heyes
 Rich^d Phillips²
 m. Daniell Grady
 Allexander Gourdon
 Thomas Collins
 Thady Coogan
 John Allen
 m. John Wall
 m. William Chapman
 p. Tho: Davys taylor
 m. Thomas Parkin
 m. Joseph Brenane
 m. John Plumer
 m. Rich^d Sergeant
 p. Bray Beaver
 m. Thomas Boshell
 m. Mathew Crowe
 p. Edward Goddart
 m. Stephen Hassard
 m. Wilfm Plym
 m. John Sandford

m. Robert Broes
 Christopher Greaves
 m. Thomas Campion
 Peeter Hilton
 Rich^d Jones
 David Rice
 []. Wilfm Smith
 m. Joseph Whittle³
 m. William Hart
 John Dyan
 m. Thomas Foart, Tho: Woodward
 David Murphy
 m. Georg Griffith
 m. Tho: Wilkinson
 Cornelius Wright⁴
 Ald^r Peeter Goodwin⁵
 Ald^r Rich^d Danniell⁶
 Rob^t floyd
 Tho: Davys
 Peeter Blacknall
 p. James Robinson
 Nicholas Halfpenny⁷
 Overington Blunden⁸
 Cap^t Wilfm Burgesse
 John Burgesse taylor
 p. George Burgesse
 Ald^r Arthur Helsham⁹
 m. John Sharpe
 m. Myler Goodwin
 p. John Sayers

¹ Thomas Davis, of the Kilkenny Excise Office, struck a token about this time, but four persons of that name appear upon this muster-roll.—See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 166.

² Richard Phillips was Sheriff in 1709.

³ Joseph Whittle was son to Job Whittle, a soldier in the army of Cromwell, who settled in Kilkenny, and lived to the great age of 127 years.—See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 164.

⁴ Cornelius Wright, or Right, was Sheriff in 1661.

⁵ Peter Goodwin was Sheriff in 1657, and Mayor in 1664 and 1665.—See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 166.

⁶ Richard Danniell was Sheriff in 1656.

⁷ Nicholas Halfpenny was Portreve of Irishtown in 1662.

⁸ "Overington Blunden, gent.," was

a Cromwellian Adventurer, who received a grant, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, consisting of 117 acres, in the lands of Clonmorne, the estate forfeited by Helias Shee, Esq. The grant provided that, in future the lands should be called "Blunden's Castle." This was the ancestor of the present Sir John Blunden, Bart., of Castle Blunden.

⁹ Alderman Arthur Helsham had been a captain of foot in Cromwell's army, and in satisfaction of his arrears of pay he received a grant of the lands of Leggetstrath, and others near Kilkenny. He seems also, in several instances, to have purchased from the privates of his company the lands assigned to them for arrears of pay. He became Mayor of the town in 1679, and died whilst filling the office.

m. Tho: Edmonds
m. Ralph Bayley
m. John Chamberlin
m. Christopher Hill

m. Tho: Price
m. Tho: Lyon
m. Hugh Langam
 Oudam Gourden

Musted at St. Kenny's Butts April 8th 1667

1 Cap^t
 1 Lief^t
 1 Ensigne
 3 Sergeants
 4 Corporalls
 1 Gent at Armes
 98 private Soldjers

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It will be seen that the foregoing was a muster of every qualified citizen capable of bearing arms, without distinction of class or grade, for several of the aldermen, and most wealthy burgesses, appear as private soldiers. It should be observed, however, that only the Protestant citizens were qualified to serve, as Roman Catholics could not take the oath of supremacy, without which no one could, under the then existing law, serve the State. Another list of the same muster, of the 8th April, 1667, supplies some further particulars. It appears that thirty-two of those absent were pike-men; that Peter Hilton was unable to be present because he was "in prison;" Robert Wilkinson, John Pape, Francis Harris, William Heyes, and Davyd Rice "came late;" William Walters was represented on the occasion by his son, and Jacob Carnockes by his servant, both of whom were armed with pikes; and Richard Danniells also sent, as a substitute, his servant, who is marked "Papist." A third muster-roll of the same company, and evidently drawn up in the same year, although it is not dated, supplies the additional information that the Militia medical officer was "Mr. Tho. Bond, Chyrurgeon."

The next document which I find connected with the Militia of Kilkenny bears date fifteen years later. It is endorsed: "September 21: 1681, A Muster Role." A new Commission of Array must have issued in the meantime, for we now have Josias Haydocke, who was ensign of the former company, figuring as captain, with a new lieutenant and ensign; whilst the only old non-commissioned officer remaining is Corporal Henry Yonge, now promoted to the rank of sergeant. A large number of the privates, however, remain unaltered, for it is yet a Protestant Militia, Charles II. being still upon the throne. There is more system apparent in the arrangements, as the names are enumerated in alphabetical order, and the different arms borne by the men are marked in separate columns, under initial letters, indicating respectively, s. sword; h. halbert; b. bandolier; and p. pike. It is curious that there is no column for fire-arms, and, unless where in two places in the column for halberts the letter *m* is

marked, standing evidently for musket, the men would appear not to have been at the time provided with any such weapons. The following is the list :—

A List of the Officers and Soldiers under the Command of Cap^m Josias Haydocke in the City of Kilkenny.

					S	H	B	P	
Josias Haydocke Cap ^m									
Henry Washer Liev ^t ¹					George Chissell . .	0	0	0	1
Rich ^d Connell Ensign ^s					Willia ^m Cooke . .	1	0	0	1
Henry Yonge	} Serg ^{ts}				Rob ^t Cashin . .	1	1	1	0
Robert ffrench					Anthony Castare . .	1	1	1	0
Willia ^m Jackson					John Caddan . .	0	1	1	0
					James Cooke . .	1	0	0	
					Moses Cartesse . .	1	1	1	0
					D.				
					Owen Davys . .	0	0	0	1
					Willia ^m Davys . .	1	0	0	1
					James Dod . .	1	1	1	0
					Christ: Deoran . .	1	0	0	1
					John Davys . .	1	1	1	0
					Clem ^t Docker . .	0	0	0	1
					Timothy Dennis . .	1	0	0	1
					Gilberd Deane . .	1	0	0	1
					Thomas Davis . .	1	1	0	0
					FF.				
					William ffletcher . .	1	1	1	0
					Rich ^d ffletcher . .	1	1	1	0
					John ffletcher . .	1	1	1	0
					John ffag				
					G.				
					Joshua Gethins, dead				
					Christ: Greaves . .	1	1	1	0
					Hugh Garratt . .	1	1	1	0
					John Groagan . .	0	1	1	0
					Rob ^t Geary . .	0	0	0	0
					George Griffiths . .	1	1	1	0
					H.				
					James Howell				

¹ Henry Washer was Sheriff of Kilkenny in the year 1667.

² Richard Connell was Sheriff in 1678, and Mayor for the years 1685 and 1686.

³ John Bolton appears to have been a trader of the city. Dr. Aquilla Smith gives him as the striker of a token in Kilkenny; but as he only did so on hear-

say evidence, and never saw the token himself, I expressed some doubts as to the accuracy of the statement, in a paper on the Tradesmen's Tokens of Kilkenny, read before the Society in 1858. —See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 170. I must now, however, retract those doubts, as I find the name in the muster-roll as above.

	S	H	B	P		S	H	B	P
Walter Howell . .	1	1	1	0	Elisha Powell . .	1	0	0	1
Thomas Heape . .	1	1	1	0	Edw ^d Prince . .	0	1	1	0
Corn: Hayes . .	1	1	1	0					
Davyd Howell					Q.				
Willia ⁿ Hannam . .	0	1	0	0	Rob ^t Ququid . .	0	1	0	0
Adā Haydocke . .	1	0	0	1	James Ququid . .	0	0	0	1
Henry Hebbs . .	1	0	0	1					
Henry Harper . .	1	1	0	0	R.				
Paul Hare . .	0	0	0	0	Jeremy Reade . .	1	1	1	0
					Edw ^d Reade				
J.					Davyd Rice . .	1	0	0	1
Thomas Johnson, dead	0	0	0	0	Murtoch Ryan . .	0	1	1	0
					Nichol Rogerman				
K.					Isacke Read . .	0	0	0	1
John Kyrke . .	1	0	0	1					
William Knight . .	1	m	0	0	S.				
James Kasy . .	0	0	0	1	Thomas Smallwood .	1	0	0	1
Edw ^d Kenth . .	0	0	0	0	Michaell Sanders				
					Rich ^d Sergeant . .	1	1	1	0
L.					Patricke Smith				
Michaell Loyd					Thomas Sermon . .	1	1	1	0
Thomas Lyon . .	1	1	1	0	Joseph Sims . .	1	0	0	1
Hugh Langham . .	1	1	1	0	Willia ⁿ Sermon . .	1	1	0	0
John Langham . .	0	1	0	0					
					T.				
M.					Edw ^d Trevrin				
John Melland					John Tovey . .	0	0	0	1
John McCleere . .	1	1	0	0					
Benja: Matchett . .	1	0	0	1	V.				
					Thomas Valentine .	1	0	0	1
N.									
John New, sicke					W.				
Henry Nowell . .	1	1	1	0	Edm ^d Wright . .	1	1	1	0
					Thomas Woodwart .	1	1	1	0
P.					James Wallis . .	1	0	0	1
John Plumer . .	1	1	1	0	Davyd Woods . .	0	0	0	1
Thomas Perkin . .	0	1	1	0	Rob ^t Wharton . .	0	1	1	0
Mathew Pavy . .	1	1	1	0	Willia ⁿ Walshall .	1	m	0	0
Thomas Phillips . .	1	0	0	1	William Williams .	0	1	1	0
Daniell Phary . .	0	1	1	0	Rich ^d Wilkinson				
Thomas Pape . .	0	1	1	0	John Waring				
					Y.				
					John Yonge . .	0	1	1	0
					Nichol Yorke . .	1	1	1	0

From the following random entries on the back of the roll, under the date "Jan: 11: 1681" (old style), it would appear that in four months after the muster took place, fire-arms were becoming more plenty in the company:—

Laur: Serg^t (evidently the drummer given in the list) brought his musket home.

Hannan, band. (bandolier).

Wharton, sword.

Blake, sword.

Jos: Langham, firelocke.

Myles Adams, a Rapier, my owne.

Ralph Clarke, Gethin's Bandelleer.

Hugh Langham, Goslin's firelocke.

Jo: Hamlin, my Rapier.

Robt Goary, a sword borrowed of Paul Hare.¹

But a great change soon after took place in the government of the country, which quickly brought about a revolution in the Militia arrangements. On the 6th of February, 1685, James II. ascended the throne, and it very soon became manifest that the Protestant interest was no longer to be in the ascendant in the councils of the State. The oaths which previously acted as a barrier against the admission of Roman Catholics to offices and privileges were done away with, and the King set about remodelling the Irish corporations, first sending orders that Roman Catholics should be admitted to the freedom of cities, and elected to municipal honours, and soon depriving the municipalities of their olden charters by the process of *quo warranto*, and granting new charters himself, on such terms as suited his views. The re-arranging of the Irish Militia force was also an important consideration which was not lost sight of, and in carrying out these changes, the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant, efficiently seconded and enforced the views of the King. From the first, the advisers of James seem to have been fully alive to the danger of having all the Irish Protestants well supplied with arms under the Militia system; whilst the Roman Catholics—to whose support he could only look in case that his subjects of opposite religious views determined upon resisting his new plans of government—were altogether without weapons, owing to the restrictions of the laws passed in the previous reigns. But it would appear that the Militia had generally purchased their own arms, the amount having been deducted from their pay, and there was a difficulty in the way of calling upon them to surrender them, independent of the manifest inexpediency of creating any premature alarm in the minds of the Protestants. The first step, however, towards obviating all difficulty and danger appears to have been taken by the issue of the following proclamation² by the Lords Justices, in the absence

¹ Paul Hare is one of the names given in the muster-roll. He appears to have been an armourer, or trader in arms, in Kilkenny. In Captain Gafney's pocket-book he seems to be pointed out as the person making or repairing the arms for that officer's company of foot in the army of King James II. in 1689. —See the paper of the Rev. James Graves, entitled "Extracts from the Private Memorandum Book of an Of-

ficer in the Army of James II.," page 161, *ante*.

² For permission to copy this proclamation, and the references to the others which follow in this paper, I am indebted to Robert Cane, Esq., M.D., who has in his possession a most valuable volume of the Government Proclamations of the reigns of Charles II., James II., William, Anne, and George I., consecutively arranged and endorsed, with

of the Lord Lieutenant, on the 20th June, 1685, less than five months after King James ascended the throne. The ulterior object which the framers of the document had in view will hereafter become apparent enough:—

“ BY THE LORDS JUSTICES AND COUNCIL.

“ MICH. ARMACH. C. GRANARD.

“ WHEREAS upon Information that the Arms given out of the stores to the Militia of this Kingdom, as well as those paid for by the several Counties, are not lodg'd in safe places in the said Counties, as by the Instructions annexed to the Commissions of Array was directed, but are scattered in places where they are exposed to the attempts of Robbers, or other evil designing and disaffected persons, His Majesty hath thought fit to command us to take effectual remedy for the same. We, pursuant to his said directions, do hereby strictly require and command every Captain, or in his absence, any other Officer in Chief of the Militia within this Kingdom, as well of Horse as Foot, on or before the fourteenth day of July next, to call for, and gather together all the Fire-Arms appertaining to his Troop or Company, and to lodge the same in his own dwelling-house, or the next adjacent place, where they may be best secured from any evil designs whatsoever. And We do further require all such Captains or other Officers as aforesaid, immediately upon receipt of the said Arms, to return an account to us the Lords Justices, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, and Council, or to the Clerk of the Council, what number of Arms are so delivered into their custody, with the several kinds of them, and the names of such persons as shall not give in their Arms before the aforesaid fourteenth day of July next, as they are hereby commanded, giving withal an account whether the said Arms were delivered out of the Stores, bought by the County, given by the Officer, or paid for by the private men. And lastly, we require all such Militia Captains, or other Officers as aforesaid, to keep the Arms when so lodged, clean, and in good order, that they may be fit for the Militia upon days of Exercise; or for such other uses as His Majesty may have for them. All which they are required to perform in the time appointed, as they shall answer the contrary at their utmost peril.

“ Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin the 20th. day of June, 1685.

“ GOD SAVE THE KING.

“ Franc. Dublin, Drogheda, Longford, Mountjoy, Char. Meredith, John Keating, He. Hene, John Davys, Ric. Reynell, Tho. Newcomen.”

The Militia documents amongst the Haydock MSS. show that in Kilkenny arrangements were at once made by the officers for acting on this proclamation. There is a list of the men of Captain Josias

observations of local interest in the hand-writing of Alderman Josias Haydock, of Kilkenny, by whom the collection appears to have been formed. Dr. Cane is, I believe, making ample use of

this curious collection of rare historical papers in the work on the “ Wars of James and William ” which he is at present preparing for publication in the series of the “ Celtic Union.”

Haydock's company who gave their arms into his custody on the 1st of October, which is headed, "An Acc^t of the Militia Armes brought in." The weapons consisted of pikes, matchlocks, firelocks, and bandoliers. Of these there were seven pikes, six firelocks, and nineteen matchlocks, with one bandolier. There were also "four Musquett Barrells, five with Lockes." The document has suffered so much from damp that it is very imperfect; however, the captain notes that he stored these arms in "y^e garrett;" and some of them must have very soon disappeared from that repository, whilst some additions had also been made in the interim, as this memorandum is appended in a different ink:—"Counted in y^e Garrett y^e 10th of October, 1685, 36 match Lockes, one fire Lock."

The following is a muster-roll of another of the City of Kilkenny Militia companies of the same period, being that commanded by Captain King. It supplies a full list of the arms possessed by the men, with such of them as were then "given in," in accordance with the royal proclamation; the letter "o" marks those who appeared:—

John King Cap ^t	ml. Michael Davis o
Thomas Hart L ^t	p. John Dowler o <i>Given in</i>
Charles Gosling Ensigne	p. Tyrence M ^c Donnogh o
Edward Goddard } Serj ^{ts}	p. Bryan M ^c Dermott roe o <i>Given in</i>
Phillip Deane }	fl. Ralph Davis Sen o
George Desbrough } Corp ^s	ml. Ralph Davis Jun o
Willm Locksmyth } <i>Given in</i>	o Willm Dongon has Leiscesters
Thomas Mosse }	Pike <i>Given in</i>
Teige Higgane } Drum ^{ms}	p. Daniel O'Doherty o
Mathew Griffith }	p. Thomas Evans o
ml. Edward Blurton Sen o	p. Walter fibbs o
p. Alexander Burnett	ml. John fillpott o
p. Alexander Beane	ml. Bryan follerton o } <i>Given in</i>
p. Willm Beane o	ml. Owen follerton o }
p. John Byrne o	ml. Henry farrell o
ml. Thomas Brenan o	ml. Willm flannaghane o
p. Edward Brenan o	p. James flanagan o
ml. Jo: Barry o	p. Manus O'Gaffe o
ml. Denne Cooper o	ml. Bryan Gormoyle
p. Hugh Chitters o <i>Given in</i>	p. Willm Grantham o
fl. Arthur Cornes o <i>Given in</i>	ml. John Glover o
ml. James Connell	ml. John Griffin o
ml. Thomas Chitters, gone, John	fl. Edward Goddard Jun
Norry has his. <i>Given in</i>	ml. Thomas Glin
p. James Connell	. . . . .
ml. Hugh m ^c Donnogh o	ml. Thomas Gale o
ml. George Dongon	ml. Willm Gownane o
ml. Willm O'Donnell o	ml. John M ^c Henry o
ml. Willm Deveerd o <i>Given in</i>	ml. Hugh Hill o
p. John Davis	p. Edward Hamilton, gone
fl. Samuel Dowler o <i>Given in</i>	ml. Nicholas Harding o <i>Given in</i>

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>ml.</i> Henry Heard o <i>Given in</i> | <i>ml.</i> Tho: Prise |
| <i>p.</i> Wilfm Jackson o Thomas Parkens <i>Given in</i> | Richard Richardson |
| <i>ml.</i> John Jones gone, and has Jones' Muskett | <i>ml.</i> John Reynolds o <i>Given in</i> |
| <i>p.</i> Ralph Jackson o | John Reeves, gone |
| <i>m.</i> Edward Jones o Henry ffarrels Muskett | John Rise |
| <i>ml.</i> Abraham King o <i>Given in</i> | <i>ml.</i> James Sheeley |
| <i>p.</i> Tyronne Kelly o | Robert Steevens o |
| <i>p.</i> Donogh O'Learaghan o | Michael Sparkes o |
| <i>p.</i> Edward Leith is gone | <i>ml.</i> Robert Shepard y ^e Jun o <i>Given in</i> |
| <i>ml.</i> Samuel Lake o | <i>ml.</i> Robert Shepard |
| <i>ml.</i> John LLoyd o <i>Given in</i> | James Sanotson o |
| <i>p.</i> Steven Lurwoft o | Thomas Shelton o |
| <i>p.</i> John LLoyd o | John Saint Sen o |
| <i>ml.</i> Thomas Lee o | John Saint Jun o |
| <i>p.</i> Teige Lapp o | John Shore o |
| <i>ml.</i> John Morry o <i>Given in</i> | Bryan Smyth |
| <i>p.</i> Roger Mulroony Jun o | John Shepard o |
| <i>ml.</i> Patrick Markeney o | <i>ml.</i> Phillip Tweed Sen o } <i>Given in</i> |
| <i>ml.</i> Potter Medloe o <i>Given in</i> | <i>ml.</i> Phillip Tweed Jun } |
| <i>ml.</i> John Morgan o | <i>p.</i> Humphrey Thomas o |
| <i>ml.</i> James Morry o | <i>p.</i> Robert Wilson o |
| <i>ml.</i> John Morry | <i>ff.</i> Richard Warren o <i>Given in</i> |
| <i>p.</i> John Morry o | <i>ml.</i> Nicholas Woods o } |
| James Neylane | <i>ml.</i> Thomas Watts o } <i>Given in</i> |
| <i>m.</i> Thomas Parker his Pike given to Daniel O'Doherty | <i>ml.</i> Ri [. . .] |
| | <i>ml.</i> Noble Wright o |
| | <i>ml.</i> Wilfm West o |
| | Thomas Witch, gone |
| | <i>p.</i> Richard Whitmore <i>Given in</i> |

It would appear from another muster-roll of this company that the sergeants were armed with "each an old Holbert," and the corporals "each of them a ffirelock." Perhaps the reason why the arms were not universally "given in," but were so largely held back, was that the men, to whom they belonged, suspected the Government of having a deeper motive for looking after their careful preservation than that assigned in the proclamation. If so, they would appear to have been perfectly justified in their anticipations, for the Lords Justices having dexterously contrived to get the officers to call in the arms, and make themselves responsible for having them forthcoming, soon arranged to take them into the care of the Government altogether, and out of the reach of their owners. On the 16th October, 1685, a proclamation was issued, strongly censuring such officers as had neglected to get in the Militia arms, or had failed to make a return of those in their keeping, pursuant to the order of the 20th June; they were directed then immediately to get in all outstanding arms, if necessary, by calling the sheriffs and justices to their aid to enforce the arrangement, and then the proclamation proceeds:—

“ And for the better preservation of the said arms, and to the end to have them in readiness to answer any occasion of his Majesty’s service, the officers are required, before the 19th November next, to cause all the said arms, so delivered to them as aforesaid, to be safely conveyed to one of his Majesty’s stores of arms and munition in this kingdom.”

The arms of the Leinster Militias were to be lodged either at Dublin or Athlone; the clerks at the stores were to give receipts for them to the officers, and the expenses of their conveyance were to be paid by his Majesty. Accordingly, we find Captain Haydock preparing to surrender the arms of his company at Dublin Castle, before the day specified for the purpose; but it is to be noticed that the list which he made out for the occasion differs from that which he gave of those previously stored in his garret; and as he was by no means a favourer of the innovations made by King James on the previous system of government, it is very probable that a considerable portion of the Militia arms was held back. A document of the 10th November in this year is thus headed:—

“ A list of the fire armes of One of the ffoote companyes of the Militia in the Citty of Kilkenny und^r the Comand of Cap^t Josias Haydocke, being in all 48, of w^{ch} 12 are matchlockes.”

The names of the forty-eight proprietors of the arms are then set out, and at foot is this statement:—

“ Pursuant to the Proclamation of the R^t Hon^{ble} the L^d Justices & Councill of Ireland bearing Date the 16th day of October 1685, I have this day delivered to Serg^t Bray Beaver the above s^d number of forty-eight fire Armes to be by him safely Conveyed to his Majesties Stores at Dublin. Witnessse my hand the 10th day of November 1685.

“ Josias Haydocke.”

It soon after became apparent enough that the Government distrusted the Protestant inhabitants, and that their arms were required for troops more likely to sustain the King. The Revolution shortly followed in England, and to his Irish Roman Catholic subjects James looked for support for his sinking cause. In Kilkenny large bodies of troops were raised for the purpose, and some curious particulars respecting a portion of them have been already laid before the Society by the Rev. James Graves, from the note-book of one of the officers, Captain George Gafney. The Lord Deputy, Tyrconnell, spent some time in Kilkenny after King William’s army had landed in Ireland, engaged in organizing military levies; and there is in the Evidence Chamber of the Castle a letter of the period, addressed to the Duke of Ormonde by one of his local agents or receivers of rents, Captain Baxter, privately intimating to his Grace that his fellow receiver, Mr. Bryan, a Roman Catholic, and ancestor of the present George Bryan, Esq., of Jenkinstown, was very negligent

of the duties of his agency, as he was devoting all his time to the raising and equipping of a troop of horse for King James. It is natural to suppose that the old Militia arms called in in 1685 had been already used by the Irish Government in equipping the new levies for the royal army: so that it is easy to understand that when, in 1689, King James called out an Irish Militia also, he was obliged to leave them to their own devices for the procuring of weapons. The proclamation is dated the 30th July, 1689, and calls upon all the loyal subjects of his Majesty, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, not serving in the regular army, to enrol themselves in Militia regiments according to their counties or towns, arming themselves "as best they can." The Castle Evidence Chamber supplies me with no documents calculated to afford information as to the Kilkenny Militia then embodied, for Captain Haydock held no commission under James, and the Duke of Ormonde had been attainted by the Irish Parliament for favouring the pretensions of the Prince of Orange. Muster-rolls of King James' Kilkenny Militia, however, were a short time since in existence, having formed a portion of the curious collection of interesting local manuscripts accumulated by the late Mr. Laffan; but, unfortunately, they were lent, with many other documents, by that gentleman to Dr. Ledwich, when he was compiling his "Essay towards the History and Antiquities of Irish-town and Kilkenny," and were never after returned or heard of, whilst very little use was made of them in the work referred to. Dr. Ledwich merely supplies the names of the officers and non-commissioned officers of one company, as follows:—

The Mayor, John Archdekin, Captain.	[. . .], Lieutenant.
Serjeants, Nicholas Cranisborough,	Corporals, Edward Fitzgerald,
John Lee,	Michael Langton,
Thomas Mayher,	Patrick Condon.
Patrick Hickey.	

With one hundred and twenty-one private men.

The men composing this Militia were the Roman Catholic citizens of all grades. The Protestant inhabitants were not eligible to serve, but were obliged to pay subsidies for the support of the Militia organization. Mr. Laffan's manuscripts supplied the particulars of these subsidies; but Dr. Ledwich has only placed on record the fact, that the contributions were paid from the holders of 507 houses in the city and liberties, and he makes the serious blunder of supposing that these were the dwellings of the entire of the inhabitants. The taxed houses were thus distributed:—in St. Mary's parish, 241; in St. John's, 94; in St. Patrick's, 20; and in St. Canice's, 152.

But the decisive victory of the Boyne speedily reversed all these arrangements. By a royal letter from his camp at Bennett's-bridge, dated 19th July, 1690, William reinstated in office the Protestants

who had been ejected from the corporation when James annulled their previous charter and granted one of his own, in which he specified the names of those on whom he chose to confer the civic dignities; and a few months later we find a Commission of Array being carried out for Kilkenny. Two companies of Protestant Militia-men seem to have been raised on this occasion, respectively placed under the command of Captains Josias Haydock and Joshua Helsham. The following is the commission granted to Captain Haydock, the words printed in italics being inserted in manuscript, the rest printed:—

“ BY THE LORDS-JUSTICES OF IRELAND.

“ *Sydney.* *Tho: Coningsby.*

“ To Our Trusty and Well-beloved *Cap^t Josias Hadocke*, We reposing Special Trust and Confidence, as well in the Care, Diligence, and Circumspection, as in the Loyalty, Courage, and Readiness of you to do Their Majesties Good and Faithful service, Have Nominated, Constituted, and Appointed, and We do by these Presents Nominate, Constitute, and Appoint you the said *Josias Hadocke*, to be *Cap^t of a Company of ffoot in the Militia raised & to be raised in the City of Kilkenny and the Liberties thereof* for Their Majesties Service, and the Defence of this Their Majesties Kingdom, which *Company* you are to take into your Charge and Care, as *Captaine* thereof, and duly to Exercise in Arms: And as they are hereby commanded to obey you as their *Captaine*, so you are likewise to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from Their Majesties or from Us, or other the Chief Governor or Governors of this Their Majesties Kingdom, *the Generall of their Ma^{ties} forces*, or other your Superior Officer or Officers. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant and Commission in that behalf. *Given at Clancarty house, Dublin, the first day of October, 1690, & in the Second year of their Ma^{ties} Reigns.*

“ *Josias Haddock, Cap^t of ffoot of the Militia in the City of Kilkenny.*”

It is singular that amongst the Haydock manuscripts no document of this year, connected with his company, was preserved by Captain Josias, except the above commission, although there are several muster-rolls of the following years; however, his brother officer, Captain Joshua Helsham,¹ left behind him some muster-rolls, and other documents connected with his company, which are now in the possession of his descendant, Captain George Paul Helsham, of the present county of Kilkenny Militia, which have been rendered available for the illustration of my subject at this period. The first document which I transcribe is an order of the Commissioners of Array, and a presentment thereon by the foreman of the grand jury,

¹ This Joshua Helsham was eldest son to Captain and Alderman Arthur Helsham. He was Mayor of the city of Kilkenny in 1692.

in November, 1690. It is endorsed :—"The order of y^e Commissioners of Array and Grand Jury, 9^{bre} y^e 8th 1690."

"By the Com^{rs} of Array for the City and County of Kilkenny.

"Wee doe hereby assigne unto Cap^t Joshua Helsham the parishes of St Canice and St Patricks for the quarters of his Company to be raised in the City, and County of the City of Kilkenny, and if in case the said Cap^t Helsham be any way defective of his numbr of one hundred men, that then he may have soe many men as he shall be defective of, raised in the parish of St Marys, after that Cap^t Haydocks numbr of one hundred, whereof his company is to consist, be first compleated. Given under our hands this 8th day of Nöbr 1690.

John Baxter Mayer
W^m Evans
Aggu Cuffe
Baltzar Cramer"

The following is written on the back :—

"Wee p'sent y^e within ord^r as a very necessary ord^r & doe allow of, & p'sent y^e same as fitt to be done.

"John Garnett, *Cum sociis*."

The next two documents amongst the Helsham papers, which, however, I do not think it necessary more than to refer to here, are lists of the Protestant "Inhabitants of St Kennies parrish thats to serve in y^e Militia," and a list of the Roman Catholic "Inhabitants of y^e Parishtis of St Cannis and St Johns near y^e citty of Kilkenny," on whom the Protestant Militia-men were to be quartered. In the previous reign the Protestants complained loudly of the injustice done them in making them supply the money wherewith the Militia, from which they were precluded from serving, were to be paid and maintained, and they relied on this as one of the grievances which justified their revolt against King James.¹ But no sooner had they gained the ascendancy themselves, than they seem'd to have at once had recourse to a similar means of maintaining their Militia, with only this difference, that in place of imposing a tax for the purpose, they seem to have billeted the men upon the houses of the Roman

¹ King, in his "State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government," says :—"The Papists raised a Militia, and inasmuch as Protestants were not qualified to serve in it, by the Proclamation, which did not allow them to bear Arms, they were assess'd at a certain Rate for the Maintenance of the Militia, and sent to Prison if they refused to pay it. The Tax was as great as either of the former, amounting, in the small Parish of St.

Warburghs, Dublin, in which not above one half of the Protestant-dwellers were left, to £900 *per Annum*. Before they form'd this Militia business into a Tax, the Officers of the Militia went about Weekly for several Weeks, and demanded and took what they pleased from every House with great Rigor, committing those who disputed their Demands, which was, for the time it lasted, a Heavy Burthen, and a Prodigious Tax."—pp. 132, 133.

Catholic citizens, and placed them at free quarters upon them, as if they were occupying an enemy's country. The following is a muster-roll of Captain Helsham's company, showing how each man was armed. The initial letters above the columns signify, respectively, F. firelock, M. musket, first B. bayonet, P. pike, S. sword, and second B. bandolier. It commences as here given :—

"February y^e 2^d 1690, mustered them and drew out to exercise y^e under named men

Joshua Helsham Captⁿ

George Burch Lieu[†]

Bray Bevor Ensign

Richard Rutland	} Sergeants	Thomas Price . . .	F	M	B	P	S	B
George Davies		William Hews . . .	0	0	0	1	0	0
John Bibby ¹		Rich ^d Browne . . .	0	0	0	1	1	0
John Morgan		Will: Ginnings . . .	0	0	0	1	0	1
Edward Connell	} Corporalls	Henry Eayres . . .	0	1	0	0	1	0
Robert Smith		Will: Eayres . . .	0	0	0	1	1	0
Thomas Edmonds Se ^r		John Bealy . . .	0	0	0	1	1	1
Petter Burt		John Hews . . .	0	0	0	1	1	0
	} Drummers	Will: Wills . . .	0	0	0	1	1	0
John Webb . . .		John Taply . . .	0	0	0	1	0	0
Steven Devoy . . .		Roger Beard . . .	0	0	0	1	0	0
Pickren Eary . . .		William Williams . . .	0	0	0	1	0	1
Richard Williams . . .		John field . . .	0	0	0	1	1	0
Nicholas Bibby . . .		Antony Hannam . . .	0	0	0	1	0	1
John Sharp . . .		Oen Davis . . .	0	0	0	1	1	0
Ellessand ^r Herren . . .		Will: Hannam . . .	1	0	0	0	1	0
John Bage . . .		Antony Burt . . .	1	0	0	0	1	1
Will: Barton . . .		John Lucas . . .	1	0	0	0	1	0
John Burt . . .		Jobe Whittell . . .	0	1	0	0	1	0
Huen Garret . . .		John Palmar . . .	0	1	0	0	0	1
John Reed . . .		John Edmonds . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
Simon Wilkinson ² . . .		Edward Bolton . . .	0	1	0	0	0	1
Luke florst ^r . . .		Huw Roger . . .	1	0	0	0	0	0
James Cartright ³ . . .		Tho: Edmonds . . .	1	0	0	0	1	1
Steven Ricks . . .		John Trapnall . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
Griffy Williams . . .		David Howell . . .	0	1	0	0	1	0
William Atkinson . . .		Roger Burd . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
Will: Boulster . . .		Tho: Phillyps . . .	1	0	1	0	1	1
Joseph Smith . . .		Will: Lucas . . .	0	1	0	0	0	0
Robert Tennant . . .		Abram Ablin . . .	0	1	0	0	1	0
Samuell Cashan . . .		James Erwin . . .	0	0	0	1	0	0
John Connell . . .		ffransis Kimberlin . . .	1	0	0	0	1	0
Roger Brag . . .		Calip: Toevy . . .	1	0	1	0	1	1
John Cole . . .								

¹ John Bibby was Portreve of Irish-town for the years 1691, 2, and 3.

² Simon Wilkinson was Portreve of

Irishtown for the years 1704 and 1705.

³ James Cartright was Portreve of Irishtown for the years 1702 and 1703.

	F	M	B	P	S	B		F	M	B	P	S	B
Bryan Rurk . . .	0	1	0	0	0	1	Tho: Heap . . .	1	0	0	0	1	1
John Wale . . .	1	0	0	0	1	0	John Dyer						
Arthur Beates . .	0	1	0	0	0	1	George Stosbery .	0	0	0	1	0	0
Will: Berry . . .	0	1	0	0	1	1	James Wallis . .	1	0	0	0	1	0

"All y^e above men this day did appeare and I had my Commission Reade with y^e Liu^t & Ensigns."

The document is thus endorsed:—"I drew ut the within men to exercise y^e 2^d day of february, 1690."

The following letter, preserved in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, has reference to the arming of the Militia at this period, and affords a curious glimpse of the state of the country. It is addressed "To Cap^t Josias Haddocke, at Kilkenny," and endorsed in Haydock's handwriting, "Coll: Coote. Apr: 2: 1691."

"Dub: y^e 2^d of April 1691.

"S^r—Yo^r" by L^t Harison I have before me; As for Armes—there are none to be had Except y^e Army there have some to spare according to y^e Lords Justices Orders and Instructions w^{ch} I sent downe Lately to y^e High Sheriff w^{ch} I directed him to Communicate to you & y^e Rest of y^e officers of y^e Citty. Amunition is ordered for you; And you must Make y^e best shift you can till Armes May be had. 50 of y^e Army will be left in y^e Towne to assist you w^{ch} is all I could get or y^e y^e Gen^l would spare.

"I have a Com^a off oyer & Termin^t putting under y^e Seall impowering y^e Justices off Peace or any 5 of them to try all the Rogues and Raparees y^e now are or hereafter shall be taken and to Hang such as deserve it, Soe y^e will Cleare y^e Goalla.

"There are orders Issuing to y^e Adjacentt Countys viz Catherlow, Watterford, Queens County & County Tiperrary to Joynes wth y^e County Kilkenny in posting y^e Militia of y^e Respective Countys in y^e best places for y^e Defence thereof. It must be Every bodys best care and all Little Enough to defend y^e Country where wee are Martched, for I feare the Raparees will Make it there business to burne pillage & destroye y^e Country; if any Armes doe come over I shall have my Share; but I heare there are none yet come and y^e Gen^l is Soe hasty to take y^e field y^e he will not stay for any thing, & indeed he is in y^e Right of itt for if wee can get upon them before Succors comes w^{ch} they Expect, they must be destroyed.

"Give my Service to y^e Son Warren & tell him y^e y^e Com^a he has allredy dose Intitle him to doe as much as what was Expressed in y^e paper he Sent me by my L^t And there will be a Com^a off oyer & Termin^t to backe it; as any thing Matteriall offers pray let me here from you. I am

"Yo^r Assured friend & Serv^t

"Rich: Coote."

¹ Richard Coote, Esq., was one of eight Justices appointed on the 24th July, 1690, to receive their arms and submission from such as submitted to

his Majesty's declaration, in the city and county of Kilkenny.—Walter Harris' "Life and Reign" of King William, Appendix, p. lxxv.

"Cap^t S^t George was wth me to have Able Buttler, now Corn^t to Cap^t Bryan, to be Cap^t warrons L^t, and Cap^t Bryan writt to me to y^e same Effect, but I cannot See how y^e can be done Except Eggar is willing to Resigne, or some Exch[—]."

The ensuing document is what would now be termed a copy of the orderly book of Captain Helsham's company of Militia for the day mentioned; the initials "H: P:" stand for Henry Pim, who was Adjutant of the Kilkenny Militia corps of the day. It will be seen by it that the regular garrison duty of the town was then done by the Militia, and there were probably no other soldiery quartered there at the time:—

The post of y^e Castle Guard

One Serg^t & fifteen men
 One sentinell at y^e gate¹
 One sentinell at S^t Patricks Tower² night & day
 One sentinell at y^e Towne Prison³ night & day—Removed by ord^r
 One sentinell at y^e grotto near y^e bowling green⁴ at night

Water Gate Post⁵

One serg^t & fifteen men
 One sentinell at y^e gate
 Two sentinells at S^t Francis Abby at night & one att day
 One sentinell at Jonas's Tower⁶ day & night

St Johns Gate⁷ Post

One Corp^u & six men
 One sentinell at y^e gate day & night

The usual guard in Irishtowne besides
 Rec^d this ord^r from y^e Towne Maj^r y^e 20th may 1691

H: P:

The following is another list of Captain Helsham's company, but also supplying the names and trades, or occupation, of the un-

¹ The Castle gate, one of the ports of the city, situate close to the southern tower of Kilkenny Castle.

² The tower over St. Patrick's gate.

³ The prison of the city was then situate in High-street, with its rear to Pudding and Pennefather lanes.

⁴ The Bowling-green was in the Castle grounds, immediately adjoining the court-yard.—See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 330.

⁵ The position of this gate was on the bridge over the Bregach stream, connecting Irishtown with the city. The

locality is still called Water-gate, but anciently it was known as "the High-town gate."

⁶ Jonas's tower, also known as Kilberry tower, and, by a modern corruption, "Tilberry fort," was a flanker of the town wall, situate at the top of Evans'-lane, and only removed within the last fifteen years.

⁷ The outer gate of St. John's was situate at the east side of the small bridge over the mill-stream in John-street. There stood also a gate and tower on St. John's Bridge.

fortunates on whom they were quartered. The only Protestant that I can recognise amongst the victims is Richard Inwood; but as he was an innkeeper it is probable that those licensed to keep houses of entertainment were liable to have Militia-men billeted upon them, no matter what may have been their religious profession. It will be observed that Inwood himself served in the Militia, and had his quarters assigned to him elsewhere:—

A list of Capⁿ Joshua Helshams Company June 19, 1691

Joshua Helsham Cap ⁿ	} Hen: Pym Adju ^t
George Burch Lieu ^t	
Bray Beavor Ensigne	

MENS' NAMES.		QUARTERS.
Richard Rutlan	} Serg ^m	Pierce Shortall Malst ^r
John Bibby		Rob: Walsh Tan ^r
Edm ^d Connell		James Ryan Curri ^r
Rob ^t Smith	} Corp ^m	Mrs. Gaffney
Rog ^r Bragg		John Meagher skin ^r
Tho: Heape		Nich: Loughlan brogmak ^r
Tho: Edmonds	} Dru ^m	Den: Newman skinn ^r
Pet ^r Burt		Tho: Troy Tan ^r
Pickerin Ayrey		Widdow Marshall
W ^m Adkinson		Rich ^d Gafney gent
Pet ^r Archdeacon		Val: Travers Dy ^r
Nich: Bibby		Barn: Murphey
W ^m Bennett		Jam: Slattery Tabacon ^m
W ^m Barton		Jam: Shea gent
		Tho: Ronan Merchant
W ^m Boulster		Edmond Walsh brogmak ^r
		Jo ⁿ Caddan
		Nich: Gennan merch ^t
Rich ^d Browne		Thady flinn Tann ^r
		W ^m Hogan Cotn ^r
John Bayley		Rich ^d Comerford Cotn ^r
		Math: ffanning gent
Rog ^r Beard		Cath: De Lahunty
Anth: Burt		Miles Lyons Brew ^r
		Tho: Codey Mil ^r
Edw ^d Boulton		Jam: Meagh ^r
		Joh: Hennesy
		Jam: Maly glov ^r
Rog ^r Bird		Paul Molloy Curi ^r
		Tho: Phillips joyn ^r
Arth ^r Bates		Joh: Lannan
		W ^m Kenny glov ^r
W ^m Berry		John Bishop of Keatings toune, }
Josh: Brennan		Watts Wall, and Thorne back }

MENS' NAMES.	QUARTERS.
John Blew	{ W ^m Butler skin' Lau: Brenan brogm: Derby Brophy car: Jam: Boulger
Joh: Batter	{ Tho: Cree mill' W ^m Laureen Load' Pat: Doyle mill' Jam: Brazell hat'
Hen: Burnside	{ Joh: Uniack gent Tho: Pembrok & y ^e ten th of Purcells Inch
Tho: Browne	{
Jam: Cartwright	Mrs Purcell
Sam ^l Cashen	{ Jo ^a Walsh Tayl' Peirce ffloud hat' Pat: Tryney glov'
Jo ^a Connell	Nich: Codey malst'
Jo ^a Cole	Walt' Bishop of Cole grange
John Creamer	{
Stephen Devoy	{ Edm ^d Martin cotn' Jo ^a Brenan cotn' W ^m Kirwick brogm:
Ow ^a Davis	{ Laur: Archer chanl' W ^m Keiran Tobacon:
John Dyer	{ Pet' Garvey Dan: Donan Tho: White
Tho: Davis	{ Tho: Comerford brogm: Joh: Maldowny lab: Derby Skehan lab: Jo ^a Comerford cari' Edm ^d Power lab' W ^m Stockes lab'
Jam: Dyer	{ Derby Daniel Jo ^a De La Hunty Jo ^a Dunn Redm ^a M ^c Daniel Bryan Dunphey
Hen: Eyres	Rob ^t Garret gent
John Edmonds	{ Pet' Milard Rich ^d Meagh'
Ab ^t Evlin	Hen: Shea of Clorane
Christ: Emëtt	{
Joh: ffield	Rob ^t Shea & y ^e ten th of new orchard
Luke fforestall	Char: De Meave
W ^m ffarell	{ Teigue Cullenan & y ^e rest of y ^e ten th of Denistounne Keatingstounne Prixhayes & Ardmale
Hugh Garret	{ Rob ^t Grace custom' Rich ^d Caustallow cotn'

MENS' NAMES.	QUARTERS.
W ^m Jennings	{ Rich ^d Meagher Jo ^a Meagher Rob ^t Lareen
Edw ^d Galway	{ Den: Brennan Tho: Butler Tho: Brennock Hugh Burne
Alex ^d Herring	{ Arth: Marwood tayl ^r Dan: Meagh ^r cotn ^r Pat: Hoban butch ^r Jo ^a ffanning cotn ^r
W ^m Hughes	{ Jam: Brophay butch ^r Nich: Ronan
Anth: Hannam	The same with W ^m ffarell
David Howell	{ Rob: Dobbin Jam: Motley Lewis Brenan weav ^r
Isac Hipwell	{ Widdow Laughlan Edm ^d Morris butch ^r
Tho: Hickey . . . . .	. . . . .
John Johnson . . . . .	. . . . .
Rich ^d Inwood	{ Jo ^a Knowles & y ^e ten ^t of Loughme- theran
John Lucas	Dan: Doyle merch ^t
W ^m Lucas	{ Jam: Ronan glov ^r Thady Ronan glov ^r
Geo: Louden	{ W ^m Welsh gard ^r of Loughboy Jo ^a Welsh brogmak ^r James Welsh cottn ^r
Jam: Maxwell	{ Jo ^a Dungan hat ^r Walt ^r Troy brogm: Laugh: Heyden butch ^r
Edm ^d Murry	{ Gerald Cavenagh malst ^r Dan: Kennedy lab ^r Widdow Troy
Jam: Offley	{ Jo ^a Dunfey Edm ^d Brophy
Tho: Price	{ Jo ^a O'Maragh smith Den: Keary glov ^r
Jo ^a Palmer	{ Mich: Troy brogm: Walt ^r Wall brogm:
Tho: Phillips	M ^r Hamilton of Palmerstoune
Jam: Powney	{ W ^m Doyle carpent ^r Thady Ryan glov ^r
Tho: Pape	{ Cate Cheevers Wid ^w Cody Jef: ffzPatrick Jo ^a ffzPatrick carpent ^r Jo ^a ffzGerald glov ^r

MENS' NAMES.	QUARTERS.
Timoth: Perry	
Jo ^a Quynett	Dan: Egan of Low ^r Sell ^m towne
Jo ^a Reade	{ Jam: Corwen
	{ Tho: Leny
Steph: Ricks	{ Hugh Newman glov ^r
	{ W ^m Brehan load ^r
	{ W ^m Egan mill ^r
	{ Redmon ^d Cody carpent ^r
Bryan Rourke	Tho: Campion gardn ^r
David Roggers	Rob ^t Shea & tent ^r of Newparke
Richard Raspin	{ Derby Dunne of y ^e Newgate &
	{ James Padder skin ^r
John Sharpe	Rich ^d Bane of Cappa & Bonettstoune
Joseph Smith	Rich ^d Patridge merch ^t
Geo: Stotesbury	Rich ^d Walsh curi ^r
Steph: Stuart	{ Pat: Brennan brogm:
	{ flior: M ^c Carty brogm:
Tho: Smith	Walt ^r O'Boe skin ^r
W ^m Singleton	The same w th Dav: Rogg ^m
Rob ^t Tennant	Pet ^r Power tayl ^r
Jo ^a Taply	Dan: Martin of Bonnetsrath
Jo ^a Trapnell	Dav ^d Roch leat ^r dress ^r
Jo ^a Thompson	Rich ^d Lamb & y ^e ten ^m of Arch ^m Rath
Caleb Tovey	w th Rich ^d Inwood
Jo ^a Weld	Rich: Murphy dye ^r
Rich ^d Williams	Jefr: St Leg ^r of Newtowne
Simon Wilkinson	Phil: Pheland tayl ^r
Grif: Williams	{ Dan: Bryan hatt ^r
	{ Sim: Newman dyer
	{ Dan: Dowling
W ^m Wills	{ Tho: White Cotn ^r
	{ W ^m Wash
	{ Jo ^a Reade
W ^m Williams	{ Jo ^a ffzPierce Cotn ^r
	{ Jo ^a Hennesy butch ^r
Jo ^a Wall	{ Widd ^m Stephens
	{ Den: Lannan
Jo ^a Williams	{ Mart: Britton brogm:
	{ Pat: Brennan Cotn ^r
	{ W ^m Marnell butch ^r
Je ^r White	

Of Captain Haydock's company there are several muster-rolls extant, dated in the year 1691. On the 12th January in that year they paraded in the Castle yard, in the city of Kilkenny; and it is certified, under the hands of the mayor and sheriffs, that the company consisted of the captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, and eighty-five private soldiers. Of these, nineteen were armed with muskets, and the rest

with halberts. The names of the privates differ very slightly from those comprising Haydock's company in the reign of Charles II.; those of the officers and non-commissioned officers are—

Josias Haydocke Capt ⁿ		John Collins	
Richard Connell	} L ⁿ	John Fletcher	} Corp ⁿ
John Pape		Daniel Doyle	
Thomas Date Ensigne		Richard Kelly	
John Woods			
Edward Gent	} Serg ⁿ	John Tynan	} Drum ⁿ
Thomas Darby		Edw ^d Hudson	
Richard Wheelball			

On the 13th February following a new commission was received by Alderman Josias Haydock, appointing him "Lieu^t Colonell of the Militia Regiment of foot in the City & County of the City of Kilkenny & to be Captain of a Company in the said Regim^t whereof the Mayor for the time being is Coll^t." The then Mayor was John Baxter, who accordingly assumed the rank of Colonel of the local Militia. Haydock's company mustered at the Bishop's Meadows on the 6th of January, 1692, when there appears a change in the commissioned officers. They are thus given:—

Josias Haydocke L^t Coll & Cap.
 Thomas Date L^t
 Edw^d Evans Ensigne

The names of the non-commissioned officers are the same as in the previous year; as are those generally of the privates, only that the latter are much reduced in number, being now but forty-four in all. Their arms are not stated. On the 20th May, 1692, they again mustered "at St Kenny's Butts, Kilkenny," and then showed forty-eight privates. On the 12th of January following the Commissioners of Array assigned to "the L^t Coll^t company" quarters in St. Mary's parish, and they also agreed that "wee doe order that the Mayor's company shall be quartered & billeted on St Mary's Parish." The Commissioners of Array were, Joshua Helsham, Mayor; Robert Dixon, Recorder; Josias Haydock, Richard Connell, John Pape, Isaac Mukins, and John Waring.

How far the inhabitants may have considered the quartering of Militia-men upon them as oppressive and unjust, I am unable to say; but there is evidence extant that they suffered severely from the exactions and tyrannical conduct of the royal troops quartered in Kilkenny for some time after the battle of the Boyne¹. Mr. Charles

¹ The English soldiers of King William's army seem to have looked on Ireland as an enemy's country, and to have plundered and ill-treated the in-

habitants upon whom they were quartered, indiscriminately, no matter whether they were loyalists or disaffected, and without distinction of creed or class.

Gosling, steward to the Duke of Ormonde, writing, under date September 6th, 1692, to Lieutenant-Colonel Josias Haydock, then sojourning at the house of Mr. Samuel Helsham, bookseller, "at the sign of the Colledge-Arms in Castle-street," Dublin, sends him a statement of the injury done to the Duke's tenants in Kilkenny by the oppressive conduct of the soldiers, and points out, clearly enough, the injurious effect which it had had upon the local Militia arrangements. He first gives a list of thirty-four persons that had been dwellers of the "High-town Ward," and thirty-six in the "North Ward," who were driven by military violence to quit the city, to the loss of so many names from the Militia muster-rolls; for he remarks: "These were all resident in St Maryes Parish, Kilkenny, when the Cityyes Regim^t of Militiæ were arranged and in-listed, and are now gone." Mr. Gosling then goes on to give a list of 39 Protestants and 49 "Papists," who had been substantial house-keepers, or, in his own words, "who were lately good quarters," but who were so reduced by the spoliating system of the royal troops that they could not then "quarter a soldier." He adds, that divers other inhabitants of Kilkenny were also reduced to extreme poverty by the recent military oppression. The object of the letter was, that Haydock should bring the matter under the notice of the Lord Lieutenant, with a view to obtain compensation for the Duke's tenants.

The local Militia arrangements would seem to have been altogether remodelled at the time when Captain Haydock was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and if in other parts of Ireland this force was in as efficient a state as in Kilkenny, it is not easy to understand why a new proclamation for embodying the Irish Militias should have been deemed necessary by the Government a few months subsequently. This proclamation, bearing date 19th December, 1692, was issued by Viscount Sidney, the Lord Lieutenant, stating that Commissions of Array were issued, according to usage, for the several counties of Ireland, with the object of raising a Militia force, to comprise all the male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty, in order to provide for the quelling of disturbances by the disaffected at home, and to resist the invasion of foreign enemies. The various companies to be formed were directed by the proclamation to meet at least once each month for training. Doubtless, many musters of the Kilkenny Militia took place under this proclamation, but I have been unable to procure a single list of the period.

Both the officers and men of Colonel Roe's regiment, quartered in Kilkenny in the summer of the year 1692, set the authority of the Mayor and magistrates at nought, broke into houses, and committed all manner of depredations,

beating and ill-using all who resisted them. There are in the collection of Haydock Papers, in Kilkenny Castle, a number of curious documents connected with this subject, which I hope to lay before the Society on another occasion.

Queen Anne ascended the throne in March, 1702, and immediately arrangements were made for again calling out the Irish Militias. The preparatory steps were taken in Kilkenny, by the employment of the constables of the various wards, in making out lists of the inhabitants, dividing them into Protestants and "Papists," for the information of Mr. Josias Haydock, the Mayor, and, as such, chief of the Commissioners of Array. On the 16th July, the Commissioners fixed on the number of companies which should be formed in the city, and those who should be appointed officers. We have now a regular regiment of foot, consisting of six companies, of which one was of grenadiers, and also a troop of dragoons. The officers are named as follow:—

DRAGOONS.

Isaack Mukins, Cap^t
Thomas Blunt, Lef^t

John Desborough, Corn^t
Sam^l Raddock, Q^r M^r

FFOOT.

1.

Richard Connell, Cap^t
Patrick Connell, Lef^t
Rob^t Connell, Ensigne

4.

John Warring, Cap^t
Edw^d Connell, Lef^t
Caleb Tovey, Ensigne

2.

John Pape, Cap^t
John Garnett, Lef^t
John Deseroy, Ensigne

5.

Thomas Phillips, Cap^t
Edw^d Evans, Lef^t
John Davis, Ensigne

3.

Josias Haydocke, Cap^t of Gran^d
William Stanly } Lef^t
Stephen Haydocke }

6.

W^m Hamilton, Cap^t
Tho: Date, L^t
James Bursequott, Ensigⁿ

This list was forwarded to the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant with the following letter:—

"Kilkenny, July 20th, 1702.

"S^r—Pursuant to the Commission of Array to vs directed we have mett thereon, and find those whose names are in y^r inclosed list fitly qualified for the Comand of the severall posts as to their names is severally annexed, and desire you will please forthwth to send them their Com[']issions accordingly, together with what further instructions the Govern['] shall think fitt, and which shall be readily observed and obeyed by

"Yo^r humble Servth

J. H. [Josias Haydock, Mayor].
E. W. [Ebenezer Warren, Alderman].
J. P. [John Pape, Alderman].
J. W. [James Wallis, Sheriff].
J. D. [John Desborough, Sheriff]."

The appointments thus recommended must have been made out immediately on the receipt of the letter, for the commission Josias Haydock "to be Cap^t of the Company of Granadiers the Militia of the City of Kilkenny," under the hands and seal of the Lords Justices, is still extant, and bears date 23rd Ju 1702. Although the number of companies and of officers was largely multiplied by the Commissioners of Array on this occasion, the effective strength of the Militia force of the city does not seem to have been increased. The only difference appears to have been that the men were divided into a larger number of weaker companies. This I judge from the only two muster-rolls which I have been enabled to procure. The first is that of Captain Warrington's company, which only comprised thirty privates, besides three sergeants (John Fargison, Tho. Godfrey, and Will. Fryerson); one corporal (Joseph Worly); and one drummer (Edward Sims). The second is of Captain Haydock's grenadiers, which consisted of thirty-nine men, with three sergeants (Henry Read, Richard Fingers, and William Harding) and three corporals (John Battel, Samuel Mitchell, and Jacob Waterhouse).

A general muster of the Protestant inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, was called in Kilkenny on the 19th March, 1707, and a list of the names of those who appeared is preserved amongst the Haydock papers. They were 233, besides seventeen individuals who are put down under the heading "Sergeants;" and this assemblage is further connected with the Militia by the circumstance of its being stated that those present had amongst them the following arms, viz.:—"fire locks, 61; Swords, 60; Carabines, 7; Carabines, 4; ffusees, 6; Match locks, 3." This seems to have been a proceeding preparatory to again calling out the Militia for regular service, for we have next year the six companies of foot and troop of dragoons once again in existence, with some changes in the officers; and Adam Haydock, then Mayor, and the Sheriffs, certify under their hands, that Captain Haydock's company of grenadiers "consisting of three officers, two Sergeants & thirty-seven men, including three Corporalls & one drum, are inlisted by us this 30th of March, seaventeen hundred and eight." The following are the names of the officers and non-commissioned officers of each company, with the number of men comprised therein respectively:—

No. 1.

LIEUT. COL^t COMPANY.

Richard Connell, Esq^r L^t Col
Ald^r Robert Connell, L^t
M^r James Halpenn, Ensigne

No. 2.

GRENADIERS.

Josias Haydocke, Cap^t
Stephen Haydocke, first Liev^t
William Hanly, second Liev^t

Richard Wilball }
 W^m Connell } Serg^{ts}
 Tim: Gormon }
 Ralph Paris }
 Tho: Wright } Corp^{ls}
 Bryan Kearney }
 Edward Hudson, Drum^r
 with 33 privates

No. 3.

George Birch, Cap^t
 Enock Collier, Lie^t
 William Connell, Ensign
 Thomas Heape } Sargents
 William Barton }
 } Corporals
 with 37 privates

No. 5.

Thomas Phillips, Cap^t
 Edward Evans, Lie^t
 John Daniel, Ensign
 George Daine }
 Joseph Smith } Sarg^{ts}
 Robert Awton }
 Thomas Russell } Corporalls
 Thomas Davis }
 with 36 privates

Henry Reade }
 William Hamblin } Serg^{ts}
 John Switzer¹ }
 Edward Ayres } Corp^{ls}
 John Godall }
 Henry Hawthorne, Drum^r
 with 37 privates

No. 4.

John Hamilton, Cap^t
 Thomas Date, Lie^t
 James Boursequott, Ensⁿ
 Thomas Turner } Sarg^{ts}
 James Riddell }
 Henry Gapley } Corp^{ls}
 Richard Fletcher }
 with 39 privates

No. 6.

John Garrett, Esq^r Cap^t
 John Dessaroy, Lieut^t
 James Davis, Ensign
 Laur: Sargent } Sarg^{ts}
 Edward Preston }
 Thomas Williams } Corporalls
 William Weston }
 Edward Syms, Drum^r
 with 34 privates

DRAGOONS.

Isaac Mukins [Captain]
 Tho: Blunt [Lieutenant]
 Jno: Desbrough [Cornet]
 Ben: Meares [Quarter-Master?]
 Ed^d Gent }
 Sander Davis } Sarjants
 Jno: Boner }
 Lewis Quirenton } Corporalls
 Isaac Darby }
 with 38 troopers

The manner in which the Militia-men were at this period billeted upon the householders not serving in the corps, will best be under-

¹ John Switzer is stated in another document to have been by trade a glazier. He was the grandfather of the benevolent Mr. James Switsir, who

amassed a large fortune by the same calling, and appropriated it in founding the charitable institution in his native city which bears his name.

stood by giving a list of the "quarters" of one of the companies.
I select that of Captain Haydock's grenadiers:—

Grenadeers Quarters.

Laughlin Ryan	}	to quarter one man	i.
Tho: Hoban			
Darby Keasy			
Marg ^t []	}	one man	i.
John Corkran Gent			
John Mackey Slater			
David Multelly	}	one man	i.
Hugh Courties			
John Dermody			
Rich ^d Clark Comb ^r	}	one man	i.
Edmond Butler Cottonor			
William Phelan Waterman			
Bridg ^t Murphy Butcher	}	one man	i.
David Bourk			
Thady Hearnane			
Thady Ryan	}	one man	i.
William Joyce merch ^t			
Daniel Dray aleseller			
Thomas Magher vintner	}	one man	i.
Mich: Langton ffzTho:			
John Cody Labourer			
John Stafford Lab ^r	}	one man	i.
James Croake			
Richard Redmonds Tayler			
Mich: Welsh Sadler	}	one man	i.
Peter Grace Butcher			
Pat: Dowly aleseller			
Tho: Brehan Barb ^r	}	one man	i.
W ^m Aylward merch ^t			
Pat: Shea merchant			
Jasper Shee merch ^t	}	one man (Serg ^t Reade)	i.
James Wilson Joyner			
Owen Magee Cobler			
Thady Dunn Brazier	}	one man	i.
Thady Mortimore Cottoner			
Roger Egan Butcher			
John Brehan Barb ^r	}	one man	i.
Marks Kelly Goldsmyth			
Andrew Lynott mer:			
Thomas Mylard Apothecary	}	one man	i.
Adam Welsh Glover			
Laur: Rineghan Goldsmyth			
John Archdekin Sn ^r mer ^t	}	one man	i.
James Archdekin Bookbind ^r			
John Dunphy Linen Draper			

John Shortall Joyner	}	one man	i.
John Keary Weaver			
Edward Dullahanty Tayler	}	one man	i.
Thomas Magher Slator			
Peter Bergin Paver	}	one man	i.
John Brehan Jun' Butcher			
John Synett	}	one man	i.
Thady Keary			
John Keogh Weaver	}	one man	i.
Bryan Carty Butcher			
James Welsh Aleseller	}	one man	i.
John Brehan Sn'			
John Commin Taylor	}	one man	i.
Darby fitzPat: Butcher			
Rich: Peirt Tayler	}	one man	i.
John Kelly Carrman			
Thomas Haydon Lab'	}	one man	i.
James Heydon Lab'			
John Dunn Lab'	}	one man (Jo ^a ffarguson) i.	i.
Phillip Dwyer Huxter			
Rich: Uniacke Esq'	}	one man	i.
Thady Corkeran Glover			
Henry Thomson Butcher	}	one man	i.
John Brenane Merch'			
Thomas Shea Merch'	}	one man	i.
Patrick Dullany			
Rich: Darby Barber	}	one man	i.
Phillip Comerford Buttonmaker			
Tho: Daniel Barber	}	one man	i.
Martin Smyth			
Pat: Magee	}	one man	i.
Rob: Knarsbrough Merch'			
Mich: Knarsbrough mer:	}	one man	i.
John Cody merchant			
Mich: Archer merchant	}	one man	i.
Ja: Archer merchant			
Math: Ward merchant	}	one man (Ja: Royston) i.	i.
John Langton merch'			
Stephen Langton merchant	}	one man	i.

The following certificate, which follows the list, is interesting as affording information as to the pay allowed to each Militia-man on such days as they were called out for training or duty, at this time:¹—

¹ None of the royal proclamations or private memoranda connected with the Militia, which I have had an opportunity of inspecting, state the pay allowed the men who served in the force while

permanently embodied and on active service. However, it is reasonable to suppose that their pay was pretty nearly the same as that of the royal troops; and a proclamation of the reign of

"The foregoing p'sons are to pay y^e number of men to their names annexed, one shilling for each duty day. Given under our hands this 31st day of March 1708.

"Adam: Haydocke Mayor
Edw^d Baker } *Sheriffs*
Caleb Tovey }

We thus learn the exact import of the word "quarter" as used at the time. The men serving in the Militia did not take up their residence at the houses of those on whom they were billeted, for they had all their own dwellings in the town; but those on whom they were quartered had to supply them with the pay regulated by the Government as remuneration for their trouble and loss of time whilst engaged in military duty. The following memoranda are endorsed on the list of grenadiers' quarters:—

"Every Cap^{tn} is to give y^e Adjutant his Billet.

"Lett y^e Cap^{tn} Issue his Billett thus:—I do hereby certify y^e A. hath donne 4 dayes duty for B. for w^{ch} y^e Comi'ssi^{on} of Array have Allowed one shilling & Diem. Given under my hand this 12th of April 1708.

"J. H."

George I. having ascended the throne on the 1st August, 1714, apprehensions were naturally entertained lest the Jacobite feeling in Ireland might prove troublesome, and we have indications of steps being at once taken in Kilkenny, as doubtless they were also else-

James II., issued by Tyrconnell on the 29th April, 1687, supplies the necessary information on that point, and also shows the arrangements made for the clothing of the soldiery. The object of the proclamation was to prevent too great expenditure by the soldiers, so as that they might not run in debt from not knowing exactly the precise means at their disposal. The document, having stated so much, goes on to say:—"We find their circumstances will not permit a greater allowance for the subsistence of a private Centinel in the Regiment of the Guards in Dublin, whose pay is eight-pence a day, than two shillings sixpence a week; nor for the subsistence of a private Centinel in the other Regiments, whose pay is sixpence a day, than one shilling and eleven pence half-penny a week, from the last of March to the last of December next. We do therefore Declare and command, that every private Centinel in the Regiment of Guards shall weekly receive in and for that time, two shillings and sixpence for subsistence. Every Private Centinel in the other Regiments one shilling

and eleven pence half-penny. Every Sergeant six shillings, and every Corporal five shillings; which we will take care shall be lodged in the respective Officers' hands, that the men may be duly and punctually paid. And that from and after the said last day of December next, by which time all debts will be fully paid, every private souldier in the Regiment of Guards shall receive weekly after the rate of sixpence a day, three shillings sixpence; and in the other Regiments, after the rate of fourpence a day, two shillings fourpence. Every Sergeant seven shillings, and every Corporal four shillings eightpence, clear of all deductions whatsoever. And we do likewise declare that the Army shall be clothed once in 18 months, and for that time every man is to receive a Coat and Breeches lin'd, and after ten months to be turn'd without any charge; an Hat, four pair of shoes, three pair of Stockings, three shirts, three cravats, and a sash, all very good in their kind, according to the patterns of the several particulars shown and lodged with us."

where, for placing in a state of efficiency the Protestant Militia, of whose embodiment, or even temporary calling out for drill, I can find no evidence for the previous six years. In the Castle Evidence Chamber there is a document endorsed, "Cap^a Haydock's Company—Defects—1714," showing that that indefatigable loyalist was then engaged in filling up such gaps as time had made in his company, in anticipation of the Government calling them out for service. The following are given as a list of the "Men Dead & Gon off."

Dead—Hen: Read, Serg^t
 Hen: Hawthorne, Drum^r
 Pat^t M^c Moran
 Jacob Waterhouse
 Barth: Labert, turned Papist¹
 Michael Dowling, turned Papist
 Jo^a Young Jun^r in Dublin

Then we have, "In their steed to Inlist"—

Richard Pettitt, Serv^t
 Jo^a Jones, Gen^t
 Jo^a Hogan, at Maj^r Baxters
 Rich^d Crane, Lab^r
 Rich^d Cleaton, Drum^r
 Sam^l Davis, Serv^t
 Wm: Williams, Serv^t
 Jo^a Ayres, Mason

The vigilant Captain also looked at once to the state of the Militia arms, and had the old muskets cleaned and repaired. The following bill, remaining amongst the Haydock papers, speaks sufficiently on this subject:—

Worke done for y^e Honorable Capt. Hydock,
 By John Westarman, Gunsmith.

for Cleaning of 12 muskits at 1 ^s p ^r peece,	. . .	0	12	0
for making a new pan for one of them,	. . .	0	0	6
for makeing a skrewpin for one of them,	. . .	0	0	2
				<hr/>
In all,	. . .	0	12	8
Deliuared to Le ^f Steuen Hydock,	. . . . .	2	muskits.	
Deliuared to John Blew,	. . . . .	1	"	
Deliuared to John Swats ^r	. . . . .	1	"	
Deliuared to Jarimiak Reed,	. . . . .	1	"	
Deliuared to Thomas Cone,	. . . . .	1	"	
Deliuared to Edward Reed,	. . . . .	1	"	
Deliuared to Patar Matinnew, frenchman,	. . .	1	"	

¹ Bartholomew Labarte, or his father, in Kilkenny. There is still a Roman Catholic family of the name in that city.

Deliaured to Heneary Badg,	1
Deliaured to John Ayers, mason,	1
Deliaured to John Hering,	1
Deliaured to Edward Ayers,	1
Sam ⁿ Harrington,	1
Edw ^d Nixon,	1
Edw ^d Dea,	1
Jo: Goodall,	1

16

Haydock's anticipations proved well founded, for in the beginning of the following year the Government issued a Commission of Arm for Kilkenny city, and the instructions given as to the proceedings to be then taken are preserved in a manuscript in the Castle E dence Chamber, of which I here supply a transcript :—

“Instructions for y^e Comissⁿ Impowered & Authorized by c Comissⁿ for Raising & settling y^e militia in y^e Citty & Co: of Citty of Kilkenny, 1715.

“1. You shall immediately upon Receipt of y^e Com^{ms} Assemble y^e self wth all Dilligence in some convenient place wth in y^e s^d Citty & County y^e Citty of Kilkenny, at w^{ch} you shall Divide y^e selves into severall Companies as to you shall seeme most convenient, so as you may make musters wth y^e more speed According to y^e Comission.

“2. You are wth all convenient speed to summon assemblies in y^e Respective Barrons & P^{shes} wth in y^e s^d Citty & Co: of y^e Citty of Kilkenny & to Inlist all well Qualified p^{sons} betweene y^e Age of 16 & 60 furnish wth sufficient horse as may make up such a numb^r of Troops of horse Dragoons, or either of them, beside officers, & such a number of foot sold^{rs} as you can & shall think fitt & every such p^{son} as shall not up such summons or warning appear before you at y^e day & place Appoynt being wth in y^e s^d Limits of age and able to wield weapons for Defence of y^e Realm shall Incur our utmost displeasure and be punished wth utmost Severity of Law.

“3. You are to take speciall care y^e y^e p^{sons} to be Raised & Inlist shall consist of such as are faithfull and obedient to our govern^t & w take y^e following oath established by Act of Parli^{mt} in our Kingdome of Great Brittain, w^{ch} you are hereby Authorised to Administ^r, w^{ch} oath follows in these Words viz^t.—I: A: B—(Oath of Allegiance). And Al the oath following Likewise established by Law in our s^d Kingdome Gr^t Brittain w^{ch} you are also Authorised to administ^r, & w^{ch} oath followeth in these Words (viz^t Oath of Supremacy) as also oath of abjuration hereunto Annexed.

“4. You are to appoynt such place or Places wth in the limitts of s^d Citty & Co: of y^e Citty of Kilkenny for mustering training & exercising y^e s^d Troops & Companies as Lye most convenient to y^e place or Places from whence y^e s^d forces are Raised as upon occasion to appoynt some gen^l Rendezvous wth in y^e s^d Citty & Co: of y^e Citty of Kilkenny as may most fitt for y^e Defence and security of y^e s^d Citty & Co: of y^e Citty of Kilkenny.

"5. You are in our name to give assurance to y^e officers and sold^r so Raised y^t they shall not be Drawn out of y^e County wthout their owne consents, but made use of for y^e necessary Defence thereof, unlesse or in case of fforeigne Invasion or Intestine Rebellion & if there shall happen any occasion of Imbodying y^e s^d Troops & Companys & marching into y^e field y^t for every days march they shall be paid equall Pay wth our standing Army During such service by them p^rformed.

"6. You are to consider & agree upon the fittest and or places for Lodging y^e Armes Amunition Trumpetts & colours belonging to each Troop or Company respectively where they may be directed to Resort upon occasion.

"7. You are to take a view of y^e severall Armes in y^e s^d for service & make returne to us, or in our Absence to the L^{ds} Justices or oth^r Chief Govern^r or Govern^r of this Kingdom for y^e Time being of their numb^r & condicōn that course may be taken for Timely supply of so many as shall be found Wanting for y^e full arming of the horse and foot appoynted to be Raised & Inlisted in y^e Citty and County of y^e Citty.

"8. Wee Think fitt to Acquaint you y^t Comiss^{rs} shall be issued from us, or such other p^{rs}ons as we shall nominate, with all convenient speed, to such officers as we shall think fitt to comānd y^e severall Troops & Companys to be Raised in y^e Co: & citty of Kilkenny.

"9. The Governor or Deputy Governor of y^e s^d County for y^e Time, or in his absence you or any 3 or more of you, and from time to time as often as our service shall require it, to send abroad any p^t of y^e militia of y^e s^d Citty & co: of y^e citty of Kilkenny to any place w^{ch} in y^e s^d Citty & co: of y^e citty of Kilkenny or elsewhere upon such service as you shall think Requisite.

"10. You are forthwith & from time to time to send a [note] of y^r proceedings herein, together wth y^e true list of . . . Horse and foot as shall be so Raised & Inlisted, to the L^{ds} Justices or the chief Governor or Governors of this [Kingdom] for y^e time being.

"11. You are then upon y^r place to consider of what full Power & Instructions you shall think necessary for the better mannageing & Carrying on of y^e s^d service, w^{ch} you are to transmitt to our Justices or other chief Governor of this Kingdome.

"12. You are carefully to observe these Instructions, and all further & other Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from us, or in our absence from our Justices or Governor or Governors of this Kingdome for y^e time. All w^{ch} y^e Premises you shall Truly & uprightly doe and execute & of y^r doings make true Certificate to our Justices and other chief Govern^r or Govern^r of this Kingdome as you tend^r our fav^r & y^e Advancement of our service of this our Realme of Ireland."

The Commissioners of Array then nominated for the city of Kilkenny, and to whom these instructions were addressed, were, the Mayor, the Recorder, the Sheriffs for the time being, Ebenezer Warren, Thomas Phillips, George Birch, Josias Haydock, John Hamilton, John Warren, John Cookesey, Stephen Haydock, John Blunden, Agmondisham Cuffe, Edward Evans, Charles Cartwright, and Thomas Wansell, Esqrs. The following was the array made of

officers for the troop of dragoons and five foot companies formed on the occasion, with a few curious marginal notes appended by Haydock:—

ARRAY 1715.

Dragoons.—Major Joⁿ Blunden
 L^t Joⁿ Cooksey
 Cor^t Jo: Blunden (*would not except*)¹
 Q^r M^r Ben: Mears

Grenadeers.—Josias Haydocke, L^t Coll: & Capⁿ
 W^m Stanley, 1st L^t
 Sameⁿ Riddock, 2^d L^t

Cap^{tn} Stephen Haydocke
 Rich^d W^m L^t
 Mathias Stapleton, Ensgⁿ

Edward Evans, Capⁿ
 Stephen Chapeller L^t
 Rob^t Shervington, Ensigⁿ (*this spurned at his Com^m
 & Threw it downe*)

Enoch Collier, Cap^{tn}
 Phil: Stapleton, L^t
 [. . . .] Ensgⁿ

Tho: Date, Capⁿ
 Joⁿ Davis, L^t
 Anthony Blunt, Ensigⁿ

At the bottom of the sheet of paper is this memorandum, in the same handwriting, but a different ink:—

“The above List of Array was altered as und^r

Dragoons
 Maj^r Joⁿ Blunden
 L^t Joⁿ Cooksey
 Cor^t Ben: Mears
 Q^r M^r W^m Williams

Capⁿ Edw^d Evans
 L^t Rich^d Williams
 Ensgⁿ Rob^t Aughton

Grenad^{rs} y^e same
 only W^m Stanly Dying
 L^t John Desaroy was putt in his place

Capⁿ Tho: Date
 L^t Ja: Davis (*Joⁿ Sup^r Annuated*)
 Ens: Anth: Blunt (*Hen: Whitehead
 Advanced to Coll^t
 in his stead*)²

Capⁿ L^t Haydocke
 L^t S^t Chapellier
 Ensgⁿ Mathias Stapleton

Capⁿ Enoch Collier
 L^t Phil: Stapleton (*since dead*)
 Ens: Rob^t Shervington, ffitzRob^t

¹ I. e. would not *accept* his commis-
 sion.

² Quere—Advanced to the colour, as
 being ensign?

My next document is a complimentary letter from the Secretary at Dublin Castle to the Mayor of Kilkenny, forwarding the commissions for the Militia officers nominated by the Commissioners of Array:—

“*Dublin Castle, Octo^r. 13th. 1715.*

“*Sr,*—I herewith Send you the Commissions for the Officers of the Militia appointed for the City of Kilkenny, which I must Desire you will please to Distribute.

“*Tho’ the Settling, drawing up and Signing the Militia Commissions has given me more trouble than all my other Business, and tho’ there is a handsome Fee for the Com[’]issions appointed by the Table in my Office, I can think no Pains too much in the present Situation of affairs, and must desire you to present my humble Service to the Gentlemen of Your City and acquaint them that I expect nothing for what I have done.*

“*I am Sir,*

“*Your most humble Servant,*

“*E. Budgell.*

“*The Mayor of Kilkenny.*”

The Militia being thus arrayed and officered, the next step seems to have been to provide arms for them, which was apparently not an easy matter, the Government stores not being at the time well supplied. However, the following Order of Council will show what arrangement was made:—

“*BY THE LORDS JUSTICES GEN^l GOV^r OF IRELAND.*

“*Will: Dublin Jo: Tuam Kildare.*

“Whereas it has been thought Necessary for the good and safety of this Kingdome to array the Militia thereof. And Whereas it has been represented to Us that the said Militia are in great want of Arms, We have resolved to distribute Arms out of his Ma^{ty} Stores as farr as the s^d Stores will Conveniently Supply & to provide Arms for two fifths of the said Militia according to the nearest computation We can make from the Sevⁿ returns not doubting but the Gentlemen & Freeholders in the Sevⁿ Countys will—when We have givin them Such Assistance, supply the rest themselves as well to provide ag^t the p^{re}sent as any future danger from an Invasion abroad or Rebellion at home.

“These are therefore to direct & require You in pursuance of Our Resolution aforesaid to deliver out of his Ma^{ty} Stores of Warr under your care Fourteen Thousand Seven hundred Fifty seven Musquetts to such p^{er}sons being Gov^r or Deputy Gov^r or high Sheriffs of the Sevⁿ Countys & Mayors of the sevⁿ Citys or Towns Corporate in the Proportions after each of them respectively sett down in the Column of N^o of Arms they are to be Supplied with in the List hereunto annext, each Gov^r Deputy Gov^r high Sherriff or Mayor giving his Receipt for the same together wth his obligation (or the Obligation of the Coll^{le} or other Officers of the Militia to whom he is to deliver the s^d Arms) to return them into the Stores when required by Governm^t in good Order & Condition.

“And We also direct & require You to deliver any Number of the Musquetts above mencōned to any Coll^{le} of a Regim^t of Militia in any County upon his the said Coll^{le} producing a Certificate from the high Sheriff of the County that the Number of Arms by him demanded is the

due Proportion belonging to his Regim^t out of the Arms allotted for the said County & upon his giving a Receipt & Obligation Unto You as aforesaid.

"And we further direct & require that on the present occasion You see & take care to deliver out all the new English & Dutch Arms in the Stores of Dublin & that as many Arms as shall be wanting be supplied out of the best of the other Arms now in the Stores and in good repair, & You are to give an equall Proportion to the best of your Skill of the said English Dutch & other Armes to the sevⁿ Countys in the List hereunto Annexed.

"Given at his Ma^{ty} Castle of Dublin the 14th day of October 1715.

"By their Excellencies Command,

"E. Budgell.

"To the Master Generall & Principall Officers of his Majesties Ordnance of this Kingdome or any three of them.

"CITY OF KILKENNY.

"Number of men
computed 335.

"Number of arms
to be delivered 133."

Arms having been procured, the Kilkenny Militia now stood in need of ammunition, and they sent a special messenger to Dublin to endeavour to obtain a supply for them from the Board of Ordnance. The following is a letter on the subject, from their envoy:—

"Dublin, February y^e 11th 171⁵."

"S^r,—I have acquainted you by my letter of the 9th of this month of the answer I had from Coll^l Bladen; but yesterday having waited upon his Ex^{ty} Mylord Gallway and told him of y^r desire, he was pleased to tell me, that it was not needful of any body com^ging for the ammunition but only to send a receipt for the same, and having told him that Col^l Warren was yett in this Citty, he told me that his receipt would be sufficient, but having gone this morning with Col^l Warren to the Ordnance office, they told us that they could not deliver any am^unition without the receipt of the Mayor of the Citty, except they had a speciall order from the governement, upon which I went to Col^l Bladen to desire such an order from him, but he told me they could not change the orders that were already given; therefore if you please to send me the Mayor's receipt by munday's post for one barill of powder and four barills of balls which is the complement allowed for the Militia of the Citty of Kilkenny I shall take care to gett them out of the Store house and to forward 'em by the first Carriers that shall go to Kilkenny and accompany it myself. I shall wait for your answer and further co^mmands, but in the mean while I must humbly beg the favour, that my house may be kept for quartering of Cap^t Bernierd in Gen^l Gorge's Regiment, whose Company is to march a Munday next with four other. I hope the Sheriffs will not refuse me that specially went; I am imployed for the service of the publick.

"I am, with respect, S^r,

"Your most humble Servant,

"W. Crommelin.

"To Coll^l Josias Haydock in Kilkenny.

"My direction is at M^r Brian Merch^t in Dublin."

A muster-roll of Haydock's company of grenadiers shows it to have at this time consisted of only thirty-six privates. The sergeants were, Samuel Davis and Walter Murray; the corporals, John Ferguson, Richard Bridge, and John Peart; and the drummer, Edward Hudson.

Four years later, in 1719, Mr. Haydock made out a roll of all the Militia-men then in Kilkenny, not dividing them into companies, but arranged in one consecutive list. Of officers he gives—besides the lieutenant-colonel and major—four captains, six lieutenants, four ensigns, a quarter-master, and an adjutant. He puts down 411 as the number of private men still living and capable of bearing arms, who had been called out for service under the old Commission of Array of 1715, and he supplies the names of 86 this year added to the regiment. Two are marked as "Papists," so that all the rest evidently were Protestants; and it is curious thus to be enabled to fix the fact that early in the last century, in the city of Kilkenny, upwards of 500 male Protestant inhabitants, comprising officers and privates, were to be found capable of bearing arms, or between the ages of sixteen and sixty. This list is also interesting from the circumstance of its supplying the trades or callings of many of the persons enumerated. A large number are put down as "gents," and several are styled aldermen; a few are classed as yeomen; all those whose social position is not specified were probably merchants or shopkeepers, as no such titles as these are given to any of those enumerated, except where in one instance a man is marked "ale-seller;" but the trades are in large numbers. These appear to have been principally shoemakers, weavers, smiths, masons, plasterers, joiners, gardeners, and cutlers; there are several gentlemen's servants, three coachmen, three dancing-masters, two wigmakers (apparently foreigners, from the name, Peter, and "Pol," Vousden); there is one "apoulsterer," a schoolmaster, an attorney, a watchmaker, a jeweller, a harness-maker, a sexton, a verger, a "ffidler," a horse-rider, and a "dogteacher." In some cases the name of the person appears not to have been known, but after his number was placed his trade, or the house of the person with whom he lodged, or the name of some relative—thus, "No. 64—Bridget ferguson's son-in-law;" "No. 237—Edward Butler, his Brother;" "No. 226—Atkins his son's son-in-law," &c. The manner in which trades have become hereditary in families is exemplified by these documents. In the list now under consideration there is a Militiaman given as "Samuel Stevens, dyer;" and in a document of the reign of William and Mary, amongst those forced to find quarters for the Militia is a "Marks Walsh, butcher." Men of the same Christian and surnames follow the same callings at this day in Kilkenny.

This muster-roll of 1719 is the latest amongst the Haydock

collection, and the last which I have been enabled to discover anywhere, although documents of the kind of a more modern date may be in existence, for the City of Kilkenny Militia seems to have been kept up and called out at stated times for exercise, throughout the remainder of the reign of George I., the entire of that of George II., and the greater portion of the long reign of George III., so much being apparent from incidental references to them in the Minutes of the Municipal Corporation of the period, such as the following order entered on the Council-book at a meeting of the civic body held on the 2nd November, 1747 :—

“ Ordered that John Fagg be paid what is Due to him by the late Mayor's certificate for the refreshment and recreation of the Militia— which was accordingly Certified by the s^d late Mayor under his hand to be five pounds fifteen shillings & eleven pence.”

So far as I have been able to draw an inference from the documents to which I have had access, the City of Kilkenny Militia remained an altogether separate and distinct body from the Militia of the county, until a new force, arranged on a different principle, bringing it to a nearer approximation to a regular military corps, was embodied in 1793, in which the contingents supplied by the county and city were amalgamated in one regiment.¹ That regiment took

¹ Although there was no regular City Militia regiment subsequent to the period referred to, yet on occasions of foreign war, or apprehension of danger to the State, volunteer corps of a cognate character were frequently formed from the citizens. In the beginning of

the present century there was a corps termed the Kilkenny Legion, of which the following muster-roll, bearing date from the 22nd of January to the 25th of February, 1804, is preserved in the Museum of the Society, and will have interest for Kilkenny readers :—

Capt Com^d Hon^{ble} J^r Butler
Capt Sir Wheeler Cuffe
Capt Sir Jⁿ Blunden
Lieut^t Denn
Lieut^t Edmonds
Lieut^t Mathews
Lieut^t Brennan
Adjut^t J. Kinchela

First Company

Serg^t Sherman
Serg^t Wheeler
Serg^t Kelly
Serg^t Knaresb'ro
1. Corp^t Gore
2. Corp^t Kelly
3. Arkwright Geo
4. Bibby Rich^d
5. Bowers John
6. Borthwick Geo

7. Boyde James
8. Buggy James
9. Carney James
10. Cody Will^m
11. Colles Nich^s
12. Cooke Edw^d
13. Comerford M^t
14. Costelloe Tho^s
15. Colclough Rob^t
16. Cronyn Edw^d
17. Cronyn Tho^s
18. Cronyn Geo
19. Denroche Edw^d
20. Devereux Walt^r
21. Doyle Arthur
22. Evans Allen
23. Finn Mich^l
24. Fitz Patrick Em^l
25. Fitz Patrick N^s
26. Goslin Rich^d

27. Greene Henry
28. Harty Lewis
29. Haws Peter
30. Hely Hamden
31. Hylan Laurence
32. Humphry Chr^s
33. Hutchinson Th^s
34. Hutchinson Rob^t
35. Hutchins R. F.
36. Kelly Edw^d
37. Kennedy W^m
38. Kerwan N^s
39. Kingsmill Th^s
40. Lalor James
41. Leech Geo
42. Lenard Oliver
43. Lyons Redm^d
44. M^cCreery Hen
45. M^cCartney Rich^d
46. Marum Dan^l

full part in the bloody civil strife of 1798, having been present at the battles of Ross and Castlebar, and other engagements, in which it shared the chequered fortunes of the royal army. It is, however, unnecessary here to enter upon matters well known to every reader of modern history. The task which I proposed to myself, and which I trust I have now accomplished, was to rescue from oblivion and place on permanent record some documents throwing light on the history of the Kilkenny Militia during the previous century, and by such means to illustrate the history of the Irish Militias of that period, generally.

47. Magennis Pat	2. Corp ^t Clancy	31. Keho Fran ^a
48. Murphy Jn ^o Sen ^r	3. Corp ^t Staunton	32. Kelly W ^m
49. Murphy Jn ^o Jun ^r	4. Alley Jerome	33. Kelly Patt
50. Nixon Geo	5. Anderson Lewis	34. Kinchela L. C.
51. Nixon Henry	6. Bennet John	35. Laffan Matt
52. Nowlan Tim ^r	7. Bibby Tho ^r	36. Leighton Th ^r
53. Nowlan Tho ^r	8. Ball Tho ^r	37. Lockington W ^m
54. Poyntz Luke	9. Burnham Geo	38. Lawson Cha ^a
55. Prim Henry	10. Burnham Ja ^a	39. Loughnan Ja ^a
56. Proctor Rob ^t	11. Butler Rich ^d	40. Loughnan Pet ^r
57. Roth Ab ^m	12. Byrne Patt	41. Mc'Donnel Jn ^o
58. Russel Franc ^a	13. Cahill N ^o	42. Meighan Jn ^o
59. Shearman Fran ^a	14. Duffy Tho ^r	43. Pack Geo
60. Shearman H ^r	15. Dooly Rich ^d	44. Pack Rich ^d
61. Shearman Jn ^o	16. Fennessy Rich ^d	45. Phelan Th ^r
62. Shearman Rob ^t	17. Fogarty Matt	46. Phillips Sam ^l
63. Smythwick Jn ^o	18. Freeman R ^t	47. Powell John
64. Smythwick M ^l	19. Gaze Beng ^a	48. Pratt W ^m
65. Shanahan W ^m	20. Hartford Tho ^r	49. Reynolds F ^a
66. Spear Christ ^r	21. Hartford Bibby	50. Robertson Jn ^o
67. Treight G. Van	22. Hart Simon	51. Robertson W ^m
68. Tuke Rob ^t	23. Hawkins Ew ^d	52. Ryan W ^m
69. Rutledge Jn ^o	24. Hayden Tho ^r	53. Scott Kenny
<i>Second Company</i>	25. Hennessy Jn ^o	54. Scott John
Serg ^t Pack	26. Hughes Fran ^a	55. Scott Barn ^r
Serg ^t Way	27. Hutchins R ^t	56. Seery Tho ^r
Serg ^t Gray	28. Hancock R ^d	57. Tresham R ^d
Serg ^t Brennan	29. Jones John	58. Watters W ^m
1. Corp ^t Cummins	30. Kearney Patt	59. Watters Lewis

Most of the persons—all of them gentlemen or respectable traders, who served without pay or reward—forming these two companies, were living within the memory of the present generation, but only nine survive to the present day. At this period the exclusive system of former times no longer held, and men

of every shade of religious belief composed the Legion, at least half the number being Roman Catholics. There were at the same time two other volunteer companies in Kilkenny, one commanded by Captain Hamilton, son to the then Bishop of Ossory, and the other by Captain John Helsham.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, Park street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, March 7th, 1855.

JAMES M. TIDMARSH, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny,
in the Chair.

Present, the following members:—

Henry P. Clarke, Esq.	Thomas B. M'Creery, Esq.
Mr. P. M. Delany.	Mr. Alexander Montgomerie
Rev. J. Graves, A. B., Hon. Sec.	Peter O'Callaghan, Esq.
John James, Esq., L.R. C. S. I.	John G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.
John Kearns, Esq., L.R. C. S.	James G. Robertson, Esq.
Edward Lane, Esq.	H. J. Pelham West, Esq.

The following new members were elected:—

The Marchioness of Waterford : proposed by Lord J. Butler.

Edward Richardson, Esq., Sculptor, 7, Melbury-terrace, F. wood-square, London : proposed by Edward H. Paget, Esq.

Joseph Grubb, Esq., Queen-street, Clonmel; Robert Malson, Esq., Clonmel; Thomas Malcomson, Esq., Clonmel; Benj Fail, Esq., Clonmel; and James Flynn, A. B., M. B., Resident Physician, District Lunatic Asylum, Clonmel : proposed by J. V Dowsley, Esq., M. D.

Edward Palk, Esq., Southampton : proposed by Somers Allen, Esq.

The Rev. Robert Hewson, Rathcore, Enfield; the Rev. Brunskill, A. M., Castle-Gregory, Tralee; Richard Chear Esq., D. L., J. P., Salter-bridge, Cappoquin; Maurice Macna O'Connor, Esq., The Hermitage, Listowel; and John B. D Esq., 5, Martello-terrace, Sandymount, Dublin : proposed Richard Hitchcock, Esq.

James R. Day, Esq., Church-street, Youghal; Rev. Thom Hallaran, Rectory, Castlemartyr; Alexander Anderson, Esq., Woodview, Lismore; Edward G. Martin, Esq., Architect,

George's-street, Cork; Miss Hyde, Belvue, Youghal; and William Gillespie, Esq., Architect, 15, Charlotte-quay, Cork : proposed by Edward Fitzgerald, Local Secretary, Youghal.

Major Elliott, Rathcurby, Kilmacow, Waterford : proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford.

Henry J. Pelham West, Esq., 11, Ormond-quay, Dublin : proposed by James G. Robertson, Esq.

M. George Frisch, Manheim, Germany; James Crosby, Esq., F. S. A., Church-court, Old Jury, London; Francis H. Tuckey, Esq., 48, South Mall, Cork; and Mr. Miles Byrne, Newbridge National School, Rathdrum : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By the Rev. James Wills, A.M., M.R.I.A.: "An Itinerary, written by Fynes Moryson, Gent.," folio, London; the original edition, in fine preservation.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne : "Archæologia Æliana," Vol. IV. parts 1 to 3.

By the Sussex Archæological Society : their "Collections," Vol. VII.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland : "The Archæological Journal," No. 44.

By the Editor, Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 9.

By the Author, Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.P.: "Original Letters and Papers in illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland, during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth."

By James G. Robertson, Esq.: "An Analysis of the History and Antiquities of Ireland, prior to the Fifth Century," by William Webb; also, "The Kerry Evening Post," November 5th, 1810, containing a report of the famous Annesley case.

By J. W. Hanna, Esq.: two pamphlets, viz. "The Trial and Conviction of Patrick Hurly, late of Moughna, in the County of Clare, Gent.," and "An Appendix, being an Answer to a Libel entitled Patrick Hurly's Vindication," A. D. 1701.

By the Rev. Robert O'Callaghan, D.D.: "Anthologia Hibernica," Nos. 3, 4, and 6; and "A short Memoir on an Antique Medal, bearing on one side the Representation of the Head of Christ," Dublin, 1819.

By R. Hitchcock, Esq.: "Titles of Papers read before the Geological Society of Dublin."

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 623 to 630, inclusive.

By H. W. King, Esq., 13, Cottage Grove, Bow-road, London : an etched plate of "The strong Fort of Ballysanon, in Leinster,

taken the 21st September, 1648"—a fac-simile of the original plan in the possession of J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Sec. S. A., London. The plate was the result of Mr. King's etching-needle, and will be used in a future part of the Society's Transactions.

By the Rev. George H. Reade, Inniskeen: specimens of the cement of the ecclesiastical ruins close to the Round Tower of Inniskeen, containing charcoal mixed with lime and pounded unburned lime-stone. Also, part of a human skull and thigh bone, taken from a kistvaen at Moat-a-Broghan, near Inniskeen, county of Monaghan. The skeleton to which it belonged was found beneath flags, just large enough to contain the body, lying north and south, with a quantity of charcoal underneath. Over the flags was heaped earth, and so Moat-a-Broghan was formed. This moat having been rifled for treasure before Mr. Reade saw it, the bones had been all broken in small pieces.

By Lord James Butler, the Rev. James Graves, and the Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, P. P.: various ancient coins.

By R. Hitchcock, Esq.: eleven impressions of seals, ancient and modern, one of which bore the legend,—s'. GVILLAVME . DE NOVYERS . CHEVALIER; another, the legend, PETRUS . DONILAN . EPISS . CLUNF*. This seal was apparently of the eighteenth century, and from the tasselled hat over the arms was evidently that of a Roman Catholic prelate. Concerning it Mr. Hitchcock writes:—

"The original seal is in the possession of my friend Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., of Parsonstown, to whom I am indebted for several impressions from it, and the following particulars:—'Peter Donilan was born not far from Loughrea, in the county of Galway, and was Roman Catholic Bishop of Clonfert in the year 1742.' He presided over that diocese many years, and was succeeded in the See by his brother Andrew Donilan, who was succeeded by the Right Rev. Dr. Costello, who, after presiding over the diocese more than forty years, was in his turn succeeded by the late Dr. Thomas Coen, to a letter of whose to me, in 1835, I am indebted for these particulars. I rescued the original matrix from the crucible of a brass-founder in this town [Parsonstown]. The arms on the seal are those of the Donellan family, and not the arms of the See. The clergyman's hat, with labels and tassels, was generally used instead of the mitre by the Roman Catholic Bishops in this country since the Reformation on their armorial escutcheons.'"

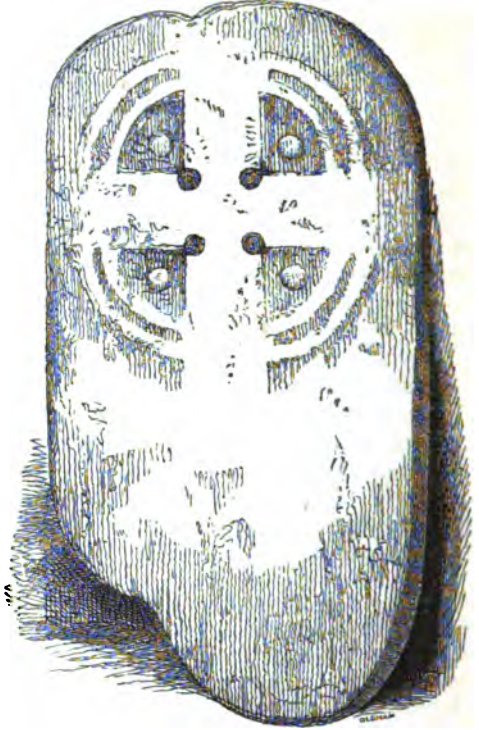
The Rev. Dr. Spratt, Aungier-street, Dublin, communicated a notice of an ancient sculptured stone, of which the accompanying sketch¹ is a perfect delineation; according to tradition, this stone

¹ See also the "Catholic Directory" (Dublin), 1837, p. 249.

² The Society is indebted to Dr. Spratt for the use of the excellent woodcut

to be found on the next page, and which has already appeared in Duffy's "Fireside Magazine," vol. iv. p. 46.—Eds.

marked the grave of an early Irish saint. It was of hard granite, in length 3 feet 5 inches, in breadth 1 foot 10, and in thickness 5 inches. The stone bore two sculptured crosses, symbolical of the Christian faith, one on the front and the other on the back; each cross is enclosed within a circle, the emblem of eternity. The crosses and circles are greatly worn by the action of the elements during more than twelve centuries. It stood in Owen's-lane (which leads from Corn-market, through St. Audoen's-arch, to Cook-street), near the door of entrance to the ancient church of St. Audoen, or Owen. From time immemorial it was called the "blessed stone," and was held in very great respect and veneration by the Catholics of Dublin—a respect so great that for ages past, and up to the time of its removal, all persons, when passing by, laid their hands on it, and invoked a blessing, through the intercession of the saint, to perpetuate whose memory the stone was erected. In the year 1826, when the church near which it stood was undergoing repair, this ancient monument was taken up, and being regarded with slight respect by some workmen, it was carefully removed and buried in a yard in Cook-street, where it remained for some years. It is now in Dr. Spratt's possession.



The following letter conveys Dr. Petrie's opinion as to the use and age of the monument:—

"67, Rathmines-road, 21st October, 1853.

"MY DEAR DR. SPRATT,—In obedience to your request that I should give you my opinion respecting the probable antiquity of the interesting ancient stone on which a cross within a circle is sculptured, and which, till it came into your conservating custody, was to be seen near the ancient parish church of St. Audoen, I have no hesitation in expressing my

opinion that it belongs to a class of monuments—most probably sepulchral—which are now rarely to be met with in Ireland, and which appears to me to be of a very early Christian age; and I have no doubt that this stone is much more ancient than any portion of the very old church now remaining, with which it was formerly connected.

“Believe me, my dear Sir,

“Most faithfully yours,

“GEORGE PETRIE.”

Miss Beaufort, one of the members of the Society, forwarded the following extract from a letter of Charles Stewart, Esq., C. E., employed on a railroad in Canada West, the particulars given by which, she remarked, might be deemed interesting, as resembling, and yet so different from those of our own Irish barrows:—

“September, 1854.

“While the workmen were making some excavations upon the shore of the lake, for the railway esplanade, they came across some Indian graves. I saw some of them opened to-day, and found numbers of things lying in the graves with the bones. In the first opened was a large silver spear-head, something like the spear used for fishing, only that it must have been employed as an ornament to fasten some part of the dress. There was also a plate of silver, something like a tea-saucer, and of the same size, but it seems, I think, to have been used as a brooch. Also a smaller one, with carved figures upon it. There was a large number of copper buttons, and a little looking-glass, in a carved frame made of one piece of wood. They seem evidently the things which had been ‘traded’ with the Indians when this country was first settled; and, what seems strange, there were the remains of a very curious pair of shoes, which were not half so much decayed as the bones, some of which were completely decomposed. In another grave there was an old jack-line, flint and steel, and two pieces of silver, about the same size as those in the first grave. In the third grave that was opened there were pipes, spears, arrows, together with three or four silver brooches, placed in a row across the chest of the skeleton. Some parts of the bodies were petrified; I have a part of the petrified lungs. I never heard of such a thing, and can hardly believe it; however, it was exactly placed as the lungs would be.”

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited a numerous collection of pen-and-ink sketches of cromleacs, by Alexander Johns, Esq., Manager of the Northern Bank, Carrickfergus. Some of these sketches were from drawings by Lieut.-Colonel Smith, a gentleman who has given much attention to the study of this branch of antiquities, and who has traced their existence in various countries. The sketches exhibited embraced examples from Ireland, England, France, Prussia, and Denmark, all presenting a striking resemblance to one another.

The Rev. Robert Hewson, one of the newly elected members, forwarded drawings of a carved stone, apparently a holy-water stoup, lying in the church-yard of Rathcore, county of Meath. The carv-

ings were curious, and proved the remain to be of the Perpendicular period. Amongst the sculptures was a shield charged, quarterly, with four animals, which Mr. Hewson states to be dogs.

The Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, P. P., Keash, Ballymote, forwarded a rubbing from a fragment of an ancient Irish tomb-stone, which he stated to be regarded by the people of that locality with great reverence. It was situate at Caltra, about a mile distant from the much-renowned Hill of Keash. Any attempt at its removal, he mentioned, was regarded by the peasantry as calculated to be productive of the most direful results to the person engaging in such an act. The spot where it rests is asserted to be the site of an ancient church and burial-place, although no vestige of either remains.

Mr. Hitchcock sent the two following communications to the Society:—

"In the interesting account of sun-dials by the Rev. James Mease, in the 'Proceedings' for 1853, he offers the suggestion (p. 363), that the great standing stones found all over our island, particularly in the south and west parts, may, among other uses, have served as sun-dials. I have seen many hundreds of these gallauns, or dalláns, as they are named by the peasantry, and I cannot easily conceive that they were ever set up, or even used, for such a purpose, though of course many of them would have served as sun-dials. One or two of my reasons for this assertion must be given. The gallauns are found in all situations,—on the mountain side and in the deep and secluded valley,—where, for the greater part of the year, the sun has but very little effect on them, and where they could never have been of any use, as sun-dials, to the inhabitants of this country. And is it not questionable, whether the ancient Irish were sufficiently acquainted with the principles of dialling to understand the construction and use of sun-dials, or of objects serving the same purpose? The gallauns are also sometimes found in rows of two, three, four, and five (I do not remember having seen more), with only a few feet distance between every two of them. These rows or groups I have little doubt are sepulchral, as I believe the greater number of the gallauns are;¹ while many more of them may have served as ancient landmarks, by which were divided the territories of the old chieftains. Since the preceding remarks were written, I have been obligingly favoured by Mr. Eugene Curry with the following meaning for the word 'gallaun,' which seems to strengthen my opinion as to the large standing stones having been used as landmarks:—'gallán, an upright or pillar-stone, to mark a boundary or mearing in lands.—A very old word.' O'Brien, at the word *baldán-clouche*, in his 'Irish-English Dictionary,' tells us, that many of these stones, which, he says, were erected by the old Irish as monuments of some remarkable achievements, were inscribed in the Ogham character. Several of these inscribed dalláns, or gallauns, are still to be seen in various parts of the south of Ireland, both in the souterrains of raths, and in their original erect positions; and it is remarkable that, in gene-

¹ See "Kerry Magazine," 1855, p. 8.

ral, they want the *cross*, which the smaller Ogham monuments exhibit. Standing stones, in all respects similar to our Irish gallauns, are also very numerous in Wales; and they are actually mentioned in the old laws of that country as *meini terwyn*, signifying *boundary stones*, the removal of which was punishable with death.¹ The word 'landmark,' as used in the Bible,² would seem to refer to such ancient standing stones. Some of our Irish monoliths may have also served as treaty-stones, &c.; but I think the few facts which I have mentioned are sufficient to show that they were not erected or used as sun-dials. It is said, indeed, that some of the Egyptian obelisks may have been intended as a kind of dial, wherewith to mark the hours of the day; but I believe the objections above stated, with reference to the Irish standing stones, do not so much apply to those wonderful monuments of antiquity. It is thus we have our own immortal Moore alluding to the Temple of the Sun at Balbec, when he says,—

“ Whose lonely columns stand sublime,
Flinging their shadows from on high,
Like dials, which the wizard, Time,
Had rais'd to count his ages by!”

“ Judging from the beautiful lithograph given at p. 227, *ante*, the fine Ogham inscription recently discovered by our Local Secretary for Youghal, Mr. Fitzgerald, in the ancient oratory of St. Declan, at Ardmore, besides being a valuable and most interesting accession to our stock, seems also to be another of a very few remarkable instances of the occurrence of two descriptions of Ogham scores in the same locality. These consist of broad and roughly cut or *punched* scores, and fine pointed ones, like ‘a blade of grass,’ cut with some sharp *edged* instrument. Of the latter variety we have a representation in the lithograph of the inscription found in St. Declan’s Oratory, and examples of the former may be seen in the Ogham inscriptions engraved in the ‘Transactions,’ vol. iii. pp. 86, 192, and in the small stone represented in Mr. Fitzgerald’s lithograph at p. 227. Taking the entire lithograph as accurate, it therefore presents us with these two varieties of Ogham characters—the broad and coarse, and finely cut—in the two monuments from the same place at Ardmore. There is, perhaps, even a more remarkable fact of this nature, which may be noticed here, namely, that in two or three cases in Cork and Kerry, the *same stone*, in each case also one of a group, exhibits the two kinds of Ogham scores above mentioned. These facts may appear of little importance to the superficial observer; but, as I believe they are not accidental, I am of opinion that even less remarkable points will yet be of use in the elucidation of our Ogham inscriptions. Why inscribe the *same stone* with two sorts of characters differently cut; or why inscribe one stone of a group of two or more with one style of character, and the rest with another? I trust that gentlemen discovering or examining Ogham monuments will not fail to notice such curious points; and I am glad to see that Mr. Fitzgerald’s

¹ See the Rev. John Williams’ paper on Druidic Stones, in the “Archæologia Cambrensis,” vol. i. n. s., and engravings and descriptions of some of the

Welsh standing stones in the other volumes of the same valuable work.

² See Deut. xix. 14; xxvii. 17; Job, xxiv. 2; Prov. xxii. 28, and xxiii. 10.

scientific eye has enabled him to draw a distinction between the characters on the two stones found at the celebrated Ardmore, as depicted in his lithograph. It is also important that Mr. Fitzgerald has noted that the material of the Ogham monument is sand-stone, which is the sort of stone almost always used for these inscriptions; but he has not said whether he considers it to be one of the stones of the district or not. These are points which I have frequently found it both interesting and important to ascertain."

The Secretary then laid before the Meeting some documents forwarded by Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, Local Secretary for Youghal, as under:—

"The following correspondence, relative to the Ogham monument recently discovered by me in the east end of St. Declan's Oratory, tells its own sad tale, plainly proving that it behoves all interested in Irish archæology to watch with jealous care, in order to save from destruction, the few remaining relics handed down to our times.

"Extracts from Mr. Odell's letter are only given, and it is but right to observe that, when sending my remonstrance with the letter of the Academy, I mentioned to him, that I had kept copies, and asked to know if he had any objection to their being forwarded to the Kilkenny Archæological Society for publication. Not having since heard from him on the subject,¹ I think it but due to the noble cause of archæology to place the documents on record in your pages.

"*Carriglea, February 6, 1855.*

"DEAR SIR,—I enclose a letter which will explain itself, and which I shall be obliged by your returning to me; at the same time will you let me have the desired information?—
I don't know what to say to the hint about letting them have the stone; what do you think? In haste,

"Very truly yours,

"EDWARD ODELL.

"*Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, Architect, Youghal.*"

"*Royal Irish Academy,*

"*January 30, 1855.*

"DEAR SIR,—The Archdeacon of Cashel (Dr. Cotton) has handed me a rubbing from an Ogham stone which is situated at some distance from the ground in the tower of Ardmore Church; I think it is near the top of it. I had a chance in the course of the day of handing the rubbing to the Rev. Charles Graves, and he expressed a strong desire to know more about the inscription. From the memorandum sent with it, I infer that some stones and mortar have been removed from the inscribed corners of the stone, but the rubbing has no indications of the markings beyond the face of the stone. These side markings we want, to enable Dr. Graves to come at the full import of the inscription. He tells me that he has been informed that the stone might be easily and safely removed from its present

¹ Now March 1.

position. If so, it would be the best plan to have it taken down, and its place filled up with other materials. Perhaps this could be done at a trifling cost, which we might defray if we got the Ogham stone for our Museum. As you kindly assisted us in a matter of this kind some years ago, you will excuse my mentioning this matter to you, and particularly as it now appears more than probable that this Ogham stone is the one Mr. J. O'Donovan¹ and Mr. Wakeman saw at Ardmore, and not the stone which Mr. Windele engraved, and which you sent here.

“ ‘ How is it that Mr. Windele has not noticed this stone? He appears to have suppressed his knowledge of it in his printed circular, published with a woodcut of the stone you sent here. As our collection of woodcuts of Ogham stones now amounts to several hundred, to illustrate Dr. Graves’ paper, it would be a pity to leave this one behind, and especially as we have good reason to believe that it has on it a well-known name in the pedigrees, which will give it an approximate date, and so help to remove the doubt which hangs over the age of this stone and all others of the same kind.

“ ‘ Your obedient servant,

“ ‘ EDWARD CLIBBORN,

“ ‘ Assist. Sec. R.I.A.

“ ‘ Edward Odell, Esq., Carriglea House, Dungarvan.’

“ ‘ *Youghal, February 8, 1855.*

“ ‘ DEAR SIR,—In reply to your favour of the 6th, in reference to the Ogham at Ardmore, I beg to say I am very sorry to think that the Royal Irish Academy would have the *bad taste*, to say the least of it, to suggest to or request you to perpetrate such a barbarous piece of Vandalism in your little oratory as the rooting out of the newly discovered Ogham and sending it up to them would prove. I *really* thought the proper preservation of such objects was the great design of societies like the Academy, for surely half the interest attached to such matters is seeing them in their primitive positions and with surrounding connexions. Now this is *peculiarly* the case at Ardmore, where you have an Ogham, an ancient oratory, a Round Tower, and a ruined Hiberno-Norman cathedral, in the circumference of a few perches; and moreover, the Ogham inscriptions on both edges so built up in the masonry as at once to prove them deserving of a prior claim to antiquity than the oratory, or perhaps any other relic in this most interesting locality.

“ ‘ What object is to be gained by this proposition I am really at a loss to imagine, as, from the cutting made round the stone, any one who has doubts of the accuracy of the lithograph now published by the Kilkenny Archaeological Society (a few of which I enclose) can, on putting a ladder to it, read every word of the inscription.

“ ‘ It seems also strange, that it is for Dr. Graves’ benefit, in connexion with his work on Oghams, that the desecration should be required, as one of my first acts, after having the inscription cleared some five months ago,

¹ Dr. O'Donovan was one of the first who received an account and sketch of this relic when lately discovered. And although I have since received several letters from that distinguished anti-

quary on the subject, he never made the least allusion to having either seen or heard of it before; neither did Mr. Windele, who was much pleased with the discovery.

was to forward *him* a correct account, with a pen-and-ink sketch of it, requesting him to give me his reading of the legend; but, from Dr. Graves' silence, to the present, this seemingly was beneath his notice, though all the other gentlemen who were supplied with copies replied immediately.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"EDWARD FITZGERALD.

"*Edward Odell, Esq., Carriglea, Dungarvan.*"

William Slade Parker, Esq., Secretary of the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway Company, forwarded for publication in the Society's "Transactions," a little known statute of the fourteenth year of Henry III., by which the succession of heirs female was regulated in Ireland. It was supplied from a black-letter edition of Magna Charta in his possession, printed "at London in Paules Church yarde, at the syne of the Maydens Head, by Thomas Petyt, M.D.—MC.LII." folio cliii. The statute was as follows:—

"*The Statute of Irelande made y^e xiiii years of Kynges Henry y^e thyrd.*

"Henry, by the Grace of God, Kyng of Englande, Lorde of Irelande, Duke of Guyan and Normandie, Erle of Angeo, to his trustye and well-beloued Gerarde, sonne of Mauryce, iusticer of Irelande, gretynge. Whereas certayne knyghtes of the parties of Irelande haue lately infourmed us that when any lande doth descende unto systers within our dominion of Irelande, the Justices erraunt in those partyes are in doubte whither the yonger systers ought to holde of the eldest syster and do homage unto her or not. And forasmuche as the sayde Knyghtes haue made instance to be certefied howe it hath ben used heretofore within our realme of Englande in lyke case at theyn instance we do you to wyte, that such a lawe and custome is in Englande in this case, that yf anye holdynge of us in cheyf hap to dye hauinge doughters to his heyres, our auncetours and we after the death of the father haue alwaye had and receyued homage of all the daughters and every of them in this case dyd holde of us in cheyfe. And yf they happened to be within age, we haue alwaye had the warde and maryage of them. And yf he be tenante to another lorde (the systers beyng within age) the lorde shall haue the warde and maryage of them all, and the eldest onely shall do homage for herselfe and all her systers. And when the other systers come to ful age, they shall do theyr seruyce to the Lordes of the fee by the handes of the eldest syster, yet shall not the leyst by thys occasion exacte of her yonger systers homage, warde, or any other subiecyon; for when they be al systers, and in maner as one heyre to one inherytance, yf the eldest shulde haue homage of the other systers, or demaunde warde, then the inherytance shulde seme to be deuyded, so that the eldest syster shulde be Segniores and tenante of one inherytance (simul et semel), that is to say, heyre of her owne parte and segniores of her systers, whyche coulde not stand well togyther in this case, for the eldest can demaunde no more than her systers but the cheyfe mease by reason of her auncienty.

"Moreover, yf the eldest syster shulde take homage of the yonger,

she shulde be as Segniores to them all and shulde haue the wards of them and theyr heyres, which shulde be none other but to cast the lambe to the wolfe to be deuoured. And therefore we commaunde you that you cause the forsayde customes that be used with in our realme of England in this case to be proclaymed throughout our dominion of Irelande, and to be straitly kept and obserued.

"In wytnes my selfe at Westmynster the ix day of February, the xiiii yere of our raygne (A. D. 1231.)"

James F. Ferguson, Esq., Exchequer Record Office, Dublin, presented to the Society, for publication, a transcript of an Inquisition directed to ascertain the property of the attainted regicides, and noticing, amongst others, the estates of Colonel Daniel Axtell and of Thomas Woogan, in the county of Kilkenny. Mr. Ferguson's communication was as under:—

"The Commission is witnessed by James Duke of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, and is dated the 24th of October, 14 Charles II. It is addressed to Sir Maurice Berkeley, Knt. and Baronet, Thomas Worsopp, and John Shadwell, Esqrs. It recites the Act of Settlement, whereby all the honours, castles, &c. whereof Oliver Cromwell and the other regicides were possessed, are vested and settled in and upon his Royal Highness James Duke of York and Albanie, Earl of Ulster, the King's brother, his heirs and assigns, except the lands, &c. granted to Michael, Bishop of Cork, and to Francis Lord Aungier. It directs the said Commissioners, by the oaths of a jury, to inquire and find out the honours, castles, &c. whereof the said regicides were possessed, and the value thereof; and also to make inquiry as to their chattels, real and personal. Instructions are added to the Commission, consisting of nine clauses, of which the last is in these words:—

"'Item. You are to inquire what personall estate belongs to John Cooke, one of the regicides of his late sacred Majestie in this Kingdome, and in whose hands the same remaine.'

"I subjoin the return made under this Commission:—

"To the Honble. the Chanc^r, Treasurer, Lord Cheife Baron, and the rest of the Barons of his Maj^{ties} Co^{rt} of Exchequer of his Kingdome of Ireland.

"May it please yo^r Hono^r. In pursuance of the Comission & instructions hereunto annexed, we hereby certifie und^r o^r hands & seales, y^t we find the several Sums under written to be due to the severall Regicides, in manner & forme as is expressed respectively.

"S^r Hardresse Waller, one bond of nine hundred pounds penalty for payment of fower hundred and fifty pounds, the fower and twentyeth day of June, one thousand six hundred & sixty, sealed by John Cooper, Esq., to S^r Maurice Fenton, for rent due out of the Lands of Carrigoginnell unto y^e sayd S^r Hardresse Waller. Interest due for the same to the five and twentieth day of December last, being two yeares and an halfe, one hundred & twelve pounds ten shillings.

"One bill obligatory of the penalty of sixty five pounds from James Casey for payment of Forty two pounds ten shillings unto William Pope,

the said S^r Hardresse Wallers agent for the rent of Whitestowne, payable the first day of November, sixtene hundred & sixty. Interest due for the same for two yeares Ending the first day of November, sixtene hundred sixty two, three pounds six shillings.

"One Bill made by Thomas Denny unto William Pope aforesaid, for nineteene pounds rent payable y^e last day of October sixtene hundred & fifty, nineteen pounds.

"One Bill or specialty made by John Mathews to y^e said Pope for payment of twenty-five pounds for rent due the first day of August sixtene hundred & sixty.

"One Bill made by Donnogh Dwyer, W^m Walsh & John M^cWill: of Ballysymon, to the said W^m Pope for ten pounds five shillings rent payable the first of August sixtene hundred & sixty.

"One Bill obligatory made by Maurice Downes unto the said W^m Pope of the penalty of forty pounds for paym^t of ninetene pounds ten shillings rent due the last day of September sixtene hundred & sixty. Interest due for the same for two yeares ending the last of September sixtene hundred sixty & two, two pounds.

"One Bill obligatory made by Patricke Creagh fitz William unto the said W^m Pope of the penalty of thirty eight pounds for paym^t of nine-tene pounds rent due the last day of June sixtene hundred & sixty. Interest for the same for two yeares & an halfe ending the last day of December sixtene hundred sixty & two, two pounds seaven shillings & six pence.

"One Bill obligatory made by Thomas O'Conneene & Thomas Roch fitz David unto the said W^m Pope of the penalty of twenty six pounds foure shillings for paym^t of thirty pounds two shill. for rent due the twenty [fifth] day of July sixtene hundred & sixty. Interest for the same for two yeares & an halfe ending the twenty-fifth day of January sixtene hundred & sixty, one pound twelve shillings & six pence.

"One Bill made by Gilliduffe O'Mallone & Edm^d fitz Gerrald unto the said W^m Pope of the penalty of seaventeene pounds five shill. & foure pence for paym^t of eight pounds fouertene shill. & eight pence Rent due the five & twentyeth day of July sixtene hundred & sixty. Interest for y^e same for two yeares & an halfe ending y^e five & twentyeth day of January, sixtene hundred sixty & two, one pound.

"One bill obligatory from Edm^d Cloghsoy to y^e said W^m Pope of the penalty of thirty-six pounds four shill. for paym^t of thirtene pounds two shill. Rent due the five & twentyeth day of July, sixtene hundred sixty & two. Interest due for two yeares & an halfe as aforesaid, one pound twelve shill. & six pence.

"One Bill obligatory more made by James Casey unto y^e s^d W^m Pope of the penall sume of eight pounds fouretene shill. & eight pence for paym^t of foure pounds seaven shill. and foure pence due the five & twentyeth day of July, sixtene hundred & sixty. Interest due for two yeares & an halfe as afores^d, Ten shill.

"Other rents in arreare due to y^e s^d Waller, in the County of Lymerrick, still remaineing unsatisfyed.

"From David Dillon for the Mills of Castletowne, foure pounds.

"From John M^c Patrick & his partners halfe a yeares Rent ending

[at Mich.], sixtene hundred & sixty for the lands of Island Moore, being parte of the Castletowne, sixtene pounds.

"From Donagh Shagnussey and John M^rMorrice, for halfe a yeares Rent for the Lands of Ballimartyn, being parte of Castletowne determining as aforesaid, sixtene pounds.

"From W^m Cassey, deceased, for halfe a yeares rent for the Lands of Ballymacris & Labanamuck determining as aforesaid, twenty-five pounds.

"This rent ought to be satisfyed by [.], son of the said W^m who hath possessed himselfe of his said fathers personall Estate.

"From Vere Hunt, Esq., for halfe a yeares Rent for the lands of Curragh, Lisnemucky, Ballynegooole, & Ballynecurragh, determined as aforesaid, twenty-five pounds.

"From Tho: Roch and his partners for the remaind^r of the halfe yeares rent of the Lands of Lickadowne, determining as aforesaid, seaven pounds foure shillings.

"One Penall Bond from one Cox of Youghall, in y^e County of Corke, for paym^t of one hundred & eighty pounds to the said S^r Hardresse Waller, about September, sixtene hundred & sixty, wth bond now remaines in the hands of Mr. Nathaniell Dunbavan, one of S^r Rich: Ingoldsby's agents, as apeares by his Examinations. Interest for two yeares determining in September, sixtene hundred sixty & two, thirty-six pounds.

"One Bond from one Mr. Quarum, of Rosse, sealed to one Power, of Dublin, the said S^r Hardresse Waller's serv^t for monys lent by the s^d Waller, twenty pounds.

"Wee also fynde by the deposicoñs of wittnesses, that Dureing the seazure of the said S^r Hardresse Waller's personall Estate at Tallaught, in the County of Dublin, severall parcells thereof were sold by John Baxter & Phillip Fereneley, Esq^r, and the monys re^d by them and payed by theyre order as followeth.

"For Corne ready treased [threshed] & sould to George Ayery, the said S^r Hardresse Wallers serv^t, forty pounds.

"For unthreshed Corne to them and one Jessopp, serv^t to S^r Richard Ingoldsby, forty-five pounds.

"For sheep and two steers sould by the said Baxter & Rec^d by him, fifty pounds.

"For twenty-foure bullockes sould to the said George Ayrey by the s^d Fereneley & Baxter, & y^e mony payed by theyre ord^r to Docto^r Robert Georges, fifty pounds.

"For a parcell of Meadowing sett by the said Mr. Baxter to the said Ayrey, & accordingly payed him, thirty pounds.

"Six veales delivered to one Robert Neale of Dublin, Butcher, by the said Mr. Fernelys order, valued at foure pounds.

"To Gregory Clement for Arreares of Rent due in the Kings County, from Henry Lestrangle, for two yeares & an halves rent for the Lands of Annaghmere, &c. ending at all Hollandtide, sixtene hundred sixty two, the yearely Rent of about thirty pounds, seaventy-five pounds.

"Memorandum, that the s^d Lestrangle pretends the paym^t of Eightene pounds, parte of the said Rent, unto Francis Coghlane, pretended former

proprietor of parte of the s^d Lands, who had his Ma^{ty} letter, to be restored thereto.

"From S^r James Shaen, K^t, for two yeares arreares of rent, of Kilcolgan, &c. at one hundred & forty pounds p Annum, two hundred & eighty pounds.

"From W^m Hamilton, Esq^r, for two yeares and an halfe Rent, ending at Allhallontide, sixteen hundred sixty & two, for the lands of Liscloney, &c. fifty pounds.

"From Hugh Flatery, for the like arrears for the Lands of Streamtowne, &c. at twelve pounds p ann: Thirty pounds.

"From Arthur Ursley for the like arrears for the lands of Knockindaly, Knockinboy, &c. at Eleaven pounds five shill. p An: twenty-eight pounds two shill. & six-pence.

"Memorandum, that the s^d Ursley pretends that the most of the Lands held by him from the s^d Clem^t weare Recovered by the Shrewsbury Adventurers who claimeth the Rent thereof.

"IN THE CITY OF LYMERICK.

"From Richard Leonard for the Areares of the Rent of the house wherein he Inhabitts, sett him by the said Clem^t at eight pounds p Ann: towards the three last yeares Rent whereof, ending at November, sixtene hundred sixty & two, he hath only payed nine pounds eightene shill. foure-tene pounds five shill.

"IN THE CITY OF WATERFORD.

"From Robert Lynn, dec^d, and his Executo^r, &c. for three years Arrears of rent of a house in the said City, and twenty foure Acres of land nere thereto, demised to him by y^e s^d Clem^t at y^e rent of twelve pounds p Ann: or thereaboutes, no parte thereof being (for ought appears to us) satisfied, thirty-six pounds.

"TO MYLES CORBETT FOR ARREARS OF RENT IN WEST MEATH.

"Payed into the hands of W^m Webb, son in Law to the said Corbett by Phillip Pagenham, ten^t to the s^d Corbett's lott in Westmeath, one yeares Rent Due at May, sixtene hundred & sixty, being sixty pounds.

"From Phillip Pagenham, for the rent of the said Lands for the yeare Determining in May, sixtene hundred sixty & one, sixty pounds.

"Memorandum, that the s^d Pagenham pretends the paym^t of foure pounds the s^d yeare to George fitz Gerrald, Esq^r, who claimes to have an Interest in parte of the premisses.

"Rents in arreare upon the Tenn^t of Daniell Waldo, Assignee of Isaac Penington, for the lands in Westmeath.

"For Christopher Gilbert, of Mullingare, for the rent of the said Lands from May sixteen hundred fifty & eight untile November sixtene hundred sixty & two, one hundred & fifty pounds.

"Rent in arrears to John Lysle for his Lands in Westmeath.

"From Captain Henry Barker for three years Rent of the s^d Land, att one shill. two pence y^e Acer, they containeing one thousand Acres, two hundred twenty-five pounds.

"From John Watkens, serv' to the s^d Cooke, wth he raised out of the s^d Cookes rents & consealed stocke, as Appeares by the Deposicōns of the said Cookes Widdow, three hundred pound.

"From John Hodder, of Corke, for one hundred Ewes & Lambs of y^e s^d Cookes, sould him by the s^d John Watkens y^e twenty one day of May, sixtene hundred & sixty, fifty pounds.

"From Robert Smoote, gentleman, for one hundred Ewes & Lambes of the said Cookes bought as aforesaid, fifty pounds.

"From John Bayly & Tho: Cooke, merchants, for two hundred & eightene Weathers and Forty Ewes & lambs of the said Cookes sould them as aforesaid, eighty one pounds eight shillings.

"From Pierce Power of Corbinny, gentleman, for ninety eight sheepe which he bought, sixtene pounds.

"From Humberston Hurst, of Kinsale, in the County of Cork, Merchant, by Bond of Duble penalty remaining in M^r Cookes Custody, payable aboute seaven yeares since, one hundred pounds. Interest for seaven yeares, seaventy pounds.

"From Pierce Power, of the County of Cork, by bond, thirty six pounds.

"From Maurice Shannon, in parte of forty pounds due to the said Cooke, by Bond, forty pounds.

"From one Mr. Scott & Mr. Longe, of Youghall, by Bond. This bond was left in the said John Watkins his hands as M^r Cooke deposeth, forty pounds.

"From Hierome Sankey and Daniell Abbott, Esqr^s, one hundred pounds by bond wth Interest for eight yeares. Towards which debt & interest hath bene payed to the said Cooke & his wife att severall times seaventy pounds, soe that wee conceive ther yett remaines due from them about one hundred & ten pounds.

"To Henry Ireton, son of Henry Ireton, deceased, for Rents due in y^e County of Kilkenny.

"From Richard Stephens, Esq., by specialty, payable to Charles Fleetwood, Esq^r, the first day of May, sixteen hundred sixty and one, eighty nine pounds five shift. & six-pence.

"From Mr. Tho: Pritchard, by specialty, payable to Robert Vaudrey, one of the said Iretons agents, the tenth day of May, sixteen hundred & sixty, five pounds.

"From Mr. John Hunt, by Noate payable to the aforesaid Hierome Sankey, seaven pounds.

"More from Mr. Thomas Pritchad aforesaid, nine pounds.

"From Mr. Thomas Hussey, by specialty, payable to the said Vaudrey, the twenty ninth day of September, sixtene hundred & sixty, twenty pounds.

"Francis Bulger by noate or bill sealed by Capt. Cornak, eighteen shillings.

"Memorandum, that all the above bills and noates are by the s^d Vaudrey acknowledged to be in his hands.

"It further appeareth that the rents & profitts of the said lands soe sett out to Henry Ireton, son of Henry Ireton, dec^d, have been for the space of seaven yeares before the sequestracō thereof re^d by Collonell

Charles Fleetwood & Collonell Hierome Sankey and their agents, amounting yearly to six hundred pounds & upwards, but the certaintie wee cannott learne in Regard the said Fleetwood is in England & Collonell Sankey (though often desired) hath hitherto neglected to give an accompt thereof, but according to our Computacōn it amounts in the whole to about foure thousand two hundred pounds.

"To Daniell Axtell for arrears of Rent due in the County of Kilkenny.

"From Edmond Cavanagh for rents due at May, sixteen hundred & sixty, about nine pounds.

"From William Cleere halfe a yeares rent for the lands of Dennaghmere due at May, sixteen hundred & sixty, thirty five pounds.

"From Nathaniell Williams, Brother in law to the s^d Axtell, for rent re^d in May, sixteen hundred and sixty, from John Todd, one of the s^d Axtells Tennⁿ for the lands of Nicholastowne, twentie pounds.

"From one Mr. Leake, of Barkhamstead, S^t Peter, in the County of Hartford, in England, for five hundred Ash trees sould by him the said Axtell at fiftie eight shift. the peece, one hundred twenty five pounds.

"It appeares likewise by the deposicoñs of wittnesses, that one Nathanell Williams, the s^d Axtells brother in law, hath possesst himselfe (amongst other things) of severall rents due from the said lands at May, sixteen hundred & sixty, in y^e County of Kilkenny, & tooke bonds to his owne use from divers of the s^d Axtells Tennⁿ for their Rents, and gave them Acquittances for the same, Butt being called before us Refuseth to give us any accompt what he hath rec^d or how he hath disposed thereof.

"To THOMAS WOOGAN FOR ARREARS OF RENT DUE IN THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

"From John Johnson of Killurcan, ten pounds.

"From James Howeling of Ballycoñar, for arrears of rent for the s^d lands, twenty seaven pounds.

"From William Walsh, for the arrears of rent of Cappaghenson, about six pounds.

"From Richard Daben, & Mortagh Cashen, or their partners, for Arrears of rent of Cooleroe & Killneog, about foure pounds.

"To Walter Bourke & John Bourk, for the arrears of rent of Killvenoge, foure pounds.

"In the hands of W^m Warden, Esq^r, which he had raised and re^d out of the personall Estates & rents of the s^d Ireton, Woogan, & Axtell, as high Sheriff of the County of Kilkenny, for w^{ch} he hath given bond for the use of his Royal Highness over & above [what] he hath accompted for in the Exchequer, one hundred & twenty pounds.

"In the hands of Jonas Wheeler, for Corne belonging to the s^d Woogan, and sould him by the said Sheriff, sixteen pounds.

"To THOMAS ANDREWS, ALDERMAN OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

"One Bond dated y^e second of August, sixteen hundred fifty & two, of the penalty of one hundred pounds made by Ann Casey, now the wife of Drury Wray, Esq^r, resideing in the County of Lymerick, for payment [of] fifty pounds to the said Andrews, the forth day of August fifty sea-

ven, which bonds was assigned over to the said S^r Hardresse Waller in Aprill sixteen hundred fifty & three, fifty pounds. For Interest since from August sixteen hundred fifty three, being thirty seven pounds Ten shillings, to the second day of September, sixteen hundred sixty & two.

"Payed into Treary of the Dukes¹ rents due from May, sixteen hundred & sixty, as appears by an abstract out of the Audito^r office, three thousand seven hundred seaventy seven pounds ten shillings.

" MAU: BERKELEY. [*loc. sigil.*]
 " THO: WORSOPP. [*loc. sigil.*]
 " J. SHADWELL." [*loc. sigil.*]

The Rev. James Graves called attention to a great number of very interesting rubbings which were displayed in the room. They were, he said, fac-similes of a most important class of monuments,—being the memorials of learned men, ecclesiastics, and kings, who flourished in Ireland from the seventh to the twelfth century. The collection was made last autumn by Mr. Henry O'Neill, in one ancient cemetery, but that was a very remarkable one—Clonmacnoise, on the Shannon, celebrated for its group of ecclesiastical ruins, its Round Towers, and sculptured crosses. Mr. O'Neill had procured forty rubbings; and it is to be regretted that Dr. Petrie has not published the number which he saw and copied on the same spot many years ago, in order that it might be seen how many had been lost, or if any had been discovered since. Mr. Graves was sorry to say that these interesting antiquities were subject to daily depredations: sometimes a tourist carries away some portable example as a souvenir of the place,—more frequently the peasantry remove them to the other cemeteries to serve as grave-stones for some village celebrity, for happy is the wight that rests under one of these "blessed stones." They are also used as stop-gaps in the boundary wall of the cemetery at Clonmacnoise, as sills of doors to the later buildings, and in many other ways are liable to destruction and injury. It was proposed to engrave the most interesting of them, if a special fund can be made up for that object, as the general funds of the Society are not adequate for such a purpose. About £15 would be sufficient for the engravings, and the Secretaries were ready to receive contributions, and see them properly applied. Those who could not attend the Meeting would be amply repaid by a visit to Mr. O'Neill, who was at present residing in Kilkenny, when they could examine, not only the rubbings of these monumental stones, but also Mr. O'Neill's ample collection of drawings and rubbings made to illustrate the great work on which he was, with a noble enthusiasm, employed. Mr. Graves feared that, for want of the patronage of the public, Mr. O'Neill

¹ The estates of the Regicides were granted by King Charles II. to James Duke of York, afterwards James II.:

they were again confiscated, and sold to pay the expenses of the war by which James was deposed.

might not be able to accomplish all that he intended, and much it was to be regretted, should such be the result,—but he would hope better things.¹ At all events, Mr. O'Neill had earned a name for himself by the portion of his work already issued, which would never die so long as genuine antiquarian knowledge existed, or taste for the beautiful in art lived amongst us.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

¹ On reading the report of the Meeting as given in a local paper, Mr. O'Neill addressed a letter to the public, which is here gladly reprinted :—

"To the Editor of the Kilkenny Moderator."

"DEAR SIR,—In your report of the last meeting of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, mention is made of the rubbings I took from the ancient tombstones at Clonmacnoise; and it is stated that about £15 would be sufficient for the purpose of publishing these most interesting remnants, which sum is to be raised by contributions. I wish to say that I have placed the rubbings at the service of the Society for publication, if thought proper; but I am not in anyway to derive a benefit therefrom, nor to be precluded publishing them on my own account; and, in fact, I do intend to publish some of them in my work on the 'Irish Crosses.' From another passage in the same report it may be thought that my work on the 'Irish Crosses' is not a successful speculation, and that its completion is doubtful. The passage I allude to runs thus :—'He (Mr. Graves) feared that, for want of the patronage of the public, Mr. O'Neill might not be able to accomplish all that he intended.'

"I have not to complain of want of patronage. The work has never been advertised; yet I have on my subscription list the names of the leading nobility and gentry of Ireland, from the Duke of Leinster downwards.

"And to show the interest taken in the subject in England, I have had the honour to receive the thanks of the Royal Society of Antiquaries on three several occasions, and to be specially invited to the meetings of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and

Ireland, and also to be mentioned in flattering terms in the Catalogues of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The known difficulty of gaining admission to the Antiquarian Societies of London renders such flattering attentions most encouraging, and they are, I conceive, entirely due to the intrinsic merit of ancient Irish art, and the honest zeal with which I have brought it under public notice.

"So far from my not being likely to accomplish all that I intended, I hope to do much more. My original intention was to issue about three dozen of prints, faithfully and fully illustrating the ancient Irish sculptured crosses. I was advised to add letterpress descriptions, and have done so. As I pursued the theme, I saw how desirable it would be to give an essay on ancient Irish art generally, and to illustrate the essay by coloured specimens taken from MSS., &c. This I intend doing without any increased cost to the subscribers. I have all the materials ready for completing the work, which I purpose going on with as soon as I reach London. In a word, I consider that, for one who is a stranger to the public, my success with this, my first publication, is such as ought to gratify the most sanguine expectations; meantime I know, that my friend, the Rev. J. Graves, only expressed himself as he did through the most kindly feeling, partly induced thereto from his knowledge of the great labour I have been at in order to make myself master of the greatest development of ornamental art the world has ever produced—the Fine Art of ancient Ireland.

"Yours truly,

"HENRY O'NEILL.

*"Kilkenny,
"March 14, 1855."*

A LIST OF THE ANCIENT IRISH MONUMENTAL STONES AT PRESENT EXISTING AT CLONMACNOISE.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

THERE is no want so much felt by Irish archæologists, in common with, it may be added, those of England and Scotland, as lists or catalogues of monumental remains in particular localities, each list exhausting the matter to be found in any one spot, and capable of forming themselves, like the pieces of a dissected map, into one complete monumental description of the entire island. Such an undertaking would be too laborious for any one individual; but if, as opportunity offered, a little was done by one and another, each taking a district, or even a single burial-ground, the work would be *so far* advanced, and each additional contribution would serve to add one stone, at least, to the wished-for structure. The members of a Society like ours, extended widely over the face of Ireland, and possessing a Journal to chronicle their labours, might do much in the direction indicated; and I cannot help pointing out the manner in which Mr. Henry O'Neill, the author of the now well-known work on the "Ancient Crosses of Ireland," has enabled me to submit the following list of ancient Irish grave-stones at present existing at Clonmacnoise, as an example which might be profitably followed by those who are willing to co-operate in the work proposed. Having occasion to visit Clonmacnoise in the autumn of 1854, in order to make drawings and rubbings for his work on the "Ancient Crosses of Ireland," Mr. O'Neill employed an intelligent "native" to make rubbings with grass of the numerous ancient grave-stones for which the place is famed. It was astonishing, he said, how soon the man acquired a skill and proficiency in his task; he hunted out the stones with the greatest assiduity, cleared off all superincumbent rubbish, and produced fac-simile after fac-simile with the greatest accuracy. Subsequently, Mr. O'Neill went over each rubbing, comparing them with the originals, and tracing in, with a soft pencil, any line which the roughness of the material—a fissile sand-stone—rendered indistinct on the rubbing. Perfect accuracy had thus been secured; and when Mr. O'Neill kindly allowed me to make a catalogue of his rubbings, I was enabled to do so with as much confidence as if I had the originals before me.

I am aware of but two writers from whom information may be gleaned respecting the early grave-stones at Clonmacnoise: Dr. Petrie, and an anonymous author in the "University Magazine."

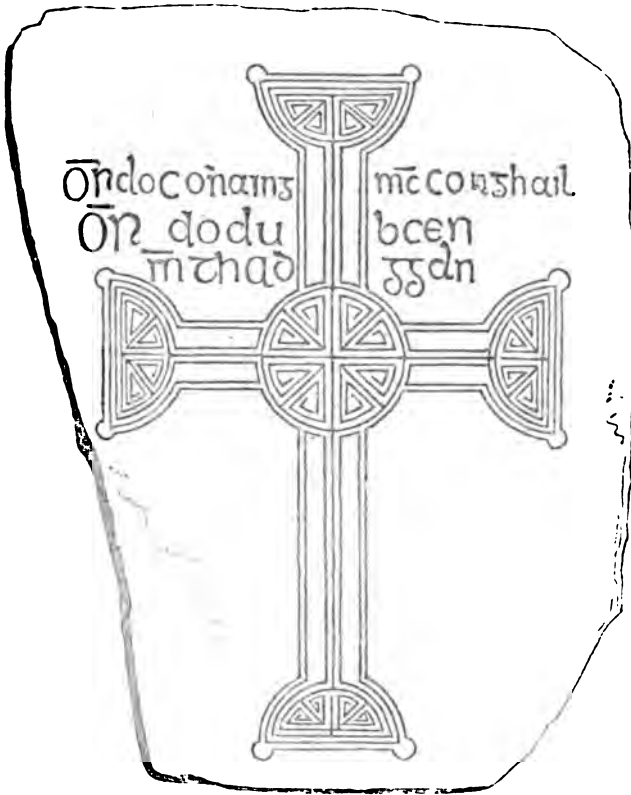
¹ Dr. O'Donovan has also given several of the inscriptions in his "Irish Grammar."

The eminent antiquary and artist first named has, doubtless, made drawings of all the early monuments now existing at Clonmacnoise, as well as of many not, alas! now to be seen there: for this latter supposition we have proof in the pages of his great work on the "Early Architecture of Ireland," in which he gives engravings of three not now in existence, or, at least, not comprised amongst Mr. O'Neill's rubbings. The first of these is the monument of Suibhne Mac Maelhumai, one of the three Irishmen who visited Alfred the Great in the year 891 (Petrie, pp. 324, 325). The engraving here given,



by permission of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, represents this fine slab, and affords a characteristic example of that species of cross described on the next page as of the Latin type, of two incised bands, with the circle at centre and semicircles at extremities all filled in with ornament.

The next of the missing monuments is a very fine cross of the Latin type; it exhibits a peculiarly designed ornament, not often found on other slabs, filling in the centre and semicircles. It commemorates Conaing Mac Conghail and Dubcen Mac Thadggan,



and is here figured.¹ Conaing, son of Conghail, King of Teffia, died A.D. 821. Dubcen has not been satisfactorily identified (Petrie, pp. 326, 327).

The third missing stone was an exceedingly curious one; we cannot, however, count it as entirely lost, as it is preserved in the private collection of Dr. Petrie, and we hope will finally find a resting place in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It affords, as Dr. Petrie observes, "an instance of the simple customs of the times,

¹ Inserted by permission of Messrs. Hodges and Smith.

the stone having been originally a quern, or hand-mill stone," as will be seen from the subjoined cut. The inscription is simply the name



Sechnasach, whose identity has not been clearly ascertained (Petrie, pp. 339–40). Of the three others mentioned by Dr. Petrie, and still at Clonmacnoise, notice will be taken at the proper place in the list of monuments.

In a pleasingly written article on Clonmacnoise, Clare, and Arran ("University Magazine," vol. xli. pp. 79–95), the writer so well describes the peculiarly solemn and yet pleasing situation of the famous ecclesiastical remains under consideration, that I shall refer the reader to it (p. 80) for information, if it has been his ill fortune never to have made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Ciaran the Son of the Carpenter; and merely content myself by giving the inscriptions noticed by the writer, which are as follow :—*Finnachty, Cholumb, Maelfinnia*, Findretich, Ingorm, Brigte, Meloena, Lorcan, Fergal, *Maelphetir, Gilla-giaran, Eochaig, Comascache, Dathal, Ronain, Martain, Dainiel*, and Cellach; of these monuments, observed at Clonmacnoise in 1853, and eighteen in number, but *seven* (those printed in italic) were seen by Mr. O'Neill in 1854!

Having submitted the list made out from the rubbings to Dr. O'Donovan, he has, with his accustomed kindness, favoured me with some valuable information connected with it, for which I here beg to thank him. The Doctor observes :—"I saw many of these inscriptions in the year 1838, but there are some of which I have no recollection whatever. Mr. O'Neill has probably found some which were dug up since I was there."

With these prefatory remarks I shall proceed with the list of Mr. O'Neill's rubbings, which I have arranged alphabetically, and

numbered from 1 to 40, observing that, when I describe the incised cross on any slab as of *one band*, it is formed by *two* lines, when as of *two bands*, *four* lines were employed by the carver of the monument.

1. **blaimac.** A Greek (?) cross of one band within a parallelogram; circle at intersection, enclosing a small Maltese cross.¹ The cross measures 1 foot 8 inches by 1 foot 5 inches across the arms,—slab defective at one side. See Petrie, p. 323, where the accompanying cut, here given by permission of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, will be found. "This," says Dr. O'Donovan, "is probably the monument of



Blathmac, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died A. D. 891; the name signifies Florentius, from *blat*, a flower, and *mac*, a son."

2. **OR AR CHUINDLESS.** A prayer for Chuindless. A Latin cross, nearly a fac-simile of the usual upright stone crosses, of the plainest kind; the arms confined by a circle; the cross measures 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot across the arms. Dr. O'Donovan has given this inscription in his "Irish Grammar," p. 43. Chuindless was Abbot of Clonmacnoise, and died in 724.
3. **OR DO CHOLUMBAN.** A prayer for Cholumban; a portion of a large plain Latin cross of one band, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, all plain; the cross measures 1 foot 11½ inches across the arms; the slab is imperfect, and the lower limb of the cross gone. Dr. O'Donovan has printed this inscription, with a slight variation, in his "Grammar," p. 43.

¹ Or perhaps it may be more correctly described as resembling the usual form of the upright crosses,—a circle

binding together the four members of the emblem of salvation at the intersection.

4. $\overline{\text{OR DO CLONDDEN.}}$ A prayer for Clondden. This inscription is not accompanied by a cross; the slab is imperfect.
5. $[\dots] \text{CONASSAC}[\dots]$. A fragment, with portions of a large plain cross.
6. $[\text{O}] \text{DHCTH.}$ A Greek cross of one band, with circle at centre, all enclosed within a parallelogram; the cross measures 1 foot 4 inches by 1 foot across the arms. Dathi occurs frequently as a name in the Irish annals.
7. $\overline{\text{OR DO DAINEL.}}$ A prayer for Daniel. A small Greek cross of one band, curiously interlaced through a circle at centre, the interlacings at extremities forming semicircles; the cross measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 inches across the arms.
8. $\overline{\text{OR DO DUBLITIR.}}$ A prayer for Dublitr. A very small, plain, Latin cross is inscribed in front of the inscription.
9. $[\overline{\text{OR DJO EUDHAI}} \dots] \text{DCA} \text{PNAC.}$ This slab is but a fragment; between the two lines of the inscription appears the lower limb of a Latin cross of two bands, with a plain semicircle at the lower extremity; the cross was evidently a large one, as this portion of it measures 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. Eudos, Abbot of Kildare, died in 793.
10. $\overline{\text{OR AR FIACHRAICH.}}$ A prayer for Fiachra. On this slab is incised a circle 2 feet 7 inches in diameter, with a rich border of frets 3 inches wide, and a plain band 1 inch wide; within all a cross composed by four hexagons, arranged round a central octagon; the central octagon and spaces between the hexagons being richly ornamented. Altogether, the device presents a remarkable resemblance to a wheel-window, and is very interesting. Fiachra, of Eaglais-beg, or little church, at Clonmacnoise, died in 921.
11. $\overline{\text{OR AR FINDAN.}}$ A prayer for Findan. A Greek cross of one band, the arms combined by a circle near the extremities; cross 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot 4 inches across the arms. The slab, which is defective, was surrounded by a border of plain frets.
12. $\overline{\text{OR DO FINNACHTU.}}$ A prayer for Finnachtu. A simple Latin cross, 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the arms. Dr. O'Donovan suggests that this may be the monument of the monarch of Ireland who reigned from 673 to 693, according to the Four Masters.
13. $\overline{\text{OR DO FLANNCHAD.}}$ A prayer for Flannchad. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at the intersection, and semicircles at the extremities, the former filled in with ornament, the latter plain; the cross measures 2 feet 4 inches by 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the arms. Dr. Petrie (p. 324) gives the accompanying engraving¹ of

¹ This engraving is here given by permission of Messrs. Hodges and Smith.

this monument, and supposes it to have commemorated an Abbot of Clonmacnoise of that name, who died A. D. 1003.



14. [OR] DO FOĠARTACH M̄ ✚ BROENAIN ✚. A prayer for Fogarty Mac Broenain. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at centre, and semicircles at the extremities, all plain; the cross measures 1 foot 11 inches by 1 foot 4½ inches across the arms. One of the small crosses is inscribed over a portion of the large one.
15. OR AR ĠILLA BIARAIN. A prayer for Gilla Biarain. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, all filled in with ornament; the cross measures 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 1 inch across the arms.
16. [O]R DO ĠILL CHRIST. A prayer for Gill Christ. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, filled in with ornament; cross, 2 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 2 inches across the arms; the slab is partially covered by the jamb of a pointed recess or niche in the east wall of the church-yard.
17. OT AR hUELRINE' [...]. A Latin cross of one band, the arms combined by a large circle; the cross measures 1 foot 7 inches by 1 foot across the arms; the slab is imperfect.
18. OROIT AR mael' a[...]. A prayer for Mael A[...]. A Latin cross of one band, the arms confined by a large narrow circle, all enclosed within a narrow border of frets; the cross measures 2 feet by 1 foot 5½ inches across the arms.
19. [OR] DO mael' CHIARAN. A prayer for Mael Chieran. A Latin cross of one band, with large circle at intersection, and smaller

¹ The N in this word is doubtful; it may be h.

² The prefix mael, Dr. O'Donovan informs me, signifies *calvus*, bald; children baptized after the names of saints had

this prefix. Mac Firbis says that the Pagan Irish also made use of the same prefix, but that with them it meant *mal*, a chief or king, as, for instance, Mael-dubh, the Black King.

semicircles at extremities, the centre one filled in with ornament; the cross measures 2 feet 6½ inches by 1 foot 7 across the arms; slab imperfect.

20. $\overline{\text{OR}}$ } DO mael CHIARAN. A prayer for Mael Chiaran. A Latin
 $\overline{\text{OIT}}$ } cross of two bands, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at the extremities, all filled in with ornament; the cross measures 1 foot 7¼ inches by 1 foot 2 inches across the arms; both the forms $\overline{\text{OR}}$ and $\overline{\text{OIT}}$ are cut on the stone.
21. $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DO mael FINNIA. A prayer for Mael Finnia. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at centre, and semicircles at extremities; the former filled in with ornament; the cross measures 2 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 5 inches across the arms.
22. $[\overline{\text{OR}} \text{ O}] \text{O maelFINNIA}$. A prayer for Mael Finnia. A Greek cross of two bands, with circle at centre, and triangles at extremities; all filled in with ornament; the cross measures 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 9½ inches; slab imperfect. Dr. Petrie (p. 322) has engraved¹ this fine monumental slab; when drawn by him it was



more perfect than it is at present. A Mael Finnia was Abbot of Clonmacnoise, and successor to St. Ciaran, the founder.

¹ This engraving is here given by permission of Messrs. Hodges and Smith.

23. *mael iohain ēps̄*. A prayer for Bishop Mael Iohain (now Malone). The slab is plain, except two very small and plain crosses above inscription. Dr. O'Donovan has printed this inscription in his edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1172, p. 4, note *f*.
24. *OR DO mael mhíchil̄*. A prayer for Mael Mhichil̄. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, filled in with ornament; cross measures 2 feet by 1 foot 3 inches across the arms. See O'Donovan's "Irish Grammar," p. 43, for this inscription.
25. *[O]R DO mael patríc*. A prayer for Mael Patric. A Latin cross, the arms combined by a circle at centre, the extremities slightly widened; the cross measures 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 5 inches across the arms; slab slightly imperfect. See O'Donovan's "Irish Grammar," p. 43, for this inscription. Mael Patrick was Abbot of Clonmacnoise, and died in 883.
26. *OR DO mael phetir̄*. A prayer for Mael Phetir. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, all plain; the cross measures 1 foot 2 inches by 10 inches. Mael Peter was Abbot of Cluanfert-Molua, and died in 925.
27. *OR AR mael quiarain̄*. A prayer for Mael Ciaran. A Latin cross, with large circle combining arms; the cross measures 2 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 8½ inches across the arms. Mael Quiarain, or Ciaran, was Abbot of Terryglass, in Ormond, and died in 898.
28. *OR DO MARTANAN̄*. A prayer for Martanan. A Latin cross of one band, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, not ornamented, except by a plain Greek cross in centre one; cross 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot across the arms. Martanan is the diminutive of Martan.
29. *[OR DO] MUIRGUDÉIC*. A prayer for Muirgudeic. The slab is imperfect, showing the lower portion and part of the centre of a richly ornamented cross, altogether covered by interlaced work, deeply cut; the lower limb measures 2 feet, and the circle at intersection 1 foot 1 inch across; slab imperfect. Muiredach, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, died in 1025.
30. *OR DO ODRAN haueolais̄*. A prayer for Odran O'Eolais. A Latin cross of one band; circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, filled in with ornament; cross measures 3 feet 7 inches by 1 foot 7½ inches across the arms; this is a fine specimen both as to the cross and inscription.
31. *OR DO th[adg]AN̄*. A prayer for Thadgan. A Latin cross of two bands, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, filled in with ornament; cross 3 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 1½ inch across the arms. See Petrie, p. 326,—this cross is a remarkably fine example. Dr. O'Donovan thinks this Thadgan was probably ancestor of the Muinter Tadgain, or Foxes, of the barony of Kilcoursey, King's County.

32. [OR] DO THUATHAL. A prayer for Toole. A simple cross, 9 inches by 7 inches across the arms; slab defective; part of cross wanting. Thuathal was Bishop of Clonmacnoise, and died in 969.
33. OROIC AR THURCAIN
LAS AN DE
RNOO IN
[C]hROSSA A prayer for Thurcain, by whom was made this cross. The slab on which this is cut lies at the mound situated between the burying-ground and the Nunery, where tradition says that St. Kieran's maid-servant was buried in punishment, because she fretted after the saint's cow that was lost. The cross alluded to in the inscription is lost, the slab being imperfect.
34. TUCANZAL. A Greek cross of one band, within a parallelogram; the arms combined by a circle at centre, within which they form a Maltese cross; the whole enclosed by a border of frets; slab imperfect.
35. mael micheLL. This inscription is not accompanied by a cross.
36. mael thine. This inscription is not accompanied by a cross.
37. OR D A small Latin cross of one band, with circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities, all filled in with ornament; imperfect; measures $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the arms.
38. Inscription illegible. A Greek cross of one band, within a parallelogram; measures 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 11 inches; slab imperfect.
39. A Greek cross of one band, within a parallelogram. Measures 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the arms; no inscription; slab imperfect.
40. A Latin cross of one band, without inscription at present; large circle at intersection, and semicircles at extremities of arms and upper limb; lower limb terminated by a square; centre circle encloses a plain cross; the cross measures 2 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 2 inches across the arms.

I am informed by Dr. O'Donovan that he saw several other inscriptions at Clonmacnoise, which are not given in this list. They are now probably carried away to some church-yard on the other side of the Shannon,—a favourite practice with the Munster-men across the river; or, perhaps, they enrich the museum of some "land-louping" tourist.

So far as Mr. O'Neill's rubbings have enabled me, I have now laid before the Society a list of the early Irish grave-stones at Clonmacnoise. I wish the catalogue were more perfect, but this could only be effected by the co-operation of Dr. Petrie and Dr. O'Donovan; and great would be the boon to the Irish archæologist if either or both of these eminent men would complete the list. It were also to be desired that illustrations of all the more interesting varieties of cross-slab should be given, but the cost would far exceed the funds at the disposal of the Committee; and it rests with the mem-

bers to say whether this desirable work shall be undertaken or not. In the meantime, the thanks of the Society are due to Messrs. Hodges and Smith for the use of Dr. Petrie's admirably executed illustrations of six of these ancient monumental remains.

ON ACOUSTIC VASES AND OTHER RELICS DISCOVERED IN
RESTORATIONS LATELY MADE IN THE CHURCH OF
ST. MARY, YOUGHAL.

BY E. FITZGERALD, YOUGHAL.

THE history and antiquities of this ecclesiastical foundation have been ably and amply set forth by the Rev. Samuel Hayman, in the "Transactions" for May, 1854. Since the publication of his paper the old church has passed through the wholesome ordeal of a skilful pruning, so that much of the gangrene growth of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been carefully cut away,¹ and a noble effort made towards a complete restoration to its original beauty.

In restoring the ruined choir (see sketches, pp. 99, 117, *ante*), it was necessary to have the old plastering hacked off the walls; whilst engaged at this, the workmen found, at about 25 feet from the ground, five holes, from 3 to 6 inches in diameter, at irregular distances, in the north wall, towards the west end. When viewing this discovery from the ground, the first impression on my mind was, that they were the opes in which originally flag-staffs were placed, and from which probably of old the Geraldine banners floated proudly over their oaken stalls, as this structure (the choir) was the work of one of that race, Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, in 1464. However, on closer examination, I found in the front of each ope a perforated piece of free-stone, of about 4 inches in thickness, inside of which the lips or mouths of earthenware vessels made their appearance. On introducing the hand and arm, I found they were complete vases of burnt clay, lying on their sides, perfectly empty; some were nicely glazed, and others without any sign of ever having been so. I was most anxious to have a few of them taken out for further examination, thinking that their exterior sides might have been ornamental, and had the stone-work from two cut away to about half their depth, but found they were so firmly built on and

¹ This, indeed, seems to have been the era of spoliation, and when the building style yclept "church-warden's" evidently reached its climax.

embedded in the mortar, that to remove them would have been their certain destruction. Yet, sufficient had been cleared to show that they were perfectly plain, and that some had ears, bearing strong resemblance to Roman amphoræ. By introducing a light I was enabled to measure and make the accompanying sketches of four of them.

Naturally, the first inquiry was, what were they intended for, and why placed in these positions? This seemed a regular puzzler, some suggesting that they were for hoarding, and must have been the ecclesiastical coffers in disturbed times; others said they were cinerary urns, and placed up safely out of the way: that they were intended for acoustic purposes at once struck my mind,—but then, had we a precedent for such a conclusion?

In a communication to the Rev. James Graves I mentioned the matter to him, and without knowing mine, he at once coincided in the same opinion, and suggested the possibility of those numerous small opes (now empty) in the belfry tower of Dunbrody Abbey being for the same purpose. Subsequently, the workmen were changed round to the south side of the building, and at about the same height, and nearly opposite the former, five other vases were discovered, but of somewhat a smaller size. This discovery at once decided the question in my mind,—that they were all placed there for acoustic purposes, and, no doubt, intended to give effect to the choir, in chanting forth the pealing anthems through “the long-drawn aisles” and echoing arches of the venerable St. Mary’s. This conclusion I found also was fully borne out by ancient usage, as the early Greeks and Italians used bronze and earthenware vases for this purpose in their theatres, as will be found by referring to “*Pompeii*,” vol. i. p. 233 (“*Library of Entertaining Knowledge*”), where, speaking of the Greek theatres, the author says:—

“Still further to increase the resonance of the voice, brazen vases, resembling bells, were placed in different parts of the theatre. It is well known that when two instruments in harmony are placed within the sphere of each other’s influence, if one be struck the other will vibrate the corresponding chord, and the vibration of the second will of course increase and strengthen the sound of the first.”

In Stuart’s “*Athens*,” vol. iv. p. 39, on the Greek Theatre, we also read:—

“Acting on this principle, which particularly suited the recitative in which dramatic compositions were delivered, the ancients had *echeia* of earth and metal, modulated to the intervals of the different notes of the voice, placed in small cells under the seats, in one, two, or three rows, according to the extent of the theatre. Hence it resulted that the voice, passing from the scene as the centre, expanded itself all round, and striking the cavity of those vases, produced a clearer and more distinct sound by



ACOUSTIC VASES.

Discovered imbedded in the walls of the Choir of ST. MARY'S CHURCH, Youghal.



OLD IRISH DUDEENS (Full Size.)

Found in a Cutting made round the Choir of St. Mary's Church, Youghal.

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means of the consonance of these different modulated tones, and extended the powers of the speaker to the utmost limits of the cavea. The vases were in the shape of a bell, placed in an inverted position, the side towards the audience resting on a pedestal not less than half a foot high, in all other respects quite free from contact; and in order to allow the vibration of the sound, a small aperture was left in the front of the seat, about two feet long and half a foot high. It is remarkable that no writer has been able to adduce an existing example in confirmation of the principles, for the *echeia* and their cells, laid down by Vitruvius."

This wonder is explained by Vitruvius himself, from whom (book v. chap. 5), treating of the vases of the theatre, we learn:—

"It may be said that many theatres are built yearly at Rome, in none of which are these contrivances used. But all public theatres have many boarded surfaces, which resound by nature. We may observe this from singers, who, when they wish to raise a loud note, turn to the doors of the scene, and thus receive a help to their voice. But when the theatres are built of solid materials, as stone or marble, which are not sonorous, then these methods are to be employed. If it is asked in what theatre they are made use of, we have none at Rome; but in different parts of Italy, and in the Greek provinces, there are several. We have also the authority of L. Mummius, who destroyed the theatre of Corinth, and brought the brazen vases to Rome, and dedicated them in the temple of Luna. And many skilful architects, who build theatres in small towns, use *earthenware* vases, to save expense, which, when properly arranged, have an excellent effect."

Sir Christopher Wren fully agrees with Vitruvius on this subject, which may be seen by an extract from his Life, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, pp. 29, 30:—

"In the construction of theatres and of churches, the propagation of sound is one of the most important points to be attended to. The doctrine of *acoustics* is little understood by builders in this country, and yet, however hidden to us the subject may be, it is certain the ancients understood its principles with great accuracy; whilst in modern times this important object of architecture has been almost wholly neglected. Vitruvius describes the effects of the science as well understood by the Greeks," &c.

A curious fact connected with the vases in St. Mary's, Youghal, is that no two are alike, or of one size.

Several instances have come under the writer's notice, presenting examples of rather a rustic manner of carrying out effects of this kind, as it is no uncommon occurrence in this part of the country in taking up old floors, to disentomb a horse's skull, or two, placed there, no doubt, for acoustic purposes, and it is a well-known fact that a gentleman in Cork built the walls of his music-room with horse's heads, having the same object in view.

In "Notes and Queries" for November 11, 1854, an account of jugs or jars being found embedded in the base of the ancient choir-

screen of Fountains Abbey is given, and also a quotation from the "Illustrated London News" for June 17, on the same subject, which says:—

"At a recent meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects—the Earl de Grey, President, in the chair—his Lordship exhibited several casts and original objects brought from Fountains Abbey. There was also an interesting discussion on the probable use of some curious earthenware jars, imbedded in the base wall of a screen in the nave. These jars were laid in mortar, on their sides, and then surrounded with the solid stonework; the necks protruding from the wall like cannons from the sides of a ship. Their probable use has been the subject of much conjecture."

The first writer says that the neck of the one he saw was crushed by the wheel of a cart which was removing soil and rubbish from the floor, and that "it contained a considerable quantity of a dark substance like burned wood." In "Notes and Queries" for November 25, another writer says that "vessels of a similar character were discovered underneath the choir at St. Peter's Mancroft Church, in Norwich;" and one in his possession—

"Is a jar of common reddish earthenware, glazed in the inside, nine inches deep, and six across the mouth. A dozen or more of these jars were found at intervals, in a line, in the masonry under the stalls of the choir, exactly in the position in which those were at Fountains Abbey, though it did not appear that the mouths of these jars ever protruded from the wall. There was no appearance that they had ever contained anything. I could not learn any conjectures of others as to their use or intention, but from having read of similar vessels being found in other churches, I think in France, with evident remains in them of *human bones or ashes*, I am of opinion that these urns were intended to receive the ashes of the heart, or some other portion of the body, in case any of the canons attached to the church should will that any part of his remains should be so deposited."

In both the cases here mentioned, ashes being discovered in the vases or jars, to my mind must be considered accidental, from the low position in which they were found, and being on their sides; for it cannot be admitted that cremation was used by *Christians* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and especially among ecclesiastics; furthermore, if they were intended for such use, we should now find them carefully standing on their ends. The last writer on the subject in "Notes and Queries," February 24, signed "Norris Deck, Cambridge," at once settles the question in a way of his own, as he says:—

"It seems to me improbable that *jugs* would be employed either as acoustic instruments, or to hold the ashes of the dead, or for the purpose of strengthening foundations. In Cambridge they are very frequently found in digging up the foundations of old houses, not imbedded in the masonry, but lying in the soil below the basement floor; they are generally of the type known as *Bellarmines*, or *Grey-beards*. . . . Now I cannot

help thinking that these *jugs* were used for the obvious purpose of *jugs*, and that they were filled with some generous beverage, with which success or prosperity was drunk to the commencing edifice, and that then these vessels were either thrown promiscuously into the open foundations, or built up in the masonry. This proceeding would be somewhat analogous to our present custom of depositing coins, &c. in such positions; and also to another custom, now dying out, of throwing out of the window, or against the wall, the wine-glass or other vessel out of which some peculiarly cherished toast has been drunk."

This gentleman seems to have come to quick conclusions without much consideration, as none of the writers on the subject make the slightest allusion whatever to any of the jugs or vases discovered having the least resemblance to Bellarmine's or Grey-beards; and if they were "thrown promiscuously into the open foundations," it is most wonderful that all those found in these countries should be in choirs of churches, and all so nicely arranged with their openings to the interior. In the case of those at Youghal we have a high step of some thirty feet (to stumble over) from the "foundations"! and a perforated piece of free-stone pitched "promiscuously"! into the mouths of every one of them, which appears rather miraculous for *our times*. From the fact of most of the vases under consideration being found empty, and on their sides, and all in connexion with the interior of choirs, it seems quite evident, with our ancient precedents before us, that they were *all* intended for acoustic purposes.

The outlines of some of the vases in our illustration are undoubtedly of classic origin. Connecting this with the purpose for which they were intended, we have good reason to conclude that the Irish of that day were not the uncultivated boors we are generally led to imagine, but, on the contrary, were well acquainted with science, eurythmy, and classic beauty.

Several other relics were also got in the course of the restorations at St. Mary's. In clearing the sloped seat of the great east window, a piece of stained glass was found, with a flower on it of the foiled class, in dark purple; little doubt but it was part of the original window; other pieces of stained glass were also picked up from excavations in the south transept, showing that it must have been extensively used in the more palmy days of this venerable foundation. I cannot omit mentioning here that the Rev. P. W. Drew (the rector), in the true spirit of an archæologist, has restored at his own expense several stone-jamb doors, mutilated monuments, and the elegant sedilia, which were brutally broken, and all but destroyed, and he is now filling the noble east window with stained glass. He also raised a considerable portion of the funds towards the general restoration by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The old clay pipes represented in our illustration were dug up in a cutting which was made round the walls of the choir and north

In the "Dublin Penny Journal" (vol. iv. p. 29) he has given some good specimens of the "dudeen," from his own cabinet, and tells us in page 28: "I feel satisfied that the ancient tobacco pipes hitherto discovered in England and Ireland, belong not to the tenth, but to the seventeenth century, and that they were used by Englishmen, not by Danes;" and in page 30 he says that "the smaller the pipe, the more ancient the pipe, and for this there is a reason in the rarity and value of tobacco on its first introduction. I therefore venture to assign No. 3 to the reign of Elizabeth; No. 2, which is somewhat larger, to that of James I. or Charles I.," &c. Now, how he reconciled "the seventeenth century" and "the reign of Elizabeth" is rather a puzzler,—probably a misprint. But, with all due respect for our lamented townsman's opinions, smoking the old Irish "dudeen" seems of far greater antiquity than he seemed inclined to give it, unless we are fairly prepared for pruning down the antiquated legends of our Irish *churicaune* to this recent date, as we invariably find those olden "gentlemen" represented with a "wee dudeen in their *ould* wrinkled jaws."¹

¹ Legendary lore can scarcely be taken as affording sufficient data whereon to base any speculation of this kind, as it has been modified throughout every age, adapting itself to the circumstances and prejudices of the times. If any testimony is extant that before the sixteenth century the sprite termed a *churicaune* was represented as indulging in the use of tobacco, then proof sufficient will be supplied as to the fact of a knowledge of tobacco having existed in Ireland previous to the time of Sir Walter Raleigh; otherwise our popular traditions cannot be taken into account in weighing the evidence at either side of the question. Mr. Crofton Croker himself, in the communication to the "Dublin Penny Journal" referred to above by Mr. Fitzgerald, noticed some facts, or supposed facts, calculated to afford much stronger evidence of the antiquity of the use of tobacco. He mentions, on the authority of a German periodical of December, 1813, that "in digging a new sluiceway at the upper end of the Fairwater at Dantzic, an ancient ship was discovered nearly twenty feet under the surface of the ground, laden with blocks of stone prepared for building, some of which were highly polished. Many human bones were found in the hold of this vessel, both fore and aft, and

a box of tobacco pipes, all whole, with the heads about the size of a thimble and stalks from four to six inches in length." He also states that he remembers to have seen, "I think in the 'Northern Antiquities' of Bartholinus, a representation of an old carved stone, whereon appears, from the mouth of Odin, a pipe precisely similar in shape to that found at Brannockstown sticking between the teeth of a human skull." We, too, have read in some periodical publication—but we certainly did not altogether credit the allegation—of the existing effigy of one of the old Irish kings, in a graveyard somewhere in the west, being represented "with the short pipe or *dudeen* of the Irish in the mouth." Notwithstanding all this, we are inclined fully to agree with Mr. Croker in his opinion that most of the old clay tobacco pipes turned up in this country, and popularly ascribed to the Danes, really belong to the seventeenth century, and that all the others are scarcely much older. There are in the Museum of the Society numerous specimens, amongst which are examples of all the shapes and sizes, drawn by Mr. Croker, and engraved for the "Penny Journal," and many of the most ancient looking of them are actually inscribed on the shank with characters which cannot be

But whether it was *tobacco*, or some other equally soporiferous narcotic, our national sprite enjoyed, deponent sayeth not, and (unfortunately) being no adept in the mystic use of the landed "leaf," which—

"On the Moslem's throne divides
His hours, and rivals opium and his brides,"

he must, therefore, beg to submit so grave and important a *question* to the profound notice of more antiquated grey-beard archæologists, who, no doubt, will feel it an imperative duty to give it their serious attention, and not, like many others of *equal importance*, allow it to evaporate in smoke.

assigned to an earlier date than the seventeenth century. One bears the name "Flower Hunt;" others exhibit various initial letters, evidently standing for the names of the manufacturers. In digging for the foundation of the new wing of the Dublin University, about the year 1836, a great number of old clay tobacco pipes were found at some distance beneath the surface, and were cast aside

with the rubbish by the labourers. The Rev. James Graves picked up several of them, which are now amongst those in the Society's Museum. Perhaps this may be deemed a fact calculated to supply evidence that the alumni of old Trinity in times past were inveterate smokers. For our part, we merely wish to put the circumstance thus on record, and leave speculation to others.—Eds.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Tholsel Rooms, K
Wednesday, May 2nd, 1855,

JAMES M. TIDMARSH, Esq., Mayor of Kilken
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

Rev. John Browne, LL.D.	C. Humphrey Prim
Robert Cane, Esq., M. D.	John G. A. Prim, I
John James, Esq., L.R.C.S.I.	James G. Robertson

The following new members were elected :—

The Right Hon. Viscount Mountgarrett: proposed
Cahill, Esq., J. P.

The Rev. A. Major, Ardpatrik, Louth; and the J
Loftus Tottenham, Donaghmoyne Glebe, Carrickmacros
by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Frederick Lincoln, Esq., 128, Blackfriars-road, Lc
posed by William Barton, Esq.

Mrs. Russell, Bank Buildings, Youghal; the Ver
Dean of Cloyne; the Rev. William E. Shaw, Kinsale-be
the Rev. Henry Swanzy, Newberry, Mallow; Jeremis
Esq., Town Clerk, Youghal; Henry Parker, Esq., B
Youghal; and Robert Baldwin, Esq., The College, Yo
posed by Edward Fitzgerald, Architect.

John O'Duffy, Esq., Dublin: proposed by Mr. Jol
Captain Stephen Sayer Mowle, Waterloo-terrace, Co
K. Exham, Esq., 7, South Mall, Cork; James Carr
Northesk, Cork; and John Shee, Esq., Northesk, Cor
by Nicholas Peterson, Esq.

Francis E. Currey, Esq., Lismore Castle, Lismore
Thomas P. Thirkill, M.A., Ardmore; the Rev. John J
B.A., Ballyquin House, Ardmore; and the Rev. Artl
Burroughs, A.B., Ardmore: proposed by the Rev. S
man, A.M.

Daniel Humphries, Esq., Broomfield, Midleton: pro
C. Kenny, Esq.

Benjamin Grubb, Esq., Gordon-street, Clonmel: proposed by Z. Johnson, Esq., M.D.

The Rev. John Frazer, A.B., Sraduffe, Parsonstown; and William James Sidney, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Hardwicke-place, Dublin: proposed by T. L. Cooke, Esq.

The Rev. John T. Kyle, Rector of Clondrohid, Macroom: proposed by the Rev. John Browne, LL.D.

The following donations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," Vol. I. and part 5, 1855.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. VI. part 2.

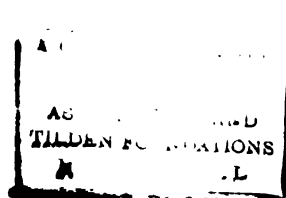
By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 631 to 637, inclusive.

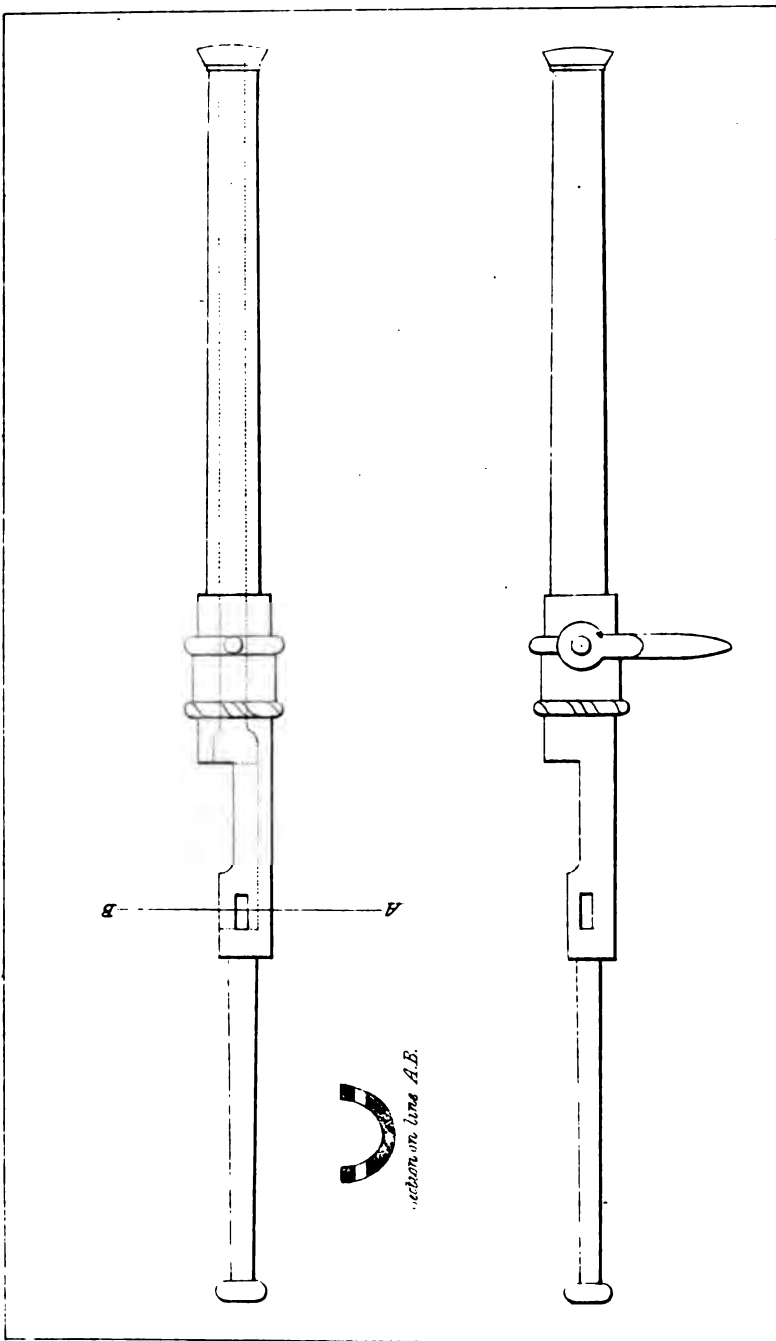
By the Author: "A Descriptive Catalogue of Illustrations of the Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland, collected by Mr. Henry O'Neill, Author of the Work on the Ancient Crosses of Ireland, and serving to show, that a truly national and beautiful Style of Art existed in Ireland from a remote period till some time after the Anglo-Norman Invasion."

By H. Wright, Esq., Cliff Cottage, Tramore: an etching of the crypt discovered under the Deanery House, Waterford.

By Mr. John G. A. Prim: a number of ancient coins, comprising specimens of the reigns of the Edwards, Henry VIII., Mary, Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., James II., William and Mary, and the Georges; also local tradesmens' tokens, jettons, &c.

By Henry P. Clarke, Esq.: a piece of ancient ordnance, which had been recently discovered in removing a portion of the banquette or earthen rampart of the ancient town wall of Kilkenny, immediately under the tower known as Talbot's Castle, and within the grounds of the National Model School. This specimen of the wall-pieces of the times of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth seemed to be of the kind known to the old gunners as "a falcon," which, according to Bailey's English Dictionary, was a small piece of cannon, whose diameter at the bore was $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, its length 6 feet, and weight 400 pounds; its charge of powder was a pound and a quarter, the ball $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches diameter, and in weight 1 pound 5 ounces, and its point-blank shot 90 paces. The Kilkenny example was 5 feet 8 inches in length from breech to muzzle, with a handle of the length of 2 feet 1 inch projecting from the breech; its bore was 2 inches, and it was loaded by means of a moveable chamber, which was now wanting. The gun was mounted swivel-wise, and bore a remarkable likeness to the wall-pieces still used by the native tribes of India to defend their forts. The present weight of the gun was 1 cwt. 5 stone; it was of cast iron, and well executed. The peculiar construction and





Original 1st. Edition of 1841.

2. 1/2 inch.



1. 1/2 inch.

ELEVATION AND SECTION OF A PIECE OF ANCIENT ORDNANCE.

FOUND AT KILKENNY.

appearance of this curious remain will be best understood from the accompanying plate. From the depth (four feet) at which it was discovered, this portion of the ancient armament of the walls of Kilkenny had evidently been designedly buried in the earth, probably on the surrender of the city to Cromwell in 1650. It seems likely that other similar remains might be discovered if a more extended search were practicable.

Mr. Clarke also presented three ancient tobacco pipes, of the class engraved by Mr. Fitzgerald (p. 304, *ante*).

The Rev. R. Hewson forwarded drawings of a sepulchral effigy carved in high relief, and existing in the old church of Dunferth, near Enfield, county of Kildare, traditionally said to represent one of the Bermingham family. It represented a knight in complete plate armour; round the neck was suspended, by a chain, a large crucifix. At the south side of the altar-place of the same church Mr. Hewson found the following curious alliterative inscription:—

TERRAM TERRA TEGIT TERRAS ELIZA RELIQUIT
PILSWORTH CONJUX CHARA PUDICA PIA
QUANDO QUATER DENOS BIS BINOS VIXERAT ANNOS
CONCESSIT FATIS CÆLICA REGNA PETENS
OBIIT 31 DECEMBRIS 1613
ÆTATIS SUE 44.

The following communication, forwarded by Mr. Hitchcock, was then read:—

“There are in the remote and uncultivated parts of Ireland numerous ancient circles, each consisting of a ring of standing blocks of stone, and averaging in diameter from fifteen to thirty feet. Antiquaries, I believe, are generally of opinion that these circles, commonly known as Druidic temples, and found in almost every Celtic country, were used for worship only, or perhaps occasionally as places of assembly. The following cutting, from the ‘Perthshire Advertiser’ of April 12, 1855, the account given in which I look upon as very curious, would seem to show that such circles were also used for sepulchral purposes, and may be worth preserving in the pages of the ‘Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society.’

‘REMARKABLE DISCOVERY.—About a fortnight ago, as some individuals were clearing and trenching a piece of waste ground for a garden at Tynrich, a small Druidical circle, close upon the highway, was disclosed to the gaze of the stranger by the removal of masses of broom and bramble that had hitherto concealed it. This olden temple—if temple it were—is about 18 feet in diameter, and quite entire, each of its huge stones standing erect and in its proper place; but there is an additional interest attached to it from the fact, that, while digging and levelling the interior, four huge urns, about two feet in height and a foot in diameter at the mouth, were exhumed, quite full of calcined bones, besides three or four stone coffins, formed of thin, unshapen slabs, evidently from the adjacent ground, and likewise containing the mortal remains of the ancient Caledonians of a pre-

historic period. Unfortunately, either from the extreme brittleness of the urns, or a want of care on the part of the labourers, the whole were broken to pieces; but at the time we visited the place, enough still remained to show that they were of the very coarsest manufacture, in shape remote from classical, and with no pretension to decoration but a profusion of scratchings, without method, on the outside of the upper portion of each. The coffins were equally unceremoniously dealt with; but it is worthy of remark, that they lay in no particular order in reference to the compass, but, if anything, rather inclined to south and north—indeed, one of them lay exactly in that direction. The general notion is, that Druidical circles were temples, and nothing else; but the trenching of this one shows that they were also used as burying-places, like churches in present times, for great men—probably the higher orders of the priesthood.¹ I may remark, that the diameter of the Scotch circle, above given, is nearly that of most of those primitive structures which I have seen in our own country, in many of which, on the brown moor, and in the remote green valley, I have frequently, when on my antiquarian journeyings, sat to rest myself, and to indulge in a thought on their probable uses.

"It may be necessary to distinguish the circles of which I write from those which Worsaae ('Primeval Antiquities,' p. 82) calls 'small circular cromlechs' (*Runddysser*), and from those noticed by our own eminent antiquary, Dr. Petrie, in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,' vol. i. pp. 140–2, each consisting of a range of stones, sometimes of two concentric ranges, surrounding a chamber formed of larger stones placed one upon the other, in which have been found the usual sepulchral remains—urns, bones, implements, &c., which, of course, at once settles their use. The circles to which I wish to point attention, and of which that at Tynrich, above described, seems to be a good specimen, the sepulchral remains excepted, are merely circles, and nothing more, the interior being always level and empty. I may observe, that the Irish word for such a circle is *cúirt*, and the meaning of this, as given by O'Brien and O'Reilly, is, *a court or palace*.¹ Several very fine examples of this circle occur in the neighbourhood of Kenmare and Killarney, and in other parts of the south of Ireland, where the blocks of stone composing the circles, supposing them to have been used as places of judgment or assembly, must have been well enough adapted for seats in the rude ages to which they belong. Mr. Worsaae inclines to a different

¹ In the neighbourhood of Minard, in the county of Kerry, there are, or were a few years ago, two or three perfect stone circles; and in the same locality there is a remarkable mass of natural rock, well known there by the name of *Carrig-na-coortha* (the rock of the court), and from which, it is said, the adjoining parish of Ballynacourty derives its name. I merely mention this as a curious circumstance in connexion with the circles. Whether ancient Irish Brehons ever held their courts of justice on this rock, or in the neighbouring stone circles, are questions on which I shall

not attempt to enter. Between the villages of Ballyferriter and Teeravane, to the west of Dingle, in the same county, I have also seen, in August, 1848, two small stone circles, the one measuring 9½ feet, and the other only 5 feet in diameter, and in their immediate vicinity a beautiful spring well. Now we well know in what veneration springs were held by the old Pagan priesthood, and the occurrence of one here, in company with two stone circles, together with their very small size, are facts which, viewing the circles as burying-places, appear somewhat remarkable.

opinion, and says that the stones forming the circles 'could never have afforded suitable seats;' but he is writing of his 'circular cromlechs,' the only apparent use of the surrounding stones of which being to enclose the sacred spot from profanation. I do not, of course, presume to say for what uses the Irish stone circles—simple stone circles—first described, may have been formed; but I am convinced, from the number of them I have seen and examined, in none of which have I ever found a cromlech, that they were not intended for sepulchral purposes. I hope that some of our members, better qualified than myself, may, ere long, be induced to turn their attention to the subject, and enlighten us with their opinions on it.

"I have been favoured by the Rev. Dr. Hannah, Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, with the following interesting correspondence, relative to the Tynrich circle:—

" 'Dunkeld, May 14, 1855.

" 'DEAR SIR,—In answer to Mr. Hitchcock's letter, I send to you the enclosed sketch and description of the Druidic circle at Tynrich. The writer describes the present appearance exactly; and as he was present at the digging up, I have thought it best to get him to describe the whole thing from the first. I hope it may be satisfactory to Mr. Hitchcock. I enclose all to you to forward to him.

" 'Believe me,

" 'Yours very faithfully,

" 'J. MACMILLAN.

" 'Rev. Dr. Hannah.'

" 'Tynrich,¹ 12th May, 1855.

" 'REV. SIR,—In reply to your inquiries regarding the Druidical circle at this place, noticed in the "Perthshire Advertiser" recently, I have now to inform you that the stones are quite close to the turnpike road; they are six in number, and quite regularly placed; the figure they form is elliptical, its greatest diameter, due north and south, being about 27 feet, and the lesser diameter 22 feet; the height of the large stone in the south of the figure is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the surface, that of the others varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet. The stones are the common hill flags peculiar to the district, and they appear to have been placed with the narrowest or most pointed end downwards. Until recently the stones were not so conspicuous as they now are, the ground surrounding them having this spring been levelled, and otherwise made suitable for a garden or nursery. In the process of levelling the workmen had occasion to dig or trench the earth in the inside of the circle, in doing which they occasionally turned up wood charcoal, or cinders, generally mixed with the remains of burnt bones; in some instances the bones appeared to have been placed in the ground enclosed in rude clay urns, fragments of which were found along with the bones. In one instance an urn was found whole, with the exception of a small hole made with the spade in the top of it when first touched; the sand was carefully removed from about it to the bottom, but when attempted to be raised

¹ North of Perth twenty-four miles, and of Dunkeld nine miles, at the junction of the rivers Tay and Tummel, on

the great Highland road from Perth to Inverness, &c.—J. M'M. See Black's County Atlas of Scotland.

the material of which it was formed crumbled down to pieces. The outside of the vessels was of a clay colour, and appeared to be only sun-dried, while the inside was black, and as if exposed to the action of fire. The bones were almost of the whiteness of chalk. The soil in the place is a light sand, but inside the circle the sand was of a dark brown colour, such as it would assume if saturated with blood. There were no stone coffins found, as represented in the "Advertiser;" there were one or two pieces of flat stones found in the circle, but from the positions occupied by them it did not seem as if they had been intended to enclose or preserve the bones. The rude sketch on the other side exhibits the position occupied by the stones [forming the circle]; it is drawn to a scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to a foot.

"I am, Rev. Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN M^CGREGOR.

"Rev. J. MacMillan, Dunkeld."

"I have only to add, that the sketch alluded to, which Mr. M^CGregor has very neatly executed, represents the six stones forming the ring (a small number for the size) as placed at nearly equal distances from each other, with no trace of anything in the centre; and that the account given seems further to show that such stone circles were not constructed solely for sepulchral purposes."

The Secretary, by permission of Captain George P. Helsham, Kilkenny Fusiliers, to whom it had descended through his maternal ancestors, the Blunt family, exhibited a document of much interest, as connected with a well-known event in the career of one of Ireland's most famous orators and patriots, Harry Flood. It was a bail-bond taken for his appearance to stand his trial for shooting James Agar, one of the Clifden family, in a duel at the Triangle field of Dunmore, near the city of Kilkenny, in the year 1769; and it was also curious as exhibiting the manner in which in those days the law was wrested by its officers to screen the duellist, the successful belligerent being only accused of manslaughter in his own defence, whilst the testimony of the seconds was taken as if they had been but casual observers of an attack made on the life of one of the principals. The following is a copy of the document:—

"County of the City of } Before two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace
Kilkenny to wit. } of said City.

"Henry Flood of Farmlay, in the County of Kilkenny, Esq^r, acknowledgeth himself to be indebted to our Sovereign Lord the KING in the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds Ster^s. } £10,000

"John Flood of Flood Hall, and Charles Flood of Ballymack, both in the s^d County of Kilkenny, Esq^r, severally acknowledge themselves to be indebted to our said Lord the KING in the Sum of Five Thousand Pounds Ster^s each. } 5,000
&
5,000

"WHEREAS, it appears by an Inquisition taken before William Harty and Parr Kingsmill, Esq^r, Coroners of the s^d City, that on Fryday, the twenty-fifth day of August instant, James Agar, of Ringwood, in the County of Kilkenny, Esq^r, received his Death by a wound over his left Breast, which went quite thro' his Body, and which wound was given by Pistol Ball, as the Jurors on s^d Inquest believe, and as appears by the Examinations of Richard Rothe & Gervaise Parker Bushe, Esq^r, in the s^d Coroners Hands. AND WHEREAS, by the s^d Examinations of the s^d Richard Rothe and Gervaise Parker Bushe, Esq^r, referred to by the s^d Inquest, it appears that the said James Agar, deceased, & the above bound Henry Flood, were on s^d Fryday, the twenty-fifth day of August instant, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, seen by them the s^d Rich^d Rothe & Gervaise Parker Bushe in a Park or Field of Dunmore, in the Liberties of said City, standing about twelve yards or upwards from each other, each with a Pistol in his hand, & that s^d James Agar fired at s^d Henry Flood, and took up a second Pistol with Intent as s^d Exam^s believe, to fire at s^d Henry Flood, & said to s^d Henry Flood, 'fire you Scoundrel,' and that s^d Henry Flood did accordingly fire and wounded the said James Agar over the left Breast, of which wound he fell to the ground, and in the space of five minutes, or thereabouts, expired. By which said recited Inquest and Examinations the s^d Henry Flood stands charged with the Killing of the said James Agar, on the Day and at the Place aforesaid, in Defence of the Life of him the said Henry Flood, which the s^d James Agar had attempted, and was again prepared and about to attempt in manner as in s^d recited Examinations, & herein before is set forth.

"Now the Condition of the forgoing several Obligations is such, that if he, the said Henry Flood, shall and will personally be and appear at the next General Assizes or Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to be held in & for the County of the said City, and then and there take and abide his Tryal according to Law for the charge aforesaid, and for all and every such other Charges, matters, & Things, as shall or may be made, or objected against him on his Ma'tys Behalf, respecting the Premises, then the s^d several Obligations to be void & of no Effect, otherwise the same to stand and remain in full force & virtue in Law.

<p>"Taken and acknowledged before us at the City of Kilkenny, the First Day of September, 1769. ANTHO: BLUNT. ANTHO: BLUNT.</p>	}	<p>"HENRY FLOOD. [seal.] "JOHN FLOOD. [seal.] "CH. FLOOD." [seal.]</p>
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Mr. Fitzgerald, Local Secretary for Youghal, sent the following communication:—

"In the 'Transactions' of the Society for November, 1854, the old Irish inscriptions at Lismore were illustrated, and translations and notes of them by Dr. O'Donovan given. In the absence of sufficient data, the Doctor said, 'I have not been able fully to fix the periods of these persons, but take them to date from about 900 to 985.' A few records raked up since then from our old Irish annalists may be interesting, as affording good reason to place three of their dates about a hundred years earlier than was

supposed. We have in the *Annals of Ulster* ('*Berum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*'), pp. 222-3:—'*An. dccc. lv. Suibne nepos Roichlich¹ Scriba, et Ancorita, Abbas Lismoer, Cormac Lathraigh Briuin [Cormac rex dimidii Briuniorum] Scriba, et Episcopus, in pace dormierunt;*' i. e. Anno 855, Suibne, the grandson of Roichlich, scribe and anchorite, Abbot of Lismore, [and] Cormac, King of half the Briunii,² died. Now we have still at Lismore an old Irish inscription, as shown at p. 200, *ante*, of Suibne m Conhuidir, i. e. Suibne, son of Cu-odhir; and we have also at Lismore an inscription, as given by Dean Cotton at p. 223, of OR. DO. COR. MAC; i. e. a prayer for Cormac. I can see no reasonable objection why we should not identify these records with the inscriptions. Another Cormac is mentioned in the *Annals of Innisfallen*, p. 36:—'*An. dccc. xvi. Kl. Martena Cormac meic Cuilennain Epp. ⁊ Secnap Uirrmoir, ⁊ Abb. Cille Molaisse, ⁊ nī na n Deirre, ⁊ cenb ath chomairc Mumham olchena, la hu Fothaid paicheb.*'—*Martirium Cormaci filii Culenani Episcopi et Aeditui Lissimorensis, et Abbatis Ecclesiæ Molassii, et Regis Desiorum, et supremi Præpositi operum misericordiæ Momoniæ similiter, per Fothadios occisi;*' i. e. Anno 906, the martyrdom of Cormac, son of Culenani, Bishop and high priest of Lismore, and Abbot of the church of Molaisse, and King of the Deisi, and likewise chief head of the works of mercy in Munster, slain by the Fothads. But the former seems to be the more likely person. A foot note at p. 36, *Annals of Innisfallen*, says:—'*Non est confundendus cum alio Cormaco filio Culenani, Rege Momoniæ, occiso anno 908, ut supra, p. 35, not. 1.—De hoc Cormaco agunt Annales Ulton. ad ann. 919, æræ com. 920;*' i. e. he is not to be confounded with another Cormac, son of Culenani, King of Munster, slain in the year 908, as before, in p. 35, note 1; of this Cormac the *Annals of Ulster* tell, at the year 919, common era 920. Then we have, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, pp. 384-5 (O'Connor, vol. iii.):—'*878. Martan ua Roichlugh Abb. Uirrmoir . . . becc;*' i. e. 878, Martan O'Roichlugh, Abbot of Lismore, died. And we have a stone still at Lismore, as at p. 200, *ante*, with *benbacht pop aī maptan*; i. e. a blessing on the soul of Martin.

"That Conhuidir was a name of long standing at Lismore, we have a proof from the *Annals of Innisfallen*, p. 18:—'*An. dccc. xvi. Kl. Conodur Lismoir quievit;*' i. e. Anno 696, Conodur, of Lismore, rested.

"Probably some other member may poke out the dates of Colgen and Donnchad, in their antiquarian grubblings, as there is little doubt they were *all* important personages.

"Archdeacon Cotton did well in bringing us to the original finder (himself) of these beautiful inscriptions, as there is nothing like getting at the fountain head (see p. 222). That the stones were found in excavating for the foundations of the tower, I was credibly informed by a most respectable authority. It is pleasing also, that the inaccuracy of the first lithograph is shifted to the right shoulders—the 'clerk of the church;' pity it was not to the church-wardens, they are invariably such terrible delinquenst.

¹ We have here, Roichlich, his grandfather's name, and on the stone Conhuidir is given as his father's name.

² The Briunii—who were they? This is a question worth the attention of archaeologists.

"The two smaller stones, being reddish river pebbles, afford no conclusive reason why they may not be lime-stone, as we have many good specimens of reddish lime-stone in this district, some of which, when polished, look nearly as well as Sienna marble."

Mr. John G. A. Prim begged leave to lay before the Meeting a document which was calculated to be of much local interest, from the vivid glimpse which it afforded of the state of the county and city of Kilkenny a hundred years ago, when the gentry and their servants discharged the duties of a constabulary force, and when, if felons of a higher class in society than common were confined in the gaol in the heart of the city, a military guard was deemed expedient for their safe custody, and a special watch was found necessary to patrol the streets at night. But this was not the only interest attaching to the document, for it served also to prove that one of the most generally received local traditions of the last century, the most circumstantial and consistent in all its details, and, therefore, gaining the most implicit credence from the present and two last generations, was, in its most important parts, altogether without foundation, and in reality rested on a very slight substratum of fact. There was no native of Kilkenny who had not heard of "the murder of the Lovetts," and had not, from childhood, regarded with feelings of awe and curiosity the site of that supposed tragedy at Purcell's Inch, on the river Nore, opposite Archer's Grove, a mile below Kilkenny. The tale, as it was told, was this. In the middle of the last century a gentleman and lady named Lovett resided at the house of Purcell's Inch, originally an old castle which had belonged to the family of Purcell of Ballyfoyle. Mr. and Mrs. Lovett had two daughters residing with them, and were known to be in very opulent circumstances. The county was at that time very much disturbed by a party of banditti, known as Doran's gang, who were most daring in their robberies, and most cruel in the mode of committing those offences, whilst it was rumoured that they were not only patronized and supported, but were actually led on in the commission of their depredations, by persons of a superior position in society. On a certain night—so ran the tale—Doran's gang attacked and broke into the Inch House, and at once murdered Mr. and Mrs. Lovett, with such of the servants as joined them in making resistance. They then seized the younger daughter, and, placing her on the fire, compelled her by the most horrible tortures to tell where the plate and money were concealed. Having thus obtained the plunder which they sought, they put the girl to death, and went away, supposing that they had left no one who could identify them and give evidence as to the perpetrators of the bloody deed. However, Mr. Lovett's eldest daughter slept in a small chamber in the thickness of the wall, which was separated from the parlour only by a panelled wainscoting, similar to that which

lined the walls, and, therefore, was not observable to persons unacquainted with the premises. Through a chink in the wood-work, Miss Lovett beheld the whole of the fearful tragedy, and had strength to listen to the groans of her parents and the shrieks of her sister, without betraying her presence, or making known her place of concealment. From the information which she was able to give as to the appearance of the murderers, several of the gang were arrested, and amongst them two young men of family and station, but who had led very wild and dissipated lives, named Davis. On the trial at the ensuing assizes, Miss Lovett identified fully all the parties in the dock, except one of those brothers; but having looked dubiously at him for a moment, she suddenly exclaimed—"he is one of them too, for that waistcoat which he wears is made of my mother's petticoat." The garment was accordingly taken off the prisoner, and submitted to a fuller inspection by the lady, when she immediately identified it by a darn, which she remembered from the circumstance that, when repairing the petticoat for her mother, she had remarked how curious it was that the darn had actually formed the initials of her own name, E. L. There was a further confirmation of the evidence of this lady given by a man who had gone at an early hour of the morning of the murder to water his horses at the stream which crosses the John's-well road, near the Pockocke Institution, and who there saw the prisoners trying to wash the blood from their clothes. The prisoners were executed for the crime, and in the old house of Inch (which has been within the last thirty years thrown down) the blood stains of the unfortunate Lovetts were shown to all visitors by the subsequent inhabitants. There were at this day many people living who had often looked with horror at those supposed records of the dreadful deed of violence which was believed to have been perpetrated in that lonely mansion. All this was, as would be seen, most circumstantial, and there could be no surprise felt that a story so told by people who lived in the next generation after, and by them sent down to their children, should be fully credited. But it so happened that the document now laid before the Meeting showed plainly that, although there had been a robbery at the old house of Inch, there had been no murder at all! The document was the copy of a letter from William Colles, at that time—exactly one hundred years ago—Mayor of Kilkenny, to Sir William Evans Morris, then Member of Parliament for Kilkenny, at Dublin, and the Society was indebted for the copy to Mr. A. Colles, Millmount, the great grandson of the writer:—

"Kilkenny, Nov^r 25, 1755.

"D^r S^r W^m,—I Rec^d y^r fav^r of y^e 18 Inst: and as to the Nore, as nothing is Wanting but the Royall Consent, I shall not Trouble you further about It 'till It Returns with That, of which I make no doubt. As to the

Rogues In Gaol, The Case stands Thus. Patrick Glindon and Luke Bow were Taken In Mountrath and Carry'd before Mr. Despard the 7th Nov^r, as I am Informed : in whose Hands the Plate found with them ; the Information of the Pedlar who Discovered them ; & the first Examination of s^d Glindon & Bow are, I Presume, Lodged ; on the Warrant of Mr. Despard, grounded on y^e Confession of Glindon, James Davis, and Charles Davis, were Taken the 11th, by the Gentlemen of y^e Queen's County who Pursued them Hither : Who were carry'd before George Hely, Esq^r, who Comitted them on said M^r Despard's Warrant : and Patrick Bergin was the same Day Taken by M^r Jonah Wheeler, & his servants, & M^r John. . . . Bergin was also Comitted by M^r Hely on s^d warrant. M^r Rob^t flood who Came here to Take y^e Davis's, &c. went Back to Maryborough & Took a further Information from Glindon on y^e 14th, which he Remitted me : and a Copy of which I send you, wherein Glindon mentions the Davis's having got the Handle of a Sword of M^r Lovetta, and a Dimitty Petticoat. On My Receiving this Examination I found out the Taylor who had wrought for the Davis's and he without Hesitation gave me his Examination : a Copy of w^{ch} I Inclose you : the Dimitty I Took Into my Custody : and In order to be Certain whether M^r or M^{rs} Lovett, or any of their ffamily can swear to the Dimitty, I signed my name on the most Remarkable Pieces of It, and gave them to M^r Jonah Wheeler's wife, who is gon to Dublin, and will shew them to M^{rs} Lovett and her ffamily : from whom you will have an opertunity to Enquire whether they know It or not, and if so please to Take Examinations and Bind them to Prosecute. After this Dimitty was found with the Taylor, and his Examination Taken, and a Recognizance for his appearance, M^r Hugh Warring went to y^e Goal & Examined the Two Davis's & Bergin, a Copy of whose Examinations I alsoe send you : after this I sent again & searched M^{rs} Davis's House for y^e knives, and a Piece of a Sword : No knives were found : but a Wastcoat of the same Dimitty was, and the Hilt of a Sword which I have now In my Possession, but whether this be Mr. Lovett's sword or not, I know not, & wish you would get from Lovett as p'ticular Description of his Sword as he Can give, before he sees this : there is ab^t 7 Inches of the Blade to the Hilt, and It is Remarkable : there was alsoe found In Davis's House some fine Damask Table Linnen marked D : C ; but I do not find this Chalenged by Any body : I got alsoe with the Taylor an old Scarlet Wastcoat : left him by James Davis ; on M^r Warrings Examining the 2 Davis's In Goal they were several Times asked whether they had left any thing Else with the Taylor besides y^e Pettycoat, and both said they had not, which makes me suspect y^e Wastcoat to be stole. Examine M^r Lovett & his servants alsoe about This Wastcoat : on a Verbale Information Given by Glindon to M^r Jonah Wheeler he searched the Thatch of Some Houses at New Orchard, and found some Linnen In 3 severall Places, which appears to be part of M^r Cuffes Robbery : and he alsoe found, or somehow got one of M^r Lovett's Pistolls. The Best Information I could get ab^t this I send you : Glindon alsoe gave Information that he sold some of M^r Cuffa's plate to one Egan a Shopkeeper, at Balyboy, In the King's County : on w^{ch} some of y^e Queen's County Gentlemen & M^r Jo. Gale went to Balyboy and took Egan, who immediately Confessed y^e Buying y^e plate & gave it to them, being 5 pound $\frac{1}{2}$ Averdupois weight. They Brought Egan Hither, he Having given

them an Account that one Loughlin Kelly, formerly a Pedlar, & then a Labourer, Vouched to him for y^e Honesty of y^e plate. This Loghlin Kelly I had Immediately Taken, and he is now In y^e County Goal, on y^e Information of Egan, Taken before George Hely : Richard Ryly, Watch Maker, was accused by Bow in some Examination of his, as I was Told, of Receiving & Washing up some of M^r Lovett's Plate, on w^{ch} I had him Taken & Examined, as alsoe W^m Ryly his ffather, and James Smyth their Journey man: but as no Examinations on Oath appeared ag^t Him, on his giving a Recognizance for his appearance at y^e Assizes to Aldⁿ Jo. Blunt he is Enlarged; a Copy of s^d Examinations I send you. This Is all that has yet Come to Light. In my private Opinion It is yet too soon to send Down a Commission; as I believe before the Assizes Much more will Come to Light. I see nothing yet but the Evidence of Glindon, that Touches y^e Davis's or Bergin, if M^r Lovett do's not own y^e Pettycoat: and If she do's, It only affects James Davis. I have, according to y^e Desire, sent you up Coppyes of all the Informations & Examinations In my Hands, and in M^r Hely's, numbered on y^e Backs from one to 13, on which the Government will be Best Judges how to proceed; One ffarrell is since Taken on Glindon's Information & sent to Maryborough: would not an order from the Government for such a Guard of y^e army on y^e County Goal as y^e Sherrife of y^e County should Demand be proper; I have Established a Watch of 16 men & a Constable Ever since the first of this Month, which has Kept the Towne very Quiet.

"I am,

"D^r S^r W^m, y^e Most obed^t,

"Hum^l Serv^t,

"WILLIAM COLLES.

"To S^r W^m Evans Moress, Esq^r
"In Dublin."

This letter showed clearly that there had been no murder whatever, although the prisoners had been executed for burglary. The Lovetts appeared to have been in Dublin when the robbery was committed, and it was clear that the lady did not see them from behind the wainscot, or Mr. Colles would not have said there was no evidence against them but that of the tailor. Miss Lovett probably did identify the waistcoat, made from her mother's petticoat, and therein lay the very slight foundation for the romantic portion of the tradition. The man watering his horses had, perhaps, seen the robbers washing their faces, which they might have had blackened according to a common custom of highwaymen at the time; and as for the stains on the floor of the house of Inch, they were much more apocryphal even than the marks declared to be the blood of Rizzio at Holyrood, for there was every reason to believe that the hapless royal favourite lost his life on the occasion, although, perhaps, not within the precinct of the palace. They could not avoid drawing a moral from the discovery of the baselessness of this tradition, which could scarcely fail to act as a caution to too credulous archæologists; for if a very ordinary occurrence could, in the space of a single century, be converted by the

voice of tradition into such a very romantic event, implicitly believed as a fact which no one could dream of gainsaying, what amount of reliance was to be placed on the legends of the middle ages, or of periods still farther remote?

Mr. R. Caulfield, Cork, sent the following copy of a document, the original of which, he stated, he found amongst a parcel of loose papers in a portfolio purchased for Dr. Neligan, at the sale of the late Sir W. Betham's library. It bore the signature of Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde, then general in command of Queen Elizabeth's Irish army, and was curious as showing the kind of commission received by the captain of a company at that period:—

“BY THE L. LIEUTENAUNT GEN^lALL.

“John lisston, although I have not hearde from yo^a since my Comynge over the Barrowe, yo^a shall fynd I have not foregotten yo^a, and for that I meane to bestowe a Company on yo^a in her Ma^{ty} paye yo^a may not fayle but to make yo^r present repayre unto me wheresoever yo^a shall heare of my beynge to theis partes, Bringinge wth yo^a one hundreth tall men, well furnyshed, yf yo^a cannot make up the full nomber, bringe wth yo^a as manny as yo^a have wth all spede. And yf yo^a can alight on eny pece of service in yo^r waye, I doubt not, but yo^a will performe y^t to the uttermost. In yo^r travell y^t shalbe lawful for yo^a to take meate and dryncke for one nyght, and a breakefast, in ech place, in competent manner, not usinge of extorcōn or other oppression on the countrey. Yf yo^a have not sufficient men already to make up yo^r company rayse the reste of them, some in the Countye of Kilkeny, and other some in the Countye of Typparye, as formerlie I told yo^a. Use all expedicōn herein soe as yo^a maye overtake me, in theis partes, whereby yo^a may receive ympreste to furnyshe yo^rself and companye. Given at the Nace, the 4 of September 1598.

“THOMAS ORMONDE OSS.

“Yo^r pardon is out under the brod seale, and to thende yo^r men may com the quieter thorowe the contry wthout extorcōn or complaint, I wrote to Robert Rothe, at Kilkenny, to deliv^r youe fortie pounds, receving yo^r acquittance for the same; when youe receive the money of him, com away pntly.”

Mr. Caulfield also contributed some other curious documents, one being an inventory delivered in upon oath before the Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, of the goods of Edmond Ronayne, deceased, 12th August, 1665, exhibiting the prices of various articles at that period; others were deeds indented between the King's Commissioners and the freeholders of various baronies in the county of Cork, in the year 1604, for arranging a composition in lieu of cess. The inventory is as follows:—

" An Inventorie delivered in spon oath before the right Reverend ffather in God, Eduard, Lord Bishopp of Corcke, Cloyne, and Rosse, of the goods of Edmond Ronayne Deceased, By Patricke Rice, this twelveth day of August 1665, according and pursueant to the Administacoⁿ granted unto the said Rice of the said goods.

ffirst a Cubord Carplet valued sixpence	vi ^d
Item. a redd Table Cloath valued three shillings . . .	iii ^s
" One old Irish Mantle vallued two shillings . . .	ii ^s
" An old Sarge hood vallued one shilling sixpence .	i ^s vi ^d
" Nyne bandes of redd frize vallued sixpence p bundle comes to	iiii ^s vi ^d
" a Redd ould pettycoate and another black pettycoate vallued two shillings	ii ^s
" a small payre of scales vallued six pence	vi ^d
" An old chest vallued two shillings	ii ^s
" a small brass Chafingdish valued six pence . . .	vi ^d
" An old Trücke vallued one shilling	i ^s
" a brodd Cloth wastcoate and pettycoate vallued eight shillings	viii ^s
" a branched stufte pettycoate vallued six shillings .	vi ^s
" an ould black Clooke vallued seaven shillings . .	vii ^s
" a Sarge wastcoate vallued two shillings	ii ^s
" An ould Table Lynen Cloath vallued three shillings	iii ^s
" a Lynen Table Cloath vallued seaven shillings . .	vii ^s
" a Lynen Table Cloath vallued two shillings . . .	ii ^s
" Three payre of Canvas sheets vallued eighteen shil- lings	xviii ^s
" Three Lynen sheets valued four shillings & six pence	iiii ^s vi ^d
" Six yards and half of french cource Canvas at 9 ^d p yard	iiii ^s x ^½
" a Canvas Table Cloath vallued two shillings . . .	ii ^s
" An old lynen Table Cloath vallued six pence . . .	vi ^d
" A short Canvas Table Cloath vallued one shilling .	i ^s
" a Small Lynen Table Cloath vallued two shillings .	ii ^s
" Seaven Canvas Napkins & five Cource Lynen Nap- kins vallued two shillings & six pence	ii ^s vi ^d
" Nyne worn Lynen Napkins vallued two shillings .	ii ^s
" a Cotten Towell vallued six pence	vi ^d
" a Lynen pettycoate, vallued three shillings & six pence	iii ^s vi ^d
" a Chest vallued two shillings and six pence . . .	ii ^s vi ^d
" a Dozen & half of wooden Trenchers vallued nine pence	ix ^d
" An earthen dish and two earthen Juggs vallued one shilling and six pence	i ^s vi ^d
" a Bedsteed & Cord vallued three shillings & six pence	iii ^s vi ^d
" a Suite of Broad Cloath & Coate vallued three pounds	iii ^{li}
" a Suite & Coate of Stuff vallued one pound tenn shillings	i ^{li} x ^s

Item. a pair of Gloves vallued one shilling	i ^s	
„ An old cource Broad Cloath suite vallued ten shillings	x ^s	
„ a Suite of Curtens & valance vallued one pound	i ^{li}	
„ a worn hatt vallued eight shillings	viii ^s	
„ An ould Lynen hand apron and napkins, vallued two shillings	ii ^s	
„ A curlelack hood & a Taffatie scarffe vallued eight shillings	viii ^s	
„ a looking glass vallued three shillings	iii ^s	
„ a Chest vallued five shillings	v ^s	
„ An old Bed stead vallued one shilling & six pence	i ^s	vi ^d
„ Three long formes vallued three shillings	iii ^s	
„ Three joint Stooles vallued three shillings	iii ^s	
„ Two long tables & one round table vallued Tenn shillings	x ^s	
„ A Settle vallued six shillings	vi ^s	
„ two Iron grates & backe one pound	i ^{li}	
„ Two great spitts & one small spitt vallued four shillings	iiii ^s	
„ A payre of hand Irons vallued three shillings	iii ^s	
„ A grid Iron and pott hookes vallued one shilling	i ^s	
„ A payre of Iron Racks vallued seaven shillings	vii ^s	
„ A Brass pann vallued tenn shillings	x ^s	
„ Two Iron potts vallued six shillings	vi ^s	
„ A Coope vallued four shillings & six pence	iiii ^s	vi ^d
„ An ould hutche vallued five shillings	v ^s	
„ A soiled cupbord vallued two shillings	ii ^s	
„ A Bedd and a Caddow, A payre of Curtains with their valens, vallued five shillings	v ^s	
„ A payre of virginalls vallued ten shillings	x ^s	
„ Elleaven pewter dishes a salt seller & two sawcers } & three chamber potts, pewter flagon, two pinta, a Cnaggin & a Quarte vallued in all one pound }	i ^{li}	
„ five Brass Candlesticks & one Iron Candlestick vallued two shillings	ii ^s	
„ four quintin halfe shirtz vallued fourteen shillings	xiiii ^s	
„ four whole Shirtz vallued eight shillings	viii ^s	
„ A payer of Britchez & Cassock vallued five shillings	v ^s	
„ A hatt vallued six shillings	vi ^s	
„ A small Trunck vallued two shillings	ii ^s	
„ two old Suites of Cloathes vallued tenn shillings	x ^s	
„ one old Suite of figured satin vallued tenn shillings	x ^s	
„ five Canvas Sheetes & a Lynen Smock vallued sixteen shillings	xvi ^s	
„ A Silver beere & a Silver dram Cup vallued thirty shillings	i ^{li}	x ^s
„ A Chest vallued two shillings and six pence	ii ^s	vi ^d
„ A payre of whole silke Stockins a pair of halfe Silke stockens a payre of half stockins of wostead		
„ A half dozen of old bands		

Item. a Cabinet vallued ten shillings	x'
„ severall Bundles of papers	
„ A stand dish of Ink with a drawing Box	
„ A Brass small aqua vitæ pott	
„ An old viol	
„ An old feather bedd	
„ An old paire of bootes and spurs	
„ An old fashion waste belt	
„ The said Rice is given to understand that the said Edmond Ronayne had att the tyme of his death in Blarney where he dyed, a watch, a sword & a suite of apparell which he last wore before he dyed which are not come to the hands of the said Adm̃trator.	
„ Several printed old books	

The remaining items in this inventory are mentions of the deeds of his personal estate, leases, arrear of rent, and similar entries, &c. One item of forty-six pounds sterling, owed by Andrew Rice, who had fled the kingdom as an insolvent, is termed a “desperate debt.” Much controversy at this time appears also to have existed as to the bounds of Carrigidiganig and Dougloine, now the estate of Thomas Ronayne Sarsfield, Esq., D. L.

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF YOUGHAL.—No. II.

THE NUNNERY, OR CHAPEL OF SAINT ANNE'S.

THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY, COMMONLY CALLED THE SOUTH ABBEY.

THE DOMINICAN FRIARY, COMMONLY CALLED THE NORTH ABBEY.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, A. B.

THE Anglo-Norman adventurers, to whom (as we have seen in our former paper) the erection of the great pile of the Collegiate Church of Youghal should be ascribed, did not relax their hold on the district won by their prowess. As a further step to secure themselves in possessing their sea-port at the mouth of the Blackwater, the town was newly peopled from England. A colony, consisting of men-at-arms, traffickers, and other adventurers, was now introduced from Bristol; while, to promote trade, and insure the safety of mariners frequenting the harbour of Youghal, a light-house was erected, and ingeniously placed under the management of the inmates of—

THE NUNNERY, OR CHAPEL OF SAINT ANNE'S,—an institution

founded about the year 1190, and erected on the cliff at the west side of the harbour's mouth. The house was richly endowed by the founders, "under the condition that the nuns should see that the light was regularly maintained.¹ This condition of tenure was instituted as an appeal to the religion and the gallantry of the native Irish, who were deterred from injuring the light which guided reinforcements to the invaders by a reluctance to offer violence to consecrated females."—O'Flanagan's "Guide to the Blackwater," p. 10.

1644. M. Boullaye le Gouz, the French traveller, who visited Youghal this year, thus mentions St. Anne's:—"At musket-shot from the town there was formerly a convent of nuns on the sea-shore, and there remains of it a tower called the Nunnery, upon which the nuns used to light torches to enable vessels to come into harbour during the night."—"Tour," edited by Crofton Croker, p. 33.

From this record it would appear that the Nunnery had been at this time removed, excepting the light-tower that came down to our own day.

1645—July 19. Sir William Penn, the famous sea-general of the Commonwealth, who had come to relieve Youghal, at the time closely blockaded by Lord Castlehaven, mentions St. Anne's in his journal of this date. He tells us that he received a letter from the governor of the town, "desiring," he writes, "to take notice that when he had occasion to speak with us, or have any recourse to us, the signal should be a fire on the top of the abbey tower, near the point on the west side of the harbour's mouth." On the 28th he writes:—"Half an hour after the watch was set, we espied a light upon the tower, according to the signal given by Sir Percy Smyth; and not long after, another. I sent our yawl ashore, and with her 30 sacre, 30 minion, 20 falcon shot, and two quires of paper, with a letter to the governor."—"Memoirs," by Granville Penn, vol. i.

1681. Thomas Dyneley, a Worcestershire gentleman, who vi-

¹ Another purpose of the Chapel of St. Anne was probably its appropriation to voyagers, according to Roman Catholic usages. Such, we find, was customary in the neighbourhood of Bristol, whence the Anglo-Norman colony of Youghal came.

In the parish of Brislington, near the banks of the Avon, and within two miles of Bristol, stood the Chapel of St. Anne, founded by one of the Lords de la Warr. "It was held in high consideration, and was much frequented by the inhabitants of Bristol by way of pilgrimage, on account of its supposed superior sanctity."

"William of Wyrcestre's Topography," by Dallaway, p. 62, note. Other chapels in the neighbourhood of Bristol, as those of St. Vincent, St. Brendane, and St. Blaise in Henbury parish, were especially designed for seamen, who were bound on arriving in the harbour to hear mass and present their offerings, which were commonly wax candles for the altar. St. Anne's, Youghal, we may suppose, served the same purpose; and the light maintained in its tower may have been kept up with the great square wax tapers (*cereæ quadratæ*) offered at its altar by the safely arrived mariners.

sited Youghal this year, and compiled an interesting record of his Irish tour, still in MS., and now in the possession of Sir Thomas E. Winnington, Bart., of Stanford Court, mentions the tower of this Nunnery as "the ancient light-house."

1848—May 16. The Ballast Board having decided on erecting a harbour light-house at Youghal, an inquisition was held this day for the purpose of valuing the ground at the harbour's mouth, formerly occupied by the Nunnery of St. Anne's, and the jury awarded £100. So admirably chosen had been the site of the Anglo-Norman light-tower, that almost on the very same spot was it found desirable to erect the new beacon, and the demolition of the ancient interesting structure became inevitable. A minute description of the tower of St. Anne's will not be unacceptable; and the illustration here given will afford the reader a good idea of it. The tower was circular, about 24 feet in height, and 10 in diameter. The only entrance was a narrow Gothic doorway, on the water side, facing the eastern point of the harbour. The visitor found at his right hand, on entering, the bottom of a flight of stone steps, which were conducted spirally on the whole interior of the building, and led at the summit to two large circular-headed windows,¹ one of which opened on the middle of the bay, and the other faced Capel Island. As is customary in all light-houses, there was no ope on the land side.



'The Light-Tower of St. Anne's, Youghal.

In the summer of 1848, when this interesting structure—perhaps the only Anglo-Norman light-tower which reached our own day—was taken down, it had fallen into great decay. The roof had perished at a period so distant that no one living remembered it, and the weather had for centuries wasted its strength upon the crumbling walls. The stairs within were so broken, their ascent to the top was difficult; and a portion of the summit of the

¹ From the circular and pointed arches, jointly used in this little building, we are enabled to fix its date in the semi-Nor-

man, or, more properly speaking, Transition period, about the close of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century.

tower on the south side had fallen in. In removing the foundations a human skeleton was found, deep in the clay between two rocks; but we have not been able to ascertain whether the remains appeared to have been decently buried or hurriedly packed together, nor whether the tower was built across them (in which case the burial would have antedated the building), or they laid within it. Local tradition is silent on the subject. At the time of demolition of the tower, there was a straw-thatched cottage connected with it on the west or land side; and the rere wall of this house (which hung directly over a steep hilly passage to the beach, still existing) was perhaps a fragment of the Nunnery, or was built—for the stones were old and time-worn—with the materials of the ruin. The lane alongside is, no doubt, of remotest antiquity, and was often trodden by the seamen and traffickers in ages past. Our drawing was made about midway down this passage.

An interesting remembrancer of the Nunnery is the little well, once used by the inmates. It still remains, though hidden behind one of a range of marine cottages. Until the erection of these houses, the old well of St. Anne's was a picturesque scene. It was reached from the road by a flight of steps; and the water trickled down out of the native brown-stone rock, in which was formed a kind of natural basin. The well is now concealed, and the water is obtained from a fountain by the way-side.

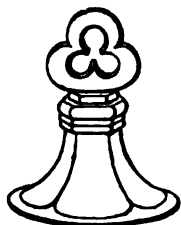
We come now to the local foundations belonging to the two great orders that simultaneously sprang into existence in the early part of the thirteenth century. We find that very soon after their first establishment, both the Franciscans and Dominicans were introduced into Youghal, and had princely endowments provided for them by the Geraldines. And first, as being the earlier of the two, we shall describe—

THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY, COMMONLY CALLED THE SOUTH ABBEY.—Maurice Fitzgerald, second Lord Ophaley, grandson of the Maurice Fitzgerald who was Fitzstephen's companion at the conquest of Waterford, founded, in 1224, a house for Franciscans on the hill side, a little to the south of the town of Youghal. Hollingshed gives 1229 as the year of this foundation, and other authorities would make it to have been 1231; but the statements, though apparently conflicting, are easily reconciled by supposing that the different dates have reference to the commencement or completion of the works, or to the time when the house was opened for its inmates.

We learn from Ware, that this was the first Franciscan Friary established in Ireland. It is said that the building was originally designed for a castle, but was changed into a religious foundation from the following circumstance. The workmen who were digging

for the castle site, on the eve of a festival, begged of their employer a piece of money to drink his health, and he directed his eldest son to give it; but the young man, so far from obeying his father's command, sternly reproved the poor labourers; and his father became so concerned for this opening *prestige*, that he altered his design, and resolved to erect a house for Grey Friars, which he accordingly accomplished.—Lodge's "Peerage."

1320. An interesting monastic seal of this period was found December 31, 1853, near the precincts of this Friary, by a labourer who was working in the garden of Richard Henry Rogers, Esq., Devonshire-place. Our engraving¹ is the exact size of the original. The matrix is of bronze, and is in good preservation. The handle is hexagonal, tapering gradually until it expands into a trefoil head. The device is a human heart, pierced from above, through the midst, by a perpendicular sword-blade, and resting on a mass of coagulated blood, the whole being enclosed within a cusped frame-work or border. The inscription is in Latin, and seems to read: *s. frs. tob. thugbul*, or *thugbul*, i. e. de Yughul, of Youghal.



1585. Among the MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is a collection of "Maps and Charts relating to Ireland," one of which is a very interesting pictorial plan of Youghal of this date. The Franciscan Friary is well represented; and from a careful tracing our artist has produced the view which appears on the opposite page.

In the references at the bottom of the map this building is called "The Abbey on the So. West of y^e Town;" and, by the scale, it is distant 200 paces from the south gate. In its outward presentment, as the reader will perceive, it rather resembles a feudal fortress than a Friary; and this circumstance would apparently corroborate the traditional story of its foundation, which we have already narrated above.*

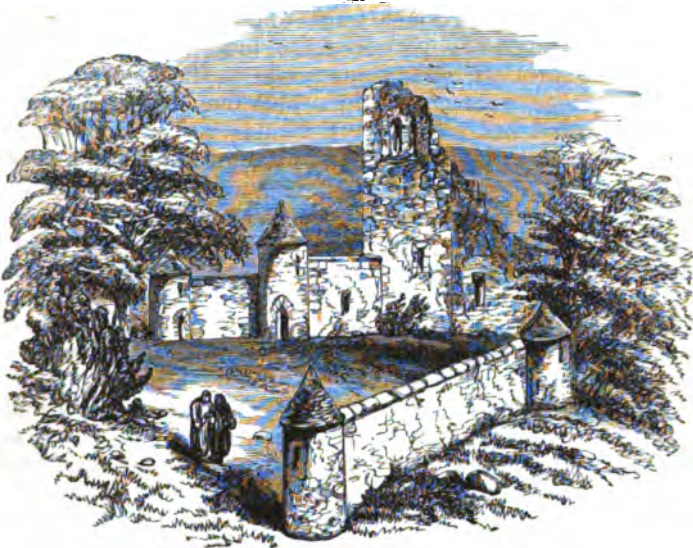
1681. There were only "some small remains" of this Friary now existing.—"Dyneley's MS. Tour."

¹ We are indebted to the publisher of the "Gentleman's Magazine" for the use of this cut; and refer our reader for a fuller account of the seal to the March number of that invaluable periodical [1854], pp. 277-9.

² The map, from which our illustration

is taken, is in colours upon canvass. It is referred to in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xiv. page 75; and differs essentially from the contemporaneous pictorial plan, which we find given in the "Pacata Hibernia," page 680.

1748. The ruins of this Friary are mentioned in "A Tour through Ireland, in several entertaining Letters," published this year in London.



The Franciscan Friary, or South Abbey, of Youghal. Anno 1686.

1817. In digging the foundation of the chapel of ease, which occupies part of the site of this Friary, and was built in a great measure out of its materials, "an innumerable quantity of skulls, and other human bones were discovered. . . . Two stone coffins were found, but were again carefully placed in their original position."—"Dublin Penny Journal," vol. ii. p. 186.

1820. In this year, when Matthew Hayman, Esq., was erecting his dwelling-house in the precincts of this Friary, he turned up, in excavating for his cellars, several skeletons and some tomb-slabs with fleureed crosses, all of which were re-interred in the same place. We gather from this, that the burial-ground must have been of great extent, spreading from the hill side on which the Friary stood to the very margin of the ocean, and reaching as far as the grounds now called Green Park.

1826. The Devonshire Arms Hotel was built this year, and such remnants of the Franciscan Friary as had survived the erection of the chapel of ease in 1817 were now wholly removed, and many curious tombs were destroyed, the cemetery being for the most part thrown into gardens!

1832. A convent for nuns of the Presentation Order was

founded this year, a little to the south of the chapel of ease, on a portion of the grounds of this Friary. A wing of this building forms a large female school, fronting the public street. The foundation of the school-house was excavated in a fine, dense sand, which preserved in a remarkable manner traces of ancient burials. Numberless uncoffined human bodies were found to have been interred here, and lay in various attitudes, some prone on their faces, some half-doubled together, some packed in masses like the slain of a battle-field. The sand had acted like a mould; and, while nought remained within its clasp but bones and dust, the full outlines of the unbroken human form were in many instances perfectly discernible. The features of some of the dead were taken as in a mask, even to the minutest lines of the eye-lids. It is much to be regretted that no notes nor drawings were made at the time by any qualified person.

1844—July. The Magdalen Asylum was erected, on the vacant space between the chapel of ease and the convent. In excavating for the foundation, numerous graves of masonry, covered with flags,¹ were found. Within them, the skeletons reposed in a perfect state. Some of these narrow resting-places were built in triple conjunction, like the arms of **I**, and perhaps belonged to members of the same family. A fine tapered tomb-flag, with a fleureé cross running down its centre and the remains of a Lombardic marginal inscription, was at the same time turned up. It had been broken in the middle, apparently wilfully. This coffin-lid, which we would assign to the thirteenth century, now lies in the adjoining burying-ground of the Presentation Convent.

There are no traces of this Friary now remaining. Our illustration, however, preserves its general features at an interesting period, before the hand of the spoiler was laid heavily upon its walls. As it originally stood, the house must have enjoyed a lovely prospect of the ocean, and must have greatly contributed to the beauty of the harbour as the shipping passed in. It stood a short distance from the town, with its grassy lawns extending to the shore. Venerable trees embowered it. Above, rose the hill side of Cnoc Naomh Muirpe (Knockaverry), as a picturesque back-ground. To the north could be seen the walls and gates of the adjoining town, with its strong fortifications against the foe; to the east was the harbour; and to the south spread the open ocean.

From the direction and course of existing streets and lanes, we may fix the exact site of the Friary, which appears to have been much the same with that now occupied by the chapel of ease and Magdalen Asylum. Friar-street shows that the buildings stood at the

¹ Some of these graves evidently belonged to ecclesiastics; for the fragments of leathern shoes still enveloped

the feet of the skeletons. Wadding informs us that several religious men were buried in this Friary.

same distance from the shore as the chapel of ease; and the two lanes, opposite the chapel and leading to the water, were probably the ancient passages from the Friary to the sea.

The Franciscan Friary, as we have seen, derived its name of "The South Abbey" from its local position. At the opposite end of the town, a little outside the walls, was founded by another member of the great Geraldine family—

THE DOMINICAN FRIARY, COMMONLY CALLED THE NORTH ABBEY.—1268. Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, surnamed *nAphagh*, *Simiacus*, or the Ape, founded a Friary for Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, at Youghal. This house was first placed under the Invocation of the Holy Cross (*S. Cruz*), perhaps on account of the family arms of the founder; but it was subsequently dedicated to St. Mary of Thanks (*S. Maria Gratiarum*), on account of a miraculous image of the Virgin preserved here.—De Burgo's "*Hib. Dominicana*," p. 272.

1450. The image of the Madonna and Child, for which this Friary was famous, is of Italian workmanship of this period. It is of carved ivory, about three inches high. The circumstances of its "invention," as detailed in 1644 by the French traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz,¹ are sufficiently marvellous:—

"In the Dominican convent [at Youghal] there was an image of the Virgin, formerly held in the greatest reverence in Ireland, which arrived there in a miraculous manner. The tide brought a piece of wood on to the sands opposite the town, which several fishermen tried to carry off, the wood being rare in this country, but they could not move it; they harnessed ten horses to it without effect, and the reflux of the tide brought it near the Dominican convent. Two monks raised it on their shoulders and put it in the court-yard of the convent; and the prior had in the night a vision that the image of our Lady was in this piece of wood; which was found there. So say the Catholics, who have still a great devotion towards it; but the Dominicans, having been persecuted by the English settlers, carried it elsewhere."

Miraculous powers were, ere long, ascribed to this image, and pilgrimages were made to the Friary, in consequence, from all parts of Ireland. The dedication of the house, as we have already seen, underwent a change, the special reason (according to the author of "*Hibernia Dominicana*," p. 272) being "the mercies, not to say miracles," obtained here. Rich offerings poured in, to such extent as to form the subject of a decree from the General Chapter of the Dominicans, held at Rome in 1644.

1550—April 21. The oldest dated tomb-stone now to be found

¹ "The Tour of the French Traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, in Ireland, A. D. 1644. Edited by T. Crofton

Croker, with Notes, and Illustrative Extracts," &c., pp. 33-4. London: T. and W. Boone, 1837.

in this burying-ground is of this time. It is in excellent preservation, and is thus inscribed :—

“ Here Lyeth y^e Body of Darby Kareen, who Departed This Life y^e 21 April 1550, Aged 35 years.”

1581—April 28. This Friary, with six gardens within the liberties of Youghal (the tithes excepted), was granted for ever, *in capite*, to William Walsh, at the yearly rent of 22 pence sterling. From him it passed, for a term of years, to John Thickpenny, gent.—“ *Hib. Dominicana*,” p. 273.

1585—6—February 3. The Friary was granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, at a rent of £12 19s. 6d., payable at Easter and Michaelmas; with a proviso, that the Act passed at Limerick, anno 33 Henry VIII., for lands given by the King, shall not be prejudicial to this patent. Signed, A. St. Leger.—MS. at Lismore.

1587. De Burgo, p. 273, quoting from a work, entitled “ *Theatrum Catholicæ et Protestantis Religionis*,” gives an account of the demolition of this Friary in the above year, with the fate of those concerned in the work. The following is a translation :—

“ A certain Englishman named Poet [qu. Poer], while destroying the Monastery of St. Dominic, in the northern part of Youghall, fell from the top of the church and broke all his limbs. Likewise, three soldiers of that town, who had cast down and thrown into the fire the Sacred Cross of that monastery, were dead within eight days from the perpetration of their crime. The first died of madness. The second was eaten of lice. The third was slain by the Seneschal of the Earl of Desmond.”

1602—Dec. 7. Sir Walter Raleigh conveyed all his Irish grants, including this Friary, to Mr. Richard Boyle.—Patent Rolls.

1603—Dec. 17. By an Inquisition taken this day at Youghal, respecting the estates which had been conveyed by Raleigh to Boyle, the jury made the following report about this Friary :—

“ Lastely, wee finde that the Abbie of Molana and the late Howse of Observant fryers of Youghall, with their possessiones, doe now lye utterly wast, and have soe remayned ever since the leases made of them to John Thickpenny, gent. deceased, upon the expiration of which leases, graunted to the said Thickpenny, Sir Walter Rawleighe’s estate [tooke] his beginninge.—Inquisitions in Exchequer.

1617. The Lady Honor Fitzgerald, of the Geraldine family,¹ presented the Dominicans of Youghal with a silver-gilt shrine for the image of the Madonna in their possession. This relic is about 4 inches in height, by 2 in width. Its sides are richly chased with floriated ornaments, and its summit is surmounted by a cross. It

¹ Mr. Crofton Croker thinks that she was daughter of Sir James of Desmond; Sir James was slain in 1597. This lady was first married to her relative, John

Fitzgerald, Seneschal of Imokilly, and secondly to Sir Edmond, son and heir of Sir John Fitzgerald of Cloyne and Ballymaloe.

opens with two folding doors, which, thrown back, display the image within. The reverses of these doors bear a crucifixion, and a figure of a saint in prayer, respectively. On the outside is this inscription, in Roman letter:—

ORATE . PRO . ANIMA . ONORIAE . FILIÆ . IACOBI . DE . GERALDINIS . QAE
ME . FIERI . FECIT . AÑO . DÑI . 1617.¹

1750. In Smith's "Cork," vol. i. pp. 112–13, ed. 1750, is a view of Youghal, in which this building appears.

We have but scanty remnants of this Friary. The general plan, judging from portions of the foundations which have been uncovered from time to time in digging graves, consisted of a nave, 73 feet in length, by 24 feet 8 inches in width; a choir, 66 feet by 24 feet 8 inches; and a south aisle, 105 feet by 21 feet,—all in the clear of the walls. The domestic buildings were, as usual, on the north side. Of these several portions, there have come down to us only a mutilated massive pier towards the S.E. (from which sprang arches that connected the nave, choir, and south aisle together, respectively) and the west end of the nave, having some small attached portions of the side-walls. The domestic buildings have wholly perished.



The Dominican Friary, or North Abbey.

Our illustration brings together the existing remains. The massive pier already noticed is in the fore-ground, and is an important fragment of the ruin, defining as it does the length of the aisle, and

¹ This shrine and image are fully illustrated in the "Ulster Journal of Archæ-

ology," April, 1854, to which we refer our reader for a fuller description.

showing by its broken arches the junction of the nave and the continuation of the choir. Some foliated capitals of the columns of these arches remain on the pier, proving that the Friary was no mean specimen of the middle period of the thirteenth century Gothic. The west end stands to its full height, and includes the gable, some fragments of the return side-walls, and part of a window-arch and jamb of the south aisle. The west doorway occupies the centre. Above it rises a three-light window, almost filling up the whole gable. The quoins are furnished with plain receding lofty buttresses, and the walls are for the most part four feet in thickness. There is a subterraneous passage, opening at the S.W. quoin of the west gable, and, so far as it has been explored, running in a southern direction. Tradition tells us, that it anciently connected this house with St. Mary's Church. Numerous sculptured and moulded pieces of free-stone, some terminating "heads" of window-labels, and other fragments, lie strewn around, amid the rank grass of countless graves. Near the site of the east gable, and now used as head-stones, are the mutilated pieces of two tapered stone coffin-lids. Of these one has been broken into three parts. It is uninscribed, and, save a plain chamfer, unornamented. The other has lost about one-third of its lower proportions. On its upper surface is a rich fleureé cross. A Lombardic inscription, almost obliterated, runs down the side. It informs us that the stone once covered the remains of two persons, though it leaves us in doubt as to their identification. At the commencement, we can only conjecturally read . . . **CEYNA . . . AVSI**; but we can then indubitably trace—**DEV : DE : LOVN : ALMES : EIC : MERCI : PRIE : POVN : LOVN . . .** Could this have been a joint memorial of William de Wellesley and Robert de Percival, who were slain in a battle with the Irish, October 22, 1303, and, according to Lodge, interred in this Friary? Almost in the same spot a free-stone effigy was found in 1847, whilst digging a grave for a person named Broderick. It was described to us as that of a knight in armour, with a sword by his side. This interesting relic was placed at the bottom of the grave (where it lies at present), and over it the coffin was laid. It is at least in safety, and may hereafter receive a better fate than a companion effigy discovered here a few years since, and some time after wilfully broken to pieces.¹

¹ The writer's purpose in these papers is rather of an architectural than an historical tendency; so as to supply his fellow-members, not so much with compiled materials, as with the results of

original observation. He has omitted, in consequence, many records of local ecclesiastical events to be found in the pages of Clyn, Archdall, Lodge, De Burgo, and similar authors.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Tholsel Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, July 4th, 1855,

JAMES M. TIDMARSH, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny,
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

Robert Cane, Esq., M. D.	C. Humphrey Prim, Esq.
Abraham Denroche, Esq.	John G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.
Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec.	James G. Robertson, Esq.
John James, Esq., L.R.C.S.I.	John F. Shearman, Esq.

The following new members were elected :—

The Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin; and Thos. Wigmore, Esq., Ballyvodock, Midleton: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. P. Digges La Touche, A. B., Painestown Rectory, Slane; the Rev. S. Parsons, B. D., Navan; S. S. Seranke, Esq., C. E., Navan; and Mr. J. Blake, T. C., Navan: proposed by the Rev. F. W. Wetherell.

Robert Ross of Bladensburg, Esq., Rostrevor: proposed by the Rev. Robert O'Callaghan, D. D.

John G. Davis, Esq., Secretary to the Mechanics' Scientific Institute, Waterford: proposed by J. Palmer Graves, Esq.

Rev. Paul Smithwick, P. P., Baldoyle, county of Dublin; and Bernard A. M'Dermot, Esq., Belanagare, French-park: proposed by John F. Shearman, Esq.

W. B. Kelly, Esq., 8, Grafton-street, Dublin; and M. E. Conway, Esq., General Post Office, Dublin: proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

Henry Martin, Esq., Principal, Endowed School, New Ross: proposed by John G. Davis, Esq.

On the motion of the Rev. James Graves, John G. Davis, Esq., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for Waterford.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By John Greene, Esq., M. P. for the county of Kilkenny: "The Antiquities of Shropshire," by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, Rector of Ryton, Vol. II. parts 1 to 4.

By the Library Committee, Guildhall, London: "A Descriptive Catalogue of the London Traders, Tavern, and Coffee-House Tokens, Current in the Seventeenth Century, presented to the Corporation Library by H. B. H. Beaufoy;" second edition.

By the Author, John Lindsay, Esq., Barrister-at-Law: "Some Observations on an Ancient Talisman, brought from Syria."

By Robert MacAdam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 10.

By Richard Hitchcock, Esq.: Dutton's "Statistical and Agricultural Survey of the County of Galway;" also five tracts.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 45.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History: their "Proceedings," Vol. II. No. 3.

By the Author, Richard Sainthill, Esq.: "Numismatic Crumbs."

By the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club: "Reports" of their Proceedings, 1854-55.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 638 to 647, inclusive.

By Mr. John Campion: A Bill of the Kilkenny Gentlemen's Plays, 24th October, 1806.

By Lord James Butler: the acus, or pin, of a brooch of bronze; a jetton; and a weight of the standard of Ireland, 20 dwts. 16 grs., A. D. 1698; found in excavating the new vault of the Ormonde family, in the south transept of St. Canice's Cathedral.

By Mr. John G. A. Prim: a bronze processional crucifix, apparently of the seventeenth century, stated by the person from whom he purchased it to have been dug up at Holdensrath, near Kilkenny.

By the Rev. James Graves: a remarkably fine flint arrow-head, found on the gravel of a cut-out bog near Kane's-bridge, in the Johnswell mountains, county of Kilkenny; also a bronze implement, shaped like a gigantic spur, supposed to have formed an ancient ornamental pendant for the bridle.

By Mr. Benjamin Grubb: impressions of the mayoralty seals of Clonmel; the larger bearing a figure of Justice, with the inscription, SIGILLVM . MAIORATVS . DE . CLONMELL; the smaller, a sword, pale-wise, garnished with a wreath of laurel, and the motto at each side, HÆC INDE.

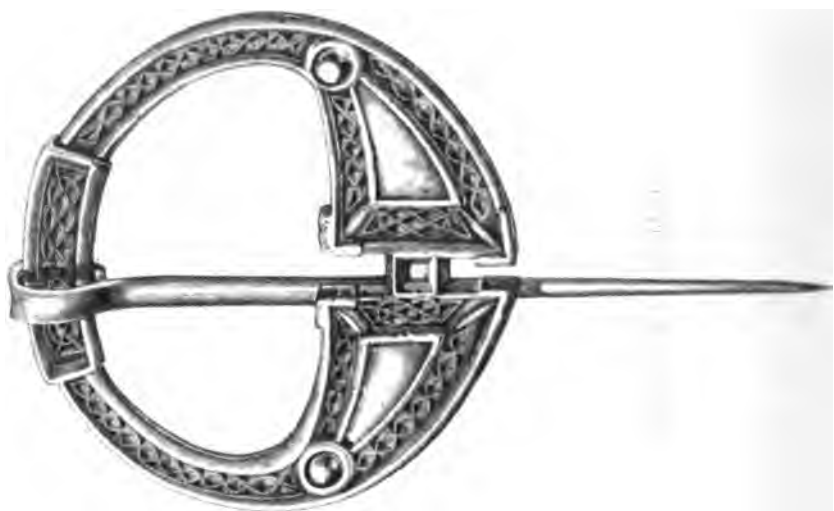
By Thomas Alderdice, Esq., Armagh, the Rev. J. L. Drapes, and J. R. Smith, Esq.: various ancient coins.

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Mr. J. F. Shearman exhibited a curious antique painting, on panel, representing the Madonna and Child, drawn on a gold ground, very much in the style of the Greek school. He had procured it from a fellow-student at Maynooth College, a native of Limerick, who, however, could tell nothing of its history.

Mr. Hitchcock exhibited a volume of the Newspaper Reports of the Society, from the year 1849 to the end of 1853, carefully inlaid, interleaved, and bound. This unique collection contains some matter not printed in the Transactions, and affords a curious record of the Society's proceedings from the commencement.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited an impression of the seal of an ecclesiastic, found in June, 1843, in the progress of some works in the castle of Carrickfergus. The matrix is in the possession of Alexander Johns, Esq., Carrickfergus. It is of the oval form, and bears for a device the figure of St. Margaret, with the legend, *ORA PRO NOB' SANCTA MARGARETA.*

Mr. J. Richardson Smith communicated some particulars respecting an ancient brooch, found in the cave of Bhreacain, on the Jura shore of the gulf of Corryvreckan; as also of another, found in the island of Mull; presenting, at the same time, seven hundred and fifty impressions of the accompanying beautifully executed lithograph of those remains, intended to illustrate his communication.

"The brooch figured in the lithograph without the acus, although its Celtic or Dalriadic origin will hardly be doubted, yet has an additional interest from the romantic position in which it was found. It is of bronze, much decayed, and coated with a brown varnish-like oxide. The lithograph, although most accurately drawn, yet scarcely conveys the idea of its ancient character and appearance. The brooch was found in a small cave immediately adjoining the cave of Bhreacain, on the Jura shore of the gulf of Corryvreckan, which runs between the northern part of Jura and the island of Scarba. This gulf, or whirlpool, is noted in fable as the spot where Bhreacain, the son of a king of Denmark, was swallowed up with his ship and crew, he having fruitlessly tried to anchor with three anchors in the gulf. His body, says the story, was brought to the shore by his dog, and was buried in the cave which still bears his name, the corruption or change of which gives the title to the gulf. Bhreacain in the Gaelic, I am told, means Tartan,—*Breac*, striped or spotted; *ain*, a person or thing. The tradition or superstition of the peasants in the neighbourhood, on the brooch being dug up, at once decided that it had belonged to a person who died of the plague of 1665, in the reign of Charles II., and that it was unlucky to remove it, and it was left for two years on a ledge of rock in the cave. There are on the same farm-lands stone barrows of undoubted Celtic origin, which are reputed to be the ruins of stone houses pulled down, or left to fall over the bodies of those who died from the same disease. The brooch came into my possession from an old schoolmaster who found courage to take it away, and from whom I also got a bronze spear measuring 14½ inches in length, which he found buried in a peat moss on the

same farm. He informed me that he had seen swords, made of hard wood, dug up in the same moss,—they were sharp at each edge, but were called by the people *bachuils* or *cluba*. I cannot find that any of these have been preserved; but he informed me he had given many curious articles which he had collected to the late Walter Campbell, Esq., of Islay. I have strongly urged him to preserve any other memorials of a past age which may be found, for the instruction and information of those who would trace the story of a pre-historic race by the weapons or ornaments which time may have spared. Of the other brooch, much the most interesting from its high finish, I unfortunately only know that it was found in the island of Mull. It is of bronze; two of the stones remaining, much decayed, in their settings; the centre one is wanting; they appear to consist of some blue paste or composition, and have much the look of *lapis lazuli*; the two flat pieces on the lower part of the brooch are thin plates of gold inlaid in the bronze. I purchased the brooch, with a large collection of Celtic antiquities, in the village of Lochgilphead, Argyleshire; and on going a few days after to inquire as to the localities where several of the articles were found, I learned that the party from whom I made the purchase died on the following day from an attack of cholera, so that no information could be had respecting any of them. I may, in conclusion, say a word as to the difficulty experienced by a person not speaking or understanding the language to obtain a correct spelling even of one Gaelic word; for as to the word *Breacan*, I have been assured by those who seem to speak and write Gaelic equally well, that it was *Breacan*, *Bhreacain*, while the common name is *Vreck'an*."

The Rev. James Graves, in contributing a transcript of a curious document preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, said that it was the return, signed in autograph, of a commission issued by royal authority to ascertain the damage mutually inflicted on each other in the course of the deadly feud then raging between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, and their respective followers. Although, from the reasons set forth in the document, the statement is *ex parte*, yet it gives a melancholy picture of affairs in Ireland at that period; and affords at the same time an insight into the value of cattle, horses, and corn in that country at the period. The report of the commissioners is dated October 31, 1567; and large as is the award therein given against the Earl of Desmond (£20,894 12s. 8d., Irish money), a letter from Queen Elizabeth, two years after, ordered restitution money, to the still more enormous sum of £50,000, to be paid to the Earl of Ormonde. Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy, commenting on this award, remarks :—"The Earl's whole inheritance will not answer it for these forty years to come."¹ The report of the commissioners is written on one skin of parchment, which is fastened, bookwise, by the labels of the seals to two blank skins, and on the back of the outside skin is written, in an old hand, "Deposicōns of Witnesses concerning the Spoiles cōmitted by the Erle

¹ "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. iii. p. 50.

of Desmonde." The seals are all lost except that of Fynglas, which is blank, and Nugent's, which is charged with two bars ermine, with a fleur de lis as a mark of cadency in the seventh degree. The document was as follows:—

"MEMORANDUM where the Queens moost excellent ma^{ty} by hir hieghnes comission sealed wth her greates Seale of this hir realme of Irland directed vnto us whose hands and seales are hereunto subscribed and put [. . .], to inquier of, heire, examyn and finally determyn by all wayes and meanes that to our circumspections should be thought mete and expedient, all and singular the debata, controversies, quarrells, grieffes, and all manner [. . .] nmitie, moved or growen betwixt Thomas Erle of Ormounde and Ossorie and his servaunts, tennaunts, and folowers of thone p^{ar}tie, and Gerald Erle of Desmounde and his servaunts, tennaunts, and folowers of thother p^{ar}tie [. . .] concernyng all maner of murders, manlaughters, burnyngs, Riots, frayes, vnleasfull assembles, breaches of hir ma^{ty}s peace, spoiles, praies, roberies, and detayners of goods, chattles or men, and for all other maner of offences and trespases doon or comyttyd by the saide Erles or any of them, or by any of the saide p^{ar}sons against other, contrary to hir hieghnes lawes as in the same comission herevnto annexed more at large dothe and maye appeare. We [. . .] of the said comission having receyved severall books of articles of the p^{ar}te of the saide Erle of Ormounde, his tennaunts, servaunts, and folowers, comprehending dyvers and sondry treasons, felonies, murders [. . .] trespasses and such like offences doon and comyttyd by the saide Erle of Desmounde and his brother S^r John of Desmounde Knight, the white knight, and dyvers others of the saide Erle of Desmoundes men, his tennaunts, and folowers, and such others as depende upon hym dwelling under his rule and by him maynteyned. We did take and receyve severall deposicions vpon every of the saide Articles, for the prouf and verifieng thereof, as in the book hereunto annexed, wherein is conteyned not onely the saide severall articles but also the deposicions of the same, more at lardge appeareth. And of the p^{ar}te of the saide Erle of Desmounde, his servaunts, tennaunts, and folowers nothing [. . .] was before us to chardge the saide Erle of Ormounde, his servaunts, tennaunts, or folowers, albeit the right honorable the Lorde Deputie sent the M^r of the Rolls and Seriaunt fynglas, twoo of the saide comysioners, to the saide Erle of Desmounde (he then being in hir ma^{ty}s Castle of Dublin) to declare vnto him howe comysioners were travailing to the borders of their severall rules to heir, examyn, Judge, ordre, and ende the causes betwyxt the saide Erles and their servaunts, tennaunts, and folowers, and to vnderstande whether he woulde authorise any to propone and set furthe his and his tennaunts, servaunts, and folowers grieffes and hurts against the said Erle of Ormounde and those under his rule; who refused sayeng that he would send noon ne yet propone any mattres againste the sayde Earle of Ormounde or any undre his rule. And albeit the saide Lorde Deputie sent agayne S^r John Plunket knight chief Justice of hir ma^{ty}s chief place, and James Bathe hir hieghnes chief Baron, to the said Erle of Desmounde to require him to sende his causes of complaint wth oon authorised to set furthe same before the said comysioners that they might procede aswell to descide the causes of thone side as of thother, who before them utterly refused so to do, and his answer

signified unto us hir ma^{ty} said comysioners by the said Lorde Deputie, who was then towards the confines of bothe countreys, viz. at Clonemel in the countie of Tipparie, addressed o' fres unto the saide S^r John, brother to the saide Erle, and then capitayne of the countrey in thabsence of his said brother, requiring him not oonly to repaire vnto us wth suche causes of complainte as he and other the tennts and followers of his said brother had againste the said Erle of Ormounde or any under his rule, and also to cause proclamation to be made through oute his rule that all those that had ane like cause of complaint should repaire to such place wⁱⁿ the saide Erle of Desmounds rule, and at such tyme, as he shoulde appointe, at whiche place or tyme we would [. . .] there for the hiring and ending of the saide causes; who returned aunswere vnto us that he was prohibited by his saide brother therle of Desmounde to deale in any such matter, and so for himself and those under his saide brothers rule neither came nor sent any authorised in that bihaulf, wherevpon we proceded to the taking, and after to the pusing of the saide deposicions taken vpon the said Articles exhibited on the bihaulf of the said Erle of Ormounde and other his tenn^{ts}, servaunts, & followers, by whiche deposicions appeared vnto us playenly and manifestly that there was taken and spoiled from Therle of Ormounde and those under his rule, specified [*in the saide articles on their*] pte, therein alledged, the numbre of nyne thousaunde eight hundrethe threschore and syxtene kyne, which we judge rate and value at twenty shillings lawfull money of Irlande the cowe, and so the same amounteth to nyne thousaunde eight hundrethe threschore and syxtene pounds lawfull money of Irlande. Eight hundrethe and foune stood mares, whiche we judge rate and vallue at thirty three shillings and four pence of the like money the mare, and so the same amounteth to oon thousand three hundreth and forty pounds. Two thousaunde eight hundrethe twenty and seven ploughe gerrance, whiche we judge rate and value at twenty six shillings and eight pence of the like money the gerrane, and so the same amounteth to three thousaunde seven hundrethe three schore and nyne pounds sixe shillings and eight pence. Foure thousande foure hundrethe syxty and eight swine, whiche we judge rate and value at three shillings and four pence of the like money the sowe, and so the same amountethe to seven hundrethe forty and three pounds. Seventene thousaunde eight hundrethe forty and oon shepe and goats, whiche we judge rate and value at two shillings of the like money the shepe and goate, and so the same amounteth to nyne hundrethe thirty foure pounds and twoe shillings. [Foure] thousaunde seven hundrethe forty seven pounds sixtene shillings and eight pence in money howshoulde stuffe and corne burned. Fifty four bushells of corne taken awaye, which we judge rate and value at [. . .] shillings of like money the bushell, which bushell maketh of London measure foure bushells, so as the same amounteth to sixtene pounds and foure shillings. Thirty and nyne chiefe horsse, whiche we judge, &c. at tenne pounds of the like money the horsse, and so the same amounteth to three hundreth fowreschore and tenne pounds. Twenty hackneys, which we judge, &c. at foure pounds of the like money the hackney, and so the same amounteth to foure schore pounds. There were oon hundrethe and fforty men women and childerne slayne and burned, ffoure Townes burned, twoo hundrethe foure schore and twelve howses burned, and eight ricks of corne, whiche we could not value. The totall sume of

all the afore specified goods by us valued, as afore saide, after the saide rate admounteth to twenty thowsaunde eight hundrethe foure schore and fourtene pounds twelve shillings and eight pence lawfull and current money of Irelande. WHICHE kyne, stode, gerrants, swyne, shepe, goats, money, bushells of corne, chief horsse, and hackeys, over and beside the pticulars afore saide not valued, whiche holy appeared before us by goode prouf, we do order and adjudge that the same shall be aunswered, contented, [. . .] unto the saide Erle of Ormounde or his assignes at Cashell in the countie of Tipparie by the feaste of sent mychell tharchangill next after the date of these psents, vnto thuse of the saide Erle and other the complainants in the saide booke, by the saide Erle of Desmounde, S^r John his brother, the white knight, and others of habilitie specified in the said articles, their heirs, executors, and assignes, for their severall offences and [. . .] and in default of habilitie of the saide S^r John, the white knight, and other before mencioned in tharticles other then the saide Erle, then same to be paide [. . .] and satisfied by the said Erle of Desmounde, his heirs, executors, or assignes, for as much as they were his men and dwelling undre his rule, and by him mayntained and succoured at the tyme of the saide hurts and facts, and that by the feaste afore saide, and also for want of payment of the said cattell in manner aforesaid we do adjudge and ordre that the said Erle, S^r John his brother, the white knight, and others of habilitie specified in the said articles, their heirs, executors, and assignes, for their severall offences shall aunswere and paye by the saide feaste of St. Mighill for the saide cattaille after the rate and value aforesaid. And in defalt of habilitie in any of the saide psons, other than the saide Erle, for the saide satisfaction in money at the rate aforesaide, that then the said Erle of Desmounde, his heirs, executors, and assignes, shall satisfye and paye the said whole summe of money by the saide feaste of Sent Mighell thearchangill for as much as they were his men and such as dwelled under his rule, and by him mayntayned and succoured at the tyme of the said facts comytted.

"YEUXN vndre our hands and seals at Dublin the last daye of October in the nynthe yeare of the most prosperous [.]raigne lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of Englande, ffraunce, and Irlande, Defendour of the faithe, &c.

"Patricke Wat'forde. H. Draycott. Nic. Nugent.
"W. Fitz wylliams. Rychard ffynglas."

Mr. J. G. Robertson, in presenting a sketch of a small ancient cross, recently discovered by him, said :—

"I regret being unable to give any particulars concerning it, as I have been unsuccessful in my endeavours to glean some information from the people in the vicinity of the cross, which is situated on the lands of Ballycallan, in the county of Kilkenny (the property of Henry James Loughnan, Esq.), about a mile from the church of the same name. The cross stands quite close to the hedge bounding the road to Kilmanagh: it is shaded by a fine beech tree, and is evidently very old; the rubble work upon which its base is placed is modern, having been built by the country people, that by thus raising the cross it would look more important, as it is very small, and is called in Irish, 'Crois-gar,' or the little cross. The Rev. James

Graves suggests that it may originally have been the gable cross of Ballycallan Church. I am disposed to adopt this view, as the style or form and size of the cross seem well adapted for such a situation. As local customs are fast disappearing, I would wish to place on record the following custom, which, during my rambles about Ballycallan, I learned from the people of the neighbourhood. On the first day of February (being St. Bridget's day), parties who have relatives buried in the church-yard of Ballycallan come and strip the grass from the graves of their friends, which they then cover with gravel, and decorate with branches of laurel and other evergreens, being unable to procure flowers at the above season."

Mr. E. Fitzgerald, Honorary Local Secretary for Youghal, sent the following account of some traces of ancient polychromy, lately discovered in the church of St. Mary, Youghal :—

"A week or two ago, an old window in the gable between the nave and choir of St. Mary's, which had been built up for centuries, was opened, and, when cleared, was found to be decorated by painting from the springing of the arch upwards. The window is about 40 feet from the ground, and is one of two which occupy the spandrels over the chancel arch; it is an oblong square at the choir side, of 3 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 2 inches; at the nave side it forms a widely splayed Gothic arched window. As the masonry was removed, I examined the arch for a very different purpose, when I observed on the square head, as you look from the nave side, five sets of perpendicular lines, in couples at regular intervals, and above these, on a square band, three stars of about 3 inches in diameter, with two three-quarter circles intervening; the circles are turned on their backs with open sides up. Around the radius of the Gothic part, next the square head, are two lines, 2 inches apart, with a row of small circles about three-quarter inch diameter, forming a neat border. From this part of the arch to the inside edge of the wall is in breadth 2 feet, forming the splay of the window; on the inside edge are three parallel lines, which run round the soffit of the arch, one on the edge, and two close together, 5 inches from the inside, leaving a space of 4 inches between; this space is filled in with radiating lines in couples, the couples repeating at intervals of about 6 inches, down to the springing of the arch, giving quite the appearance of a halo or glory round the head; between this and the inner border of small circles is a space of about 18 inches in breadth; this is also filled in with four eight-pointed stars of 6 inches diameter, at regular intervals. All the stars and circles are of a purple or dark red colour; the different lines are dark blue, and the ground is a light buff or gold colour. The reds have stood well, are in general bright, but the blues are much faded. This is not a bad specimen of our old Irish polychromy work, which I think may be proved some 600 years old. Within the memory of living witnesses, we could boast a painted ceiling of over 100 feet in length, spanning the nave of this fine old fabric; the old oaken roof being then exposed to view, lined between with boarding painted blue and powdered with golden stars.

"In hacking off the plastering from the interior of Killaloe Church another specimen of polychromy was lately discovered, being a dog-tooth, painted in red, round one of the arches."

Mr. John G. A. Prim announced the discovery, by himself and fellow Secretary, of two very fine Ogham stones in the rath of Dunbel, which had been secured for the Society's Museum. He was compelled to hold over a detailed account of the discovery to the next Meeting of the Society, in order that the paper might be accompanied by suitable illustrations, which were being prepared.

Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., M. P., presented to the Society a transcript of the first portion of a Tour in Ireland, by Thomas Dineley, in 1681, being an original manuscript in the possession of Sir Thomas E. Winnington, of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester, Bart., who has kindly permitted it to be transcribed for the use of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. The manuscript is profusely illustrated with pen-and-ink sketches of towns, castles, churches, and sepulchral monuments, many of which have long ceased to exist. As soon as the funds of the Society permit, it is proposed to undertake the printing of this very curious document. The Secretaries will gladly receive donations for this special purpose.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

THE CASTLES OF CORKAGUINY, COUNTY OF KERRY.—No. I.

BY RICHARD HITCHCOCK.

To write the history of the castles of Ireland would be, in a great measure, I believe, to write the history of the country from the English conquest; and the same observation of course applies to any district in Ireland. In offering a description of the present remains of the small castles, or fortalices, of that part of the ancient Desmond country now comprised in the barony of Corkaguiny, in the county of Kerry, I shall, therefore, touch as little as possible on their history, one which, I believe, is but very little known, and which, even if it were written, may not, after all, be a very interesting production. But, considered apart from the troublous times in which the Irish castles were erected, they present to the contemplative mind many pleasing and deeply interesting associations. If we view them as memorials of those times, now happily, and let us hope for ever, passed away, as the theatres in which have been enacted many a tragic as well as joyous scene, as the strongholds of gallant knights and "ladies faire," as the supposed haunts of ghosts and evil spirits, or as picturesque objects dotted over a peaceful and smiling landscape, we have much, indeed, to admire and reflect on. It is in this spirit that I propose to contribute to the Transactions of the Kilkenny

and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society a description of the castles whose ruins now add another charm to the delightful scenery of Corkaguiny—that remote western barony of Kerry, which, as the great Camden says of the county, “shoots forth like a little tongue into the sea, the waves roaring on both sides of it.”

Most of the English Archæological Societies devote a considerable share of their attention to the old castles of their country, illustrating their ivy-clad ruins, and recording their history and present state in the pages of their Transactions. Irish antiquaries, too, it is to be hoped, will not permit their fine castle ruins to remain unnoticed, or their history unrecorded. If an antiquarian lady or gentleman, residing in a district where castles exist, would only undertake to describe, accurately, the castles of her or his own neighbourhood, prefacing the description of each, whenever possible, with a brief sketch of its history, and, when materials exist, enlivening the whole with some local legend, I venture to say we should soon have a useful and interesting work on the castles of Ireland; and if the writer possesses the additional accomplishment of being able to use the pencil, a sketch of some picturesque or otherwise interesting castle ruin, or even of some memorable stone of it, would render the work the more valuable.

In a scrap from an old newspaper I find the following enumeration of the castles existing in the British Islands:—England, 461; Wales, 107; Scotland, 155; Ireland, 120; total, 843. This enumeration, doubtless, includes only the large baronial castles, or those celebrated in history; but I am of opinion, that the *total* number would be found in Ireland alone! Lewis, in his “Topographical Dictionary of Ireland,” the “Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland,” and other authorities (not always, indeed, the best), mention *thirty* as the number of feudal castles in Kerry; and reckoning in proportion for the other thirty-one counties of Ireland, we shall have over 900, instead of 120, for the whole, which shows what inaccurate statements there are respecting our antiquities, even supposing my rough estimate to be double the actual number of castles in Ireland, which I do not think is probable. And I have no doubt, that the number 30, as the total given for Kerry, is also much below the truth. In the one small barony of Corkaguiny alone, as I shall show, there seem to have been no less than twelve or thirteen castles, many of them, of course, small structures; and if each of the other seven baronies contains a like number, or even near it, we shall have a total for the county of about *ninety* castles, each having some share, more or less, in the history of the ancient “Kingdom.” Military strengths of nearly every variety, from the aboriginal earthwork to the baronial castle, and from the defensive fortress of the settled inhabitant to the hasty redoubt of Spanish or English invaders, are found in Kerry.

The barony of Corkaguiny, judging from the nuntles, their commanding positions, and other circumstances seem to have played no unimportant part in the historical times gone by ; but I regret that I cannot do these castles which their history and occupants require,—inseparably they are with the great House of Desmond. My impulse may, however, induce some more competent hands in Ireland, to take up the subject of our ruined castles, many are fast mouldering to decay and being destroyed by fire. Following are the names of the castles which once stood in the barony of Corkaguiny, and around the ruins of most of which since sprung up :—Ballineanig, Ballingolin, Camp, Castle Dingle, Fermoy, Ferriter's, Gallerus, Minard, Moore, Rahinnane. Dingle is said to have had three castles, a tradition of one having existed at Glandine, near Camp, make the total number to be *fourteen*. Ruins, more of these castles, except Ballingolin, Castle-Gregory, Fermoy, Glandine, still exist. It had been, and still is, my wish to ascertain the *dates of erection* of the castles ; but, after much search and inquiry, I have not been able to find anywhere detailed accounts of them, and have to content myself with little description of each ruin. They are all apparently of the same date, and were erected, for the greater part, during the reigns of the Seventh and Eighth Henries, by the Geraldines and retainers, the Moores, Ferriters, &c., for defence and mutual support of each other.

In the map of "The Province of Mounster," in Speed's curious collection, entitled, "The Theatre of the Empire of Britaine," folio, Lond. 1611, the following Corkaguiny castles are marked :—"C. Mores" (Moorestown) ; "C. Sibbell" ("C. Gally" (Gallerus) ; "Rahama" (Rahinnane) ; "D. Minet" (Minard) ; "C. Gregory" (Castle-Gregory) ; and "C. Linder," marked on the north shore of Castlemaine Bay (Ireland), this, unless it be intended for the "Glandine," before mentioned. The London (1633) and Dublin (1810) editions of the "Theatre of Mounster" contain some interesting engravings of several of the castles of Munster, and the manner of taking them. Of the castles there are, unfortunately, engravings of only Castle-Gregory and Castle-Maine given. Those of Corkaguiny, marked on the "Province of Mounster" in that work, are the same as in Speed's, viz. :—"C. Gally ;" "C. Sibbell ;" "C. M. Gregory ;" "C. Linder ;" "C. Minet ;" Dingle, and Dingle. These maps furnish evidence that the castles just named existed before the commencement of the seventeenth century, and existing proof that one, at least (Castle-Gregory), near Dingle, existed a century before that period. Dingle castles, in all

were still older. It will have been seen, that Ballineanig, Ballingolin, Camp, and Fermoyle castles, are not marked in the maps, from which circumstance the natural inference may, I think, be drawn, that these four castles were erected after the publication of Speed's maps and the "*Pacata Hibernia*;" for it is not likely that they all could have been omitted from both works. Indeed, a date which I shall introduce in the description of Ballineanig Castle would seem to establish with certainty that it was not built till sixty years after the publication of the "*Pacata Hibernia*," allowing the date to have been placed in the castle wall on its completion. The castle, however, seems to have been built before this period, as I believe it is to be found marked on Sir William Petty's map of Kerry, published in 1683. Smith, the historian of Kerry, is defective in his remarks on the ancient castles of the county, as, indeed, he is on many other points connected with its history and antiquities. The castles of Rahinnane, Ballineanig, Gallerus, and Moorestown, appear to have been built within sight of each other (no doubt a matter of importance in those times); as were Ferriter's and the three latter; so were also those of Dingle and Ballingolin; and Camp, Castle-Gregory, and Fermoyle. It is remarkable that it is the *east* or *north-east* sides of the Corkaguiny castles that are the most ruined; e. g. Ferriter's, Gallerus, Minard, Moorestown, and Rahinnane; the *south-west* angle of the existing castles is, in all cases, standing. Castle-Gregory, Ferriter's, and Moorestown castles still retain the names of their founders, that of Castle-Gregory bearing the Christian name of its builder, Gregory Hoare, or, as others say, Gregory Hussey. Having made these general remarks on the Corkaguiny castles, I shall now proceed with my description of their ruins, partly the result of many pleasant days passed amongst them, but principally drawn up from notes taken in the autumn of 1854.

BALLINEANIG.—The ruins of this castle—if the term may be applied to a small portion of the wall, which is all that remains—are now surrounded by the village of Ballineanig, about five miles to the west of Dingle, at the foot of Ballyferriter Hill, and command a fine view of Smerwick Harbour.

The castle, as we have already seen, is not marked in the map of Munster in Speed's collection, or the "*Pacata Hibernia*;" but in Petty's map of Kerry (1683) it appears as "Castle-Marhin"—thus showing, if we can depend on these maps (no other castle answers the spot marked), that it was built some time between the years 1630 and 1680.

Only a small portion of the wall of this castle now remains, forming part of the end of a house in the village. The rest, I was told, "fell itself," and the stones were, of course, used for other purposes. Mrs. M'Donough, of Dingle, has in her possession a small stone from this castle, which was left with her by the late

Admiral Moriarty's daughter, some thirty years ago, whose family, according to Lewis ("Topographical Dictionary," art. "Marhyn"), formerly resided in Ballineanig Castle. The stone is a brown sandstone, evidently but a fragment of a larger one, and measures 16 inches long, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and 3 inches thick. It is, however, interesting, as exhibiting the following inscription, in raised characters:—

ANNO
1694†

There is also the greater part of an 1 before the date, which is probably the last letter of the word DOMINI, as we have ANNO on the first line; and the mark after the 4 is a small fleur de lis. We have already seen that Ballineanig Castle must have existed before this date, which may have been placed over the doorway, or in some other part of the building, by the Moriarties, on their coming into possession of the castle. Mrs. M'Donough has also an antique three-sided glass seal, found in digging potatoes in a garden near the castle. On one side is the figure of a man's head and shoulders, in profile, wearing a cap; on the other are two birds, standing, and over them a crown; and the third side is plain. The brass appendage by which the seal was suspended is still attached.

BALLINGOLIN.—The spot which I was shown as the site of this castle is now marked by a modern but dilapidated "turret," in the north corner of a field, between Burnham House, the seat of Lord Ventry, and Dingle Harbour. It may, however, be right to observe, that the Ordnance Survey marks the "site" of the castle a little farther west, in Burnham demesne, at the north side of the house, and at the western extremity of Dingle Harbour.

We learn from Dr. Smith¹ that Ballingolin was a castle which belonged to the family of Rice before the wars of 1641, when it was forfeited and destroyed. Smith also tells us that there was found in a bog, five or six feet deep, near Burnham, a very large old brass spur, which had been gilt, and probably belonged to one of the Knights Templars (?), who formerly had lands in this barony, which is now (1756) in the possession of Mr. Mullens. It may be interesting to ascertain if this ancient relic is still in existence.

No trace of Ballingolin Castle now remains. Both the spots before mentioned appear as if a castle had never existed there, so completely is every trace of it blotted out; and when I visited the locality, in the autumn of 1854, stone walls, enclosing meadows and fields of waving corn, occupied the site of Ballingolin Castle.

CAMP.—The scattered remains of this castle lie at the left hand side of the road from Tralee to Dingle, near Camp Roman Catholic Chapel, and Post Office. The elevated site, now a pretty green

¹ "Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry," p. 179.

knoll, commands a splendid view of the surrounding country, including the whole of the fine glen, nearly at the foot of which the castle stood, Brandon Head, Castle-Gregory, the Magharee Islands, Tralee Bay, and the coast at the other side, with the dark and stately-looking tower of Fenit Castle.

The name of this castle would seem to imply that it, or its site, was the halting-place of some hostile force in times now happily gone by. In Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary" (article "Kilgobbin"), the remains at Camp are mentioned as "the ruins of an ancient castle," which would seem to show that they were not as scattered and reduced to fragments when he wrote, about twenty years ago, as they now are.

A few traces only of the castle now remain, consisting of hard masses of masonry and scattered stones, all being the brown sandstone of the district. A block of the wall measures six feet thick, and a portion of an arch also remains, formed of a mass of masonry, the whole composed of hammered stone. Vestiges of old buildings, like houses, may be seen in the enclosed space around the scattered ruins of the castle, which were probably appendages to it. There is a tradition of a "Glandine Castle" having existed a little farther up the glen in which Camp Castle is situated, at the opposite side of the river, on the present townland of Glandine; but no traces of it now remain. The site, however, is still pointed out.

CASTLE-GREGORY.—The site is shown in the village, which is situated at the entrance of the long and low sandy peninsula, stretching out between the bays of Brandon and Tralee, and of which, probably, the present Magharee Islands once formed a part; but all traces of the castle, except those which I shall presently mention, have long since disappeared.

We are told in the "Pacata Hibernia" (p. 297), that Castle-Gregory and "the Rahane his chiefe mannor house," were taken from the Knight of Kerry by Sir Charles Wilmot, March 5, 1602; and Smith supplies us with the following notice of Castle-Gregory:—"In this parish is a castle called Castle-Gregory: before the wars of 1641 it was possessed by Walter Hussey, Esq., who was proprietor of the Magheries and Ballybegan, who, having a considerable party under his command, made a garrison of his castle, where, being long pressed by Cromwell's forces, he escaped in the night with all his men, and got into Minard castle, in which, being quickly beset by the colonels Lehunt and Sadler, after some time spent, the English observing that the besieged made use of pewter bullets, he and his men were blown up by powder, laid under the vaults of the castle."¹ We gather from an interesting Legend of Castle-Gregory, published in the "Dublin University Magazine,"

¹ "Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry," pp. 195-6.

for February, 1851, and since reprinted in the "Kerry 1854 and 1855, that the castle was built by Gregor in the sixteenth century, for the protection of the grant held by him, as tenant-in-chief, under the "I blown up by the Parliamentary forces in 1649.

The castle has long since vanished. As one pass village, however, numerous beautifully hewn stones m into the houses on all sides, as quoins and side stone windows, which, it is easy to see, were never prepared in which they now occupy places. These stones are p stone; but a few brown stones may also be seen amon Patrick Commane, a very intelligent inhabitant of C showed me two stones, one at either side of the fire-pl in the village, each of which is perforated by a hole ab in diameter, one having a side cut thus C. Bot are said to have been used for pointing muskets throu is more probable, however, that they received the i a door; but in this case the side cut does not appear could not hear of any curved or ornamental stones bel castle about the village, all the remaining examples— many—being plain stones, nearly square. Mr. Commar me the "site" of the castle, in a spot now occupied b their yards, in one of which latter he told me that a v human skulls had been lately dug up, and were placed the fence, where they remained for some time. Adjoi a portion of which, covered with rich yellow weeds w is still called *gáirbín an cáirleáin*—the castle garden late visit to Castle-Gregory (in 1854), I was informed by a native of the place, and now a very old and intellige he had seen large portions of this castle and that of Ferm about seventy years ago, he being then about eleven Gregory-Castle, he added, stood on a green "mour war and time had done their work, then came the des of man, in another form, and pulled away whatever of the castle.

Castle-Gregory is celebrated by the Legend in "University Magazine," before mentioned; and as there of the history of the castle interwoven with the story refer to it as an interesting and well-drawn picture of th author is evidently an antiquary, and he has rescued fro and brought to light, an interesting remain of the old the inscribed arch of the doorway, consisting of two sto the Legend of Castle-Gregory is principally founded, s now carefully preserved over a doorway in the lawn o

¹ See O'Daly's "Tribes of Ireland," p. 74.

near Tralee. The first of the accompanying engravings, which have been very carefully executed by Mr. George A. Hanlon, of Dublin, represents the stones as I sketched them last autumn. The in-

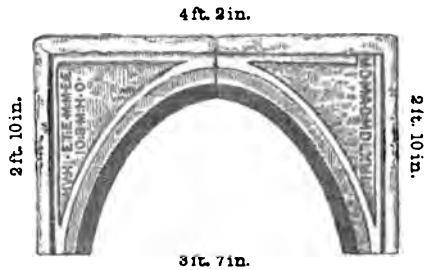


Fig. 1.

scription, as given in the Legend of Castle-Gregory, reads as follows, some of the names, of course, being imaginary :—

HV. H. ET : E. M. : ME. E. : V. D. M. A. D. MDLXVI. 10. B. M. H. O. —

Hugh Hoare et Eileen Moore me effecere. Quinto die Maii, A. D. 1566.
Johannes Barrett, minister. hujus operis.

It having been, however, suggested to me, that the stones, as now placed, are not in their original or proper position, and that they originally formed a Tudor arch, I have also had them thus engraved.



Fig. 2.

But now an apparent difficulty presented itself: the initial letters and date came *before* the rest of the inscription, which, I believe, is not very usual in monuments of this age and class. Moreover, the narrow form of the arch and its doorway agreed with all the other castle doorways I had seen, while I have not seen any like that which the broad arch would produce. I have, therefore, sent copies of the two engravings to some dozen or eighteen friends, including antiquaries and architects, and obtained their several opinions on them. Many of the letters with which I have been favoured, and for which I here beg to thank the writers, contain some interesting remarks on the probable form of the arch and reading of the inscription ;

but the introduction of them here would make this paper far exceed the limits within which I wish to keep it. It may be sufficient to state, that the opinions are, for the most part, different; some supposing that the engraving No. 1 is the proper form, and others that No. 2 is more correct; the inscription, of course, to be read accordingly; some, that the v. d. m. in the inscription have reference to the date which follows; and others, that they mean an invocation of the Virgin Mary! One gentleman, well acquainted with Castle-Gregory and its neighbourhood, writes rather convincingly on this latter supposition. It is not for me, however, to say which form of the arch, or which reading of the inscription, is right; and I now leave the matter in the hands of those who are better qualified to favour us with their opinions on it. It will, of course, be necessary to have some little knowledge of the history of the castle, in order to a satisfactory reading of the inscription, supposing that in the Legend of Castle-Gregory to be made out merely for the purpose of the legend. Be the form of the door-head, or the reading of the inscription, what it may, however, we have preserved in the latter probably an important incident in the history of Castle-Gregory, whatever it may be,—whether the date of its erection and the name of the founder, or of some other important event in its early history. The inscription, which is in *raised* characters, on the *indented* surface of the stones (as represented in the engravings), is finely preserved, with the exception of the *date*, particularly the MDL, which is much obliterated; and it is remarkable, that the four letters immediately preceding the date are quite fresh and plain. From the manner in which the two lower letters (H and I) of the two left-hand lines (fig. 1), and the lower letter (I) of the right-hand line, are crushed in, and from the v at the top of the last-mentioned line being placed where it is, it strikes me, that the whole inscription was cut from right to left, as we see it in fig. 2. The stones measure $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness across the inside of the arch; the other dimensions are given with the engraving, from which it will be seen that 3 feet 7 inches is rather a good breadth for an ancient castle doorway, while the Tudor arch (No. 2) will give a breadth of doorway of about 5 feet 2 inches. The material is a fine-grained lime-stone, of which we have already seen the castle would seem to have been for the most part built, supplied, in all probability, by the neighbouring Magharee Islands and adjacent coast, which is the only part of the barony that produces lime-stone.

DINGLE.—This town is said to have had three castles, the sites of which are still pointed out.

According to the “Traveller’s New Guide through Ireland” (page 309), which of course must have taken its information from some older source, a strong castle was erected in Dingle in the year 1580, the vaults of which are now (1815) converted into a prison.

The following notices from Dr. Smith, although they contain but little of the history of the Dingle castles, are yet not without some interest. Writing of the town he says :—"The Irish formerly called it Daingean ni Cushy, i.e. the fastness or castle of Hussey,¹ an old English family, to whom one of the Fitz-Geralds, earls of Desmond, had formerly granted a considerable tract of land in these parts; viz. from Castle-Drum² to Dingle; and, others say, he gave him as much as he could walk over in his jack-boots in one day.³ Hussey built a castle here, which is said to have been the first that was erected in this place, the vaults of which are now used as the town gaol. It was forfeited by the earl of Desmond, or at least by one of his followers, on his rebellion; and was granted to the earl of Ormond, with divers other lands contiguous to it; from whom — Fitz-Gerald, knt. of Kerry, bought it, who also had a large old castle in this town."—pp. 175-6. In the year 1580, "Ormond, after Sir James of Desmond's defeat, divided his men into two parties, and marched with one of them to Castle-Island, whilst the other marched from Castlemain towards Tralee, where they joined: and having again separated them into three divisions, they marched towards Dingle, driving all the people of Corkaguiny before them. In this expedition, they took 8000 cows, besides sheep and horses, slew many people, and would have killed several more, had not Sir William Winter, who was then in Ventry harbour, with three of the Queen's ships, granted many of them protections."—p. 271. During the siege of Listowel Castle, in November, 1600, "the knight of Kerry went to the president [Sir George Carew], carrying with him a favourable letter concerning his good behaviour ever since his submission; and that he had lately delivered up his castle of Dingle to Sir Charles [Wilmot], which testimony wrought so much with the president, that he gave him a kind reception, and sent him home much pleased with his journey."—p. 287. It is added, in the "*Pacata Hibernia*," that the castle of Dingle was delivered up by William Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, to Sir Charles Wilmot, in 1600 (p. 99); and we are further told by Lewis, in his "*Topographical Dictionary*," that, "in 1600, the *sugan* Earl of Desmond having been refused admittance into the Knight of Kerry's castle, revenged the affront by setting fire to the town."—art. "Dingle." It was subsequently, however, delivered up to Sir Charles Wilmot, who for some time made it his head-quarters. In 1602, Sir Charles Wilmot sent from Castlemaine "one half of his men into the Knight of Kerry's country (who continued in arms

¹ Dingle appears to have had this name, which in its correct form is an old Irish one, long before Hussey's time.—See O'Donovan's "Four Mas-

ters," A. D. 1579, vol. v. p. 1714, n. 1.

² About three miles to the west of Castlemaine.

³ Verily, those were good old times.

since the arrival of the Spaniards), ordering them same, and to drive all the cattle towards Dingle. In this detachment, with the remainder of his men, a haw,¹ where he met the Knt. of Kerry, with one followers, and two hundred mercenaries, drawn up half a mile of which he had a castle garrisoned by Charles, in order to draw him to firm ground, sent the castle gate, who, in three hours, gained possession of the knight, well knowing that he could not be a horse in the bog, stood firm, and resolutely charged who came up to him. Sir Charles, observing that in great danger, if they should retreat, drew up his head of his pikes, and bore down upon the enemy. was well, and for a long time, disputed on both sides twenty men were killed with pike and sword. seeing the event very doubtful, alighting from their the bog, which reinforcement put the Irish to flight they were pursued for more than a mile (as they our lish) but very few of them were slain."—"Smith,"

The vaults of one of the Dingle castles are said to have been used for a considerable time as the town gaol, which is now used for the reere of the present market-house. A low, and a small cut stone and grated window, are still to be seen remains of the building; while in several of the garden walls may be seen some of the hewn stones of the most part covered over with white-wash! One by a cut stone doorway, said to have been that of an arch of which very much resembles the narrow form of Castle-Gregory, already described, the shaft of which thing between the semicircular and pointed, but approaches to the latter (see engraving, No. 1, p. 352). On a stone near the corner of an outhouse, I noticed a portion of a carving, resembling (as well as I could see it) a tree; probably other interesting remains of the castle now buried or covered over with plaster. Mrs. M'Donough, w

¹ From the mention of "Ballinahaw" in the above account, I take the bog and castle to be those of Moorestown; though why Sir Charles Wilmot, marching from Castlemaine to Dingle, should have made Ballinahaw, on the north side of the peninsula, his way, I cannot easily understand. I find, however, another "Ballinahaw," to the east of Castle-Gregory, marked on Sir Wm. Petty's map of Kerry, and thus mentioned in the "Pacata Hibernia:"—

"Ballyhow, ten mil-
mange, where hee [Sir
found the Knight of
hundred of his owne
hundred Bonoghs, u
half a mile from the
Knight had a ward."—
p. 534. I cannot fin
how," or "Ballyhow
nance map, and the
it, in the place indic
Ballinknockane, near

opposite the market-house, and who has been already mentioned, informed me that there is in her house a portion of a wall, seven feet in thickness, which belonged to one of the Dingle castles, and that there were formerly other similar walls there, the stones of which were purchased by a Mr. Hutchinson, an architect, some for five shillings, and others for seven shillings a piece. An arched passage still remaining, close to Mrs. M'Donough's house, is also said to have belonged to the old castle which stood there. For a further notice of Dingle and its castles, see my paper entitled *Dingle in the Sixteenth Century*, in the "Transactions" for 1852.

FERMOYLE.—No trace of this castle remains; but the "site" is marked on the Ordnance Survey map, and is still pointed out on the lawn opposite Fermoy House, the beautiful seat of Robert Conway Hickson, Esq. The castle must have been in sight of Castle-Gregory, as Mr. Hickson showed me the latter place with the aid of a telescope; and the noble bay of Brandon flows up to within a short distance of where it stood.

According to Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary" (at the word "Cloghane"), some part of Fermoy Castle was standing in or about 1837, when he published his work; but perhaps the only notice which I can now give of the latest remains of the castle is that supplied by the following extract from a letter with which I have been favoured by Mr. Hickson:—"On my return from Dingle this evening [Aug. 24, 1854], I found yours of the 22nd inst. before me, and beg in reply to offer you freely any local aid or assistance in my power in forwarding your antiquarian researches. I regret I cannot offer you any information worthy your acceptance. In reference to the castles you specially inquire about:—*First, as to Fermoy.* The site of this castle, as well as I can ascertain (and I have scarcely directed any attention to the subject), was about fifty feet, or thereabouts, in front of the present house. When this house was building, about *eleven years* ago, I remember the labourers pointing out to me the remains of some apparently foundation walls, which in course of digging and excavating they had exposed, and which they pronounced to be the foundation walls of the old castle. I may further mention that there was a stone used in the building of this house (without my consent, as I intended preserving it), which for many years previously had been the *only memento* of the castle. It was a large red sand-stone, which had evidently been carefully dressed and chiselled." I must add, that Mr. Hickson *has*, in the kindest manner, afforded me every facility for examining the sites of the castles of Fermoy and Castle-Gregory, and given me every information which he possessed respecting them. Would that antiquarian researches in other parts of Ireland were so facilitated!

ON THE IRISH COINS OF MARY.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, M.D., M.R.I.A.

WHEN Mary ascended the throne, on the 6th of July, 1553, she appeared desirous to share the popularity which King Edward VI. had acquired by restoring the coinage to a better standard. Accordingly, on the 20th of August she issued a proclamation, in which she declared that she was "fully resolved and determined, with all convenient speed, to cause to be made and set forth certain coins, as well of gold as silver, of the perfect fineness, according to the rates hereafter ensuing." And that all the new coins were to be received by all persons within her dominions, "the realm of Ireland only excepted, forasmuch as her Highness's coins have there a special standard."¹

As no records have been preserved in Ireland respecting the "special standard" mentioned in the proclamation quoted by Ruding, we must see if any inference bearing on the subject can be deduced from the documents concerning Mary's English coins.

We learn from Lowndes that in the first year of Mary's reign "a pound weight of silver, eleven ounces fine, was coined into three pounds by tale; and that Thomas Egerton was master and worker."²

Leake, in his "Historical Account of English Money," on the authority of Stowe,³ gives the 4th of September as the date of the proclamation, and states that the indenture cited by Lowndes bore the same date as the proclamation which, according to Ruding, was "given at our Manor of Richmond, on the twentieth day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign."

From Leake it appears that "the indenture, dated the twentieth of August, with Thomas Egerton, Thomas Stanley, and others," preceded the proclamation by fifteen days, which seems to be the order they ought to follow, and in the proclamation, or indenture as Leake calls it, given by Ruding, mention is made of the Queen's determination, "with all convenient speed, to cause to be made and set forth certain coins, as well of gold as silver," and that "her Majesty hath ordered, and established to be made within her mints, these several coins, as well of SILVER IN FINENESS OF THE STANDARD STERLING, as also of gold."

The discrepancy in the dates given by these authorities can only be reconciled by reference to the original documents, if they exist; it is, however, clear that the promise of the Queen to restore

¹ Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage." Silver Coins." 8vo. 1695, p. 49.

8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 2.

³ Third edit. 8vo. 1793, p. 223.

² "Essay for the Amendment of the

"Annals." Folio, 1631, p. 616.

the gold and silver to "perfect fineness" is contradicted in the indenture referred to by Lowndes respecting the silver, which was ordered to be one penny-weight worse than the standard fixed by the indenture of the sixth of Edward VI., instead of being restored to the old standard of eleven ounces, two penny-weights fine, and eighteen penny-weights alloy.

The exception in the proclamation of the 20th of August, 1553, respecting the "special standard" for Ireland, is quoted, from the second edition of Leake, 8vo. 1745, by Simon, who says :—"Accordingly, she ordered this year, shillings, groats, two-penny pieces, and probably pennies, to be struck for this kingdom; but of as coarse and base a metal as any made use of in the two last reigns. Forty of these shillings, I suppose, went to the pound Troy, and weighed each one hundred and forty-four grains; the groat, forty-eight grains, at the rate of one hundred and twenty to the pound; and the two-penny pieces, twenty-four grains, at the rate of two hundred and forty to the pound."¹

Ruding, who quotes the foregoing extract from Simon, observes in a note :—"Contrary to his usual practice, this very respectable author has given no authority for the above proportions. He could not, surely, intend that they should rest upon his supposition only."²

This is a very proper objection, and is courteously expressed, but Ruding forgot that he had not given any authority for the important proclamation published by himself.

Simon appears to have grounded his supposition of the standard weight of Mary's Irish coins on the indenture made in 1554, after her marriage, by which "Sir Edmund Peckam, Knight, Treasurer of the Mint of England; Thomas Stanley, Comptroller; and William Knight, Assay-Master, or any two of them, were impowered to make out of ten thousand pounds worth of base monies, brought into England by King Philip, shillings, at twelve pence Irish, forty of them to the pound, or one hundred and twenty groats to the pound, and at the rate of three ounces fine, and nine ounces alloy; according to which the shilling weighed one hundred and forty-four grains."³

We learn from Lowndes, that in 1553 the pound weight of silver was to be coined into one hundred and eighty groats, or "three pounds by tale;" and from Leake, that on the 6th of December, 1554, "shillings, sixty to the pound," were ordered to be made, "according to and under the covenants of the indenture of the 20th of August," 1553. The English shilling of Philip and Mary should therefore weigh ninety-six grains.

¹ Edit. 1749, p. 35.

² "Annals," vol. iii. p. 4.

³ Edit. 1749, p. 35.

Before we make any remarks on the standard weight and fineness of Mary's Irish money, we shall describe the kinds and varieties of her coins.

The shilling has on the obverse the Queen's head in profile, to the left, crowned, the hair flowing loosely over the shoulders, bust clothed, and round the neck a string of pearls, from which is suspended an ornament; legend, MARIA . D . G . ANG . FRA . Z . HIB . REGINA ., a fleur de lis after the Queen's name, which serves as a mint-mark, like the pomegranate which holds the same place on her English coins, and annulets between the words. Reverse, in the centre, a harp crowned, between the initial letters M. and R., also crowned; legend, VERITAS . TEMPORIS . FILIA . M . D . LIII ., a fleur de lis after *veritas* and annulets between the words; in some varieties there are two, and in others only one annulet at each side of the fleur de lis. It weighs 94·2 grains.

In Simon's engraving of this variety, pl. v. fig. 109, the drapery on the bust is not correctly represented, and the ornament on the neck is wanting. The annulets are represented by pellets, and are omitted at each side of the fleur de lis, both on the obverse and reverse.

The engraving in Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. v. fig. 1, is more correct in details than Simon's; but it has TEMPORS instead of TEMPORIS on the reverse. The legend is correctly described, and the reference given is the "British Museum;" but no such variety is in the collection at present, and the letter I may have been omitted by the draughtsman or the engraver.

Another shilling, with the date 1553, has HIB . REGIN . on the obverse; it weighs 93·3 grains.

A third variety has HIBE . REGIN .; it weighs only 80·5 grains.

Tolerably well-executed forgeries of the shilling are met with occasionally; they are readily known by the want of the flange or cross line at the base of the initial letters M . R . on the reverse.

Another shilling was struck in 1554. Legend on the obverse, MARIA . D . G . ANG . FRA . Z . HIB . REGINA . Reverse, VERTAS . TEM-



PORIS . FILIA . M . D . LIII .; it weighs only 88·8 grains. In all other particulars it corresponds with the shilling of 1553.

On the great seal used by Mary previous to her marriage, the

words *temporis filia veritas* are in the exergue on each side of the seal, and there is a fleur de lis after each word of the legend.¹

The words on her seal, and the reverse of all her Irish coins, have reference to the device of the figure of Time drawing Truth out of a pit, in allusion to her endeavours to restore the Roman Catholic religion, which had been in a great measure suppressed by her predecessors.²

The groat has on the obverse MARIA . D . G . ANG . FRA . Z . HIB . REGI . In other particulars, except in wanting the date, it



corresponds with the shillings, and, like them, some have one and others two annulets at each side of the fleur de lis. It weighs 30·8 grains.

Simon says, "The groat is like the shilling, and has the same inscriptions, but wants the date." Yet the coin engraved in his fifth plate, fig. 110, has the date M . D . LIII . on the reverse.

The only coin I have met with which resembles Simon's engraving is a forgery. The legend on the obverse is MARIA . D . G . ANG . FR . Z . HIB . REGIN . ; a *pomegranate* after the Queen's name. The reverse is identical with Simon's engraving. The coin weighs 39·1 grains, and its specific gravity is 10·29 ; nearly equal to that of fine silver, which is 10·474.

I have been particular in describing this piece, because it would be likely to pass as a genuine coin. The fabricator appears to have copied the reverse from Simon's engraving, and the obverse from Mary's English groat. The *pomegranate* after the Queen's name, and REGIN instead of REGI are quite sufficient to enable the most inexperienced collector to recognise the spurious coin without hesitation. It is also to be observed, that Simon's coin has REGINA, and a fleur de lis after the Queen's name.

The half-groat has the legend MARIA . D . G . A . FR . Z . HIB .



¹ Uredius, "Genealogia Comitum Flandriæ." Folio, 1624, p. 143.

² Sandford, "Hist. of the Kings and Queens of England," fol. 1707, p. 500.

REGI. In every other particular, except size and weight, it is similar to the groat. It weighs fourteen grains.

In Simon's engraving of the half-groat, pl. v. fig. 111, the fleur de lis is omitted after MARIA and VERITAS, and the inner circle, on each side, is beaded.

The peculiarities noticed in Simon's engravings may perhaps be accounted for by his having been supplied with drawings of the coins, for it appears from his sale catalogue that he did not possess any of Mary's Irish money.

There is a spurious half-groat, which, like the groat, has a pomegranate instead of a fleur de lis after the Queen's name; the reverse exhibits a glaring and stupid blunder on the part of the forger, who omitted the crown over the harp.

Simon, in his very brief account of Mary's coins, says that "probably pennies" were struck at the same time with the other pieces; on which Snelling observes, "he was right in his conjecture, as one of them is in the Devonshire Museum; it is like the other pieces in every particular, and weighs about twelve grains." The coin alluded to is published in Snelling's first additional plate to Simon, fig. 29; it is now in the British Museum, and it weighs only 8.4 grains. As Snelling observed, "it is like the other pieces in every particular," except the legend on the obverse, which is M. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPIN.

Another penny, which is in fine condition, except that it is pierced with a hole through the initial M on the reverse, has VER-



TAS instead of VERITAS, like the shilling of 1554. It weighs 8.4 grains.

On all Mary's coins, except the penny, the Saxon m is used in the legends, but the Roman M is used for her initial on the reverse.

Snelling says, "the penny weighs about twelve grains." It is evident that he did not weigh the coin, but conjectured that it was one-twelfth of 144 grains, which Simon supposed to be the standard weight of Mary's Irish shilling.

We must now attempt to determine the standard weight and fineness of Mary's Irish coins, respecting which no direct documentary evidence has yet been discovered. In the preliminary part of this paper it has been shown that the standard weight of her English shilling was 96 grains; and finding that the Irish shillings never exceed that weight, we feel warranted to assume that the full

weight of the Irish shilling should be 96 grains; the groat, 32 grains; the half-groat, 16 grains; and the penny, eight grains; which proportions nearly accord with the actual weight of the coins.

Simon asserts that the money ordered by Mary to be coined for Ireland was "of as coarse and base a metal as any made use of in the two last reigns." No Irish coins of Edward VI. are known, and those of the latter years of Henry VIII. are manifestly made of much baser metal than Mary's coins. Simon, speaking of Henry's coins, says:—"Indeed, except the first-mentioned groats, which were not so bad, the money struck in this reign was little better than brass, not above 4 ounces fine, and 8 alloy, although, according to the indenture, they were to be 8 ounces fine and 4 alloy."¹

Judging from the appearance of Mary's coins, that they were not as base as Simon supposed them to be, I took the specific gravity of two shillings and a groat, and found that of one of the shillings to be 8·121, the other 9·07, and the groat 9·094. These experiments, however, only proved that the coins were of less intrinsic value than standard silver; I therefore determined to submit a coin to analysis, for which I am indebted to my friend Dr. Apjohn, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Dublin.

A shilling of the year 1553, specific gravity 9·47, was found to consist of—

Silver,	60·16
Copper,	39·47
Gold,	37
	<hr/>
	100·00

which, being reduced to the proportions of each constituent in twelve parts, is as follows:—

Silver,	7·2192
Copper,	4·7364
Gold,	·0444
	<hr/>
	12·0000

These proportions do not agree with any authorized standard of Irish coins, but approach that of the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII., when eight ounces of silver were mixed with four of alloy, which probably was the "special standard" for Ireland mentioned in the proclamation of the 20th of August, 1553.

The only question remaining for consideration is the place of mintage, of which Ruding says, "it is not known that any other mints were worked during this reign but those in the cities of Dublin and London."²

¹ Edit. 1749, p. 34.

² 8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 17.

In the published State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. frequent mention is made of large quantities of "harp-groats" having been sent from England to Ireland; and the Irish six-pences of his thirty-eighth year, which in many particulars are identical with the Bristol coins of Henry, have on the reverse w. s. in monogram, which letters are the initials of William Sharrington, who was chief officer of the mint at Bristol.¹

There was not any mint in Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII., and Edward VI. did not coin Irish money; nor is there any evidence that Mary had a mint in Dublin, while it is certain that the Irish coins of Philip and Mary were minted in England, as appears from the indenture made in 1554 with the officers of the London mint.

REFERENCES TO ENGRAVINGS OF MARY'S IRISH COINS.

Shilling, 1553.

Simon, pl. v. fig. 109, and Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. v. fig. 1.

Groat.

Simon, pl. v. fig. 111.

Half-groat.

Simon, pl. v. fig. 110.

Penny.

Snelling, first additional plate to Simon, fig. 29.

TABLE OF COINS NOW PUBLISHED.

Shilling, 1554.

Stand. wt., 96 grs. Actual wt., 88·8 grs. Dr. A. Smith.

Groat.

Stand. wt., 32 grs. Actual wt., 27·5 grs. Rev. Dr. Cotton.

Half-groat.

Stand. wt., 16 grs. Actual wt., 14·0 grs. J. A. Wigan, Esq.

Penny.

Stand. wt., 8 grs. Actual wt., 8·4 grs. Rev. J. W. Martin.

¹ Hawkins' "Silver Coins of England," p. 136.

CATALOGUE OF SILVER TOKENS ISSUED IN IRELAND.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, M.D., M.R.I.A.

THREE-PENNY TOKENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

ARMAGH, CO. ARMAGH.

1. *Obv.* ALEX:—MORTON—ARMAGH — ☉ ☉ ☉ — 1786, in five lines across the field, within a beaded circle.

Rev. I — PROMIS:— TO: PAY: THE —: BEARER:—: THREE:—: PENCE: in six lines; weight 14.3 grains.

Alexander Morton was "a famous clockmaker, in the year 1717; he lived in Scotch-street, and afterwards in Market-street, where he struck off a number of silver tokens, which were long used as current coin in Armagh."—Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," p. 508, note.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 11.

DUBLIN, CO. DUBLIN.

2. *Obv.* BEN — BOWEN — DUB — LIN, in four lines in the centre; legend I · OWE · THE · BEARER · III^d · STER · within a linear circle.

Rev. A stag at gaze, pierced through the back with an arrow; weight 19.8 grains.

Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 14.

PORTADOWN, CO. ARMAGH.

3. *Obv.* · IOHN · — · OUEREND — PORTADOWN — · · P · · — · III · — · 1786 · in six lines, within a beaded circle.

Rev. I — PROMISE — TO · PAY · THE — · BEARER — · THREE — PENCE, in six lines; weight 9.8 grains.

Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 13.

"Feb. 21, 1758. Lately (died) at Portadown, Mr. John Overend, Merchant."—Monthly Chronicle for Ireland, February, 1758, in the first volume of the "Grand Magazine."

RICHHILL, CO. ARMAGH.

4. *Obv.* SAM — MACKIE — P — III — RICHHIL — 1786 · in six lines, within two concentric circles, which are connected by cross bars.

Rev. · 1 · — PROMIS · — TO · PAY · THE · BEARER · — · THREE ·
— · PENCE, in six lines, within a double circle connected
by cross bars; weight 13.2 grains.

Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 12,
and Supplement, page 7, where this token is described
as of *Ithill*.

SHILLING TOKENS.

5. *Obv.* SOLD BY CLARK WEST AND CO; in the centre FOR — ONE
BRITISH — SHILLING — 1804, in four lines, counter-
marked with a small figure of Hibernia.

Rev. A female, emblematic of Commerce, seated on a rock,
looking to the left; in her left hand a caduceus; her
right arm extended, and pointing to a ship in full sail.
Weight 69.2 grains; countermarked in the exergue with
the Hall Mark (a crowned harp).

6. *Obv.* SOLD BY CLARK WEST & CO, between two linear circles,
outside which is a beaded circle; in the centre FOR —
ONE BRITISH — SHILLING, in three lines.

Rev. Type of the reverse similar to the preceding token, but
from another die, the word COMMERCE above the female
figure. Weight 69.2 grains.

Messrs. "Clarke and West, Wholesale Goldsmiths
and Jewellers," resided at No. 9, Capel-street, in 1804.
This long established and highly respectable firm is now
represented by Messrs. West and Son, of Nos. 18 and
19, College-green.

7. *Obv.* FOR THE GOOD OF THE PUBLICK, the date 1804 under a
female figure, seated, and looking to the left, her left
arm extended, the hand resting on a harp.

Rev. * PAYABLE AT SWORDS OR DUBLIN; in the centre a mono-
gram in script characters partly effaced. The first letter
is w, the last letters are co. Weight 59.5 grains.

Swords is a village seven miles north of Dublin.

8. *Obv.* PUBLIC HAPPINESS, in the centre a vessel, from which is-
sue flames, supported on a tripod, round which a snake
is entwined, its head directed towards the flames; under
the tripod an olive branch, and at the right side a slightly
convex disc about the eighth of an inch in diameter;
22^{WT} at one side of the tripod, 20^{SS} at the other side; in
the exergue STERLING — 1804, in two lines.

Rev. PRO BONO PUBLICO, in the centre a female standing on
the right of an altar, and holding over it a crown, a ser-
pent is coiled round her left arm; on the front of the
altar, HEALTH — TO THE — KING, in three lines. Weight
69.6 grains.

9. *Obv.* SOLD BY THE IRISH BULLION CO; in the centre, FOR — ONE · BRITISH — SHILLING — D 2·16 G² in four lines.

Rev. CONFIDENCE AUGMENTS THE VALUE, in the centre a female seated on a rock, looking to the right, and holding a model of a two-masted vessel, which rests on her lap; under the figure, JBC^o within an oval. Weight 63·8 grains.

10. *Obv.* SOLD BY THE IRISH BULLION CO; in the centre, FOR — ONE BRITISH — SHILLING — 2·16, in four lines.

Rev. The reverse is the same as the preceding token, but there are no streamers from the masts of the vessel, owing to the wearing of the die from repeated polishing. Weight 66·2 grains.

About the year 1804, when there was a great scarcity of silver coin, in consequence of the protracted war, silver pieces which passed as shillings were put into circulation by many traders in Dublin.

These pieces are thin discs of silver, a little broader than a shilling, but not worth more than six-pence each. They are usually stamped with the initials or name of the person who issued them, and frequently counter-marked. One has the name TOOLE, and also the letter R stamped with a small punch like a Hall Mark. Another has the name GIBBONS twice on the same side, and in the centre the initials M·D·; on the other side the initials J·R· in script characters.

BANK OF IRELAND TOKENS.

1804.

11. *Obv.* GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA REX. Head to the right, laureate, C·H·K, the initials of the engraver, C. H. Küchler, on the bust.

Rev. BANK OF IRELAND TOKEN, Hibernia seated, looking to the left, a palm-branch in her right hand, and the left resting upon a harp. In the exergue 1804 — SIX SHILLINGS. Weight 17 dwts. 7·4 grains.

Engraved in Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. viii. fig. 9.

1805.

12. *Obv.* GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA. Head to the right, laureate.

Rev. BANK — TOKEN — TEN — PENCE — IRISH — 1805, in six lines. Weight 64 grains, or 2 dwts. 16 grs.

Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. viii. fig. 11.

13. *Obv.* Obverse similar to the preceding.

Rev. BANK — TOKEN — FIVE — PENCE — IRISH — 1805, in six lines. Weight 31.8 grains.

Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. viii. fig. 12.

1806.

14. TEN PENCE, exactly same as coin of 1805, except the date. Weight 64.6 grains.

15. FIVE PENCE, exactly same as coin of 1805, except the date. Weight 32 grains.

1808.

16. *Obv.* GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA REX. Head to the right, under it, 1808.

Rev. BANK TOKEN. Hibernia seated, looking to the left, with a palm-branch in her right hand, and the left resting upon a harp; in the exergue XXX PENCE — IRISH. Weight 192.8 grains.

Ruding, Supplement, part ii. pl. viii. fig. 10.

In June, 1852, Mr. Sainthill informed me that the dies for Nos. 12 to 16 were engraved by Pingo.

1813.

17. *Obv.* GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA REX. Bust to the right, laureate, neck bare.

Rev. BANK — TOKEN — 10 PENCE — IRISH — 1813, in five lines within a circle of shamrocks. Weight 53.5 grains.

The dies were engraved by Thomas Wyon (Mr. Sainthill).

The history of these bank tokens is given in Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage," 8vo. edit., vol. iv. p. 87, &c. Proofs in silver of all the bank tokens, except those of 1806, were in the collection of the late James D. Cuffe, Esq. (see sale catalogue, lot 1941).

MISCELLANEOUS.

18. *Obv.* PAYABLE · AT · CASTLE · COMER · COLLIERY · 5, 5. In an oval countermark, three-fourths of an inch in length, stamped on the obverse of a Spanish dollar of Charles III, date 1798. Weight 17 dwts. 7 grains.

I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Robertson of Kilkenny for the following account of this countermarked dollar: — "A friend of mine, who has often seen the coin, says that about forty years ago Anne, Countess of Ormonde, not wishing to lose by the depreciated value of Spanish dollars, of which she had at that time a large number,

caused all she had to be stamped with the legend, 'Castle Comer Colliery, Five shillings and five pence.' Coals to that amount being given for them at the pits, Kilkenny traders used to take them in exchange for their commodities, knowing that they could give them afterwards to colliers in payment for coals."

19. *Obv.* RATHMINES ASSOCIATION. The Queen's head to the left, neck bare; under the bust WATERHOUSE.

Rev. TO & FROM RATHMINES. In the centre "3" within a wreath of oak. Weight 18.1 grains.

This token was issued by the Rathmines Association for the convenience of the passengers travelling in the omnibus, the fare of which was three-pence, to and from Rathmines to Dublin. Waterhouse, whose name is under the Queen's bust, is a gold and silver-smith, No. 25, Dame-street; he had the commission for the dies, which were executed by William Woodhouse of Dublin. Twelve proofs in copper, and a few in tin, were struck; the die broke after striking about 700 of the tokens.

Proofs in silver, from the dies used for striking copper tokens, are occasionally met with, and some of these have been supposed to have been issued as shillings¹.

The coins alluded to are noticed in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. iii. p. 71.

I possess a fine proof in silver of a copper penny token issued in Dublin in 1813. *Obv.*—Bust of the Duke of Wellington in military uniform to the left, laureate; legend, WELLINGTON & ERIN GO BRAGH. 1813. *Rev.*—A large harp crowned, E. STEPHENS. above, and DUBLIN below the harp. Weight 9 dwts. 10.3 grains.

¹ Simon, edit. 1749, p. 49.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Tholsel Rooms, 1
Wednesday, September 19th (by adjournment fr
1855,

REV. JAMES MEASE, A. M., in the Chair

Present, the following members :—

A. Denroche, Esq.	James Poe, Esq.
Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec.	John Potter, Jun.,
W. L. Hackett, Esq., Barrister- at-Law.	J. G. A. Prim, Ho
John James, Esq., L.R.C.S.I.	James G. Roberts Architect.

The following new members were elected :—

Charles C. Babington, Esq., M. A., Fellow of St.
lege, Cambridge; Edward Golding, Esq., J. P., Gov
Gustavus A. Nicholls, Esq., Reading, Pennsylvania, U
John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., M.R.I.A., 36, Upper I
street, Dublin; Hodder Westropp, Esq., Rookhurst,
county of Cork; and Thomas D. Smith, Esq., 22, B
street, Waterford: proposed by the Rev. James Grav
S. C. Hall, Esq., F.S.A., 4, Lancaster-place, Lond
Henry Rhind, Esq., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Sibster
Wick, N.B.: proposed by Richard Hitchcock, Esq.

The Rev. Mark O'Farrell, P. P., Ferbane, Kilb
Francis Mooney, Esq., Doon, Ferbane: proposed by
Frazer, A. B.

William Gray, Esq., Architect, Clonmel; and Dav
Esq., Tipperary: proposed by W. L. Hackett, Esq.,
Law.

The Mechanics' Institute, Dublin: proposed by
O'Daly.

The Rev. George Vance, Skibbereen: proposed
Fitzgerald, Esq., Local Secretary, Youghal.

A letter was read from Mr. Rhind, suggesting that much good might be done if the Society were to address the land-owners of the south-east of Ireland, urging on them to use their influence for the preservation of all objects of antiquity, each on his own property, as the Society of Antiquaries had done in Scotland, at his suggestion.

A letter was read from the Archdeacon of Leighlin, the Hon. and Venerable Henry S. Stopford, inviting the Society to send a deputation to inspect the antiquities of his parish and neighbourhood, including the ruins of an abbey, a castle, two antique crosses, and other ancient remains.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By Edward H. Paget, Esq.: "The Monumental Effigies and Tombs in Elford Church, Staffordshire, with a Memoir and Pedigree of the Lords of Elford, by Edward Richardson, Sculptor."

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 46.

By Robert MacAdam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 11.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," July, 1855.

By the Publisher: "The Cambrian Journal," June, 1855.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their "Proceedings," No. 5.

By the Author, A. Henry Rhind, Esq., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot.: "British Antiquities; their Present Treatment and their Real Claims."

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 648 to 658, inclusive.

By the Saint Patrick's Society for the Study of Ecclesiology: their "Proceedings," parts 1 and 2.

By the Rev. F. G. Lee, and others: several pamphlets.

By Edward H. Paget, Esq.: nineteen exquisitely finished rubbings from English monumental brasses, several of them emblazoned with colours to represent the enamel in the originals; and 111 English, Irish, and Roman coins. These donations will form a valuable addition to the Museum, already so much enriched by previous contributions from the same gentleman.

By R. Sainthill, Esq., Cork: a beautifully executed medal, from the Royal Mint, bearing his own bust, and on the reverse an emblematic device bearing on the science of numismatics, to which Mr. Sainthill is a distinguished ornament.

By James G. Robertson, Esq.: impressions of a bronze seal of the O'Neills, found in the ruins of Benburb Castle, and of the silver signet ring of Turlogh Lynagh O'Neill; both bearing the device of the red hand.

By Mr. E. Sutcliffe: a curious brass Masonic seal, of the seventeenth century.

By the Rev. Dr. Spratt, Dublin: two ancient clay tobacco pipes, found along with a human skull in digging near St. Andrew's Church, Dublin. The pipes are of the most ancient form of those popularly ascribed to the Danes, and yet one of them is inscribed on the base with the maker's name, JOHN HUNT, and the other with the initials I. H.

By Mr. H. R. Rice, Abbeydorney, Tralee: an ancient Turkish coin, dug up at Scutari by a pensioner, named Jeremiah Crane, who was afterwards disabled at Inkermann.

By R. Hitchcock, Esq.: an example of the primitive stone griddle still used for baking bread in the mountainous parts of Kerry. Mr. Hitchcock accompanied the donation by the following observations:—

"I send you a primitive and rude culinary utensil, found on the side of a mountain on the townland of Tonavane, above Blennerville, in the county of Kerry. It is a circular flat stone, about one foot in diameter, and an inch in thickness, with a portion projecting from one side, as if it had served the purpose of a handle, but some of which now appears to have been broken off. This shape seems to have been produced by the natural form of the stone, aided by a little dressing at the edges. The stone was evidently used as a griddle, being placed either on the top of the fire, or on the hearth with coals of fire under it. It at once reminded me of the Fenian custom of heating stones for cooking purposes. I send this simple instrument as an addition to our Museum—not on account of its intrinsic worth, but as an existing evidence of how long some of the most interesting patriarchal usages of our forefathers linger amongst us."

By the Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, Keash, Ballymote: an Irish groat of Henry VIII.

By W. R. Blackett, Esq., Ballyne: an impression from the copper matrix of an oval ecclesiastical seal, found about 1749, in Norfolk, and now in the possession of Captain Rayley, R. N., of Southwold, Suffolk. The seal was rather rudely executed, and exhibited, beneath a canopy, a bishop with crosier in hand, in the act of giving the benediction; round the margin was the following inscription, in old English characters: *sigillum octauiani primatis hibernie*. This was, most probably, the seal of Octavian de Palatio, a Florentine, who was Archbishop of Armagh from 1480 to 1513.

By the Rev. F. G. Lee, Sunningwell Rectory, Abingdon: six impressions from ancient seals; amongst them a very fine one from the original silver matrix of the seal of All Souls College, Oxford.

Mr. Hitchcock sent for exhibition three silver coins, of the kind termed by Mr. Lindsay and Dr. Petrie, bracteate, and presented for the Society's Journal an engraving of the most remarkable. One was struck in the usual way, with two dies, the obverse bearing a

rude representation of a helmeted head—reverse, a cross; another bore only the cross, stamped through from one side; the third, a somewhat different and more rare variety, has been engraved, from a drawing made by Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D. Mr. Hitchcock also presented a base shilling of Charles II., and contributed a list of “finds” of coins in Ireland, in which the coins exhibited were mentioned. The paper was as follows:—

“About eighteen months ago Mr. Carruthers contributed to our Journal some interesting notices of coin ‘finds’ in Ireland, which are printed at pp. 61–4 of the present volume. I beg to remind the members of the importance of a complete and systematic collection of such notices in some work like the ‘Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society,’ where they would be readily accessible to the numismatic student. I regret that I have no ‘record’ of coins discovered in Ireland; but I am convinced that such a work, carefully compiled, would form a valuable addition to our archæological knowledge. The few notices which I now send, chiefly for the purpose of keeping the subject before the Society, are for the most part taken from my scrap-books, and given as far as possible in the order of discovery. I hope that other members will continue to enrich our pages with similar notices, as well authenticated as can be, and hereafter it will be easy to arrange the whole systematically.

“About twelve years ago, a large number of Saxon coins were found at Derrykeighan, in the county of Antrim; they included coins of **EGBERT**, **ALFRED**, &c.; but many of them were sold to hawkers, and so are lost.—See ‘Numismatic Chronicle,’ vol. vi.

“I have already placed on record in our pages a brief account of the discovery of a number of silver coins of **HENRY VIII.** in a remote part of Kerry, in January, 1847.—See vol. i. p. 495. Three of these are in my possession. They are in good preservation.

“In August, 1848, I found in the inner chamber of a rath at Gortacurraun, near Dingle, a brass shilling of **JAMES II.**, in pretty good preservation.

“In September, 1849, a ‘navvy,’ employed on the works for the improvement of the Newry Canal, raised on his spade, at one lift, a piece of earth containing no less than nine gold coins of **CHARLES II.** and **JAMES II.**, dating from 1679 to 1688, and almost as perfect as when coined. The coins were sold to jewellers in Newry for a sovereign each.

“In February, 1851, the Rev. B. Dickson, F. T. C. D., gave me five old coins, which had been recently found in the town of Howth, viz. a shilling of **ELIZABETH**, 1573; a small coin of the same Queen, 1601; a coin of **CHARLES II.**, 1675 (?); a half-penny of **WILLIAM** and **MARY**, 1694; and a Manx coin, 1733 (?).

“In September, 1852, I received from a coast-guard a ‘St. Patrick’s penny,’ which had been found sometime before, at a depth of about six feet below the surface in one of the sand-banks on the shore of Smerwick Harbour, in the county of Kerry. I exhibited this coin at our Meeting of March, 1853.—(‘Transactions,’ vol. ii. p. 354.) It is in fine preservation.

“About two years ago, while some workmen were engaged throwing down an old house, the property of James Maclean, Esq., of Sandymount,

near Richhill, in the county of Armagh, they found a number of ancient silver and copper coins of various sizes, one of which was somewhat larger than our five shilling piece. From the legends and devices, they are said to have belonged to Holland. Similar coins are frequently found in the neighbourhood of Richhill. Mr. Maclean, who has kindly sent me one of the coins (a base shilling of CHARLES II. of England), which, though not a very perfect specimen, I beg to present for our Museum, informs me that there were over sixty found, some much larger than the present example, and 'containing silver to make them equal in value to a dollar.'

"Towards the close of 1854, a large number (nearly three ounces in weight) of rare old coins were dug up by workmen at Scrabo Hill, in the county of Down. Mr. Patton, of Newtownards, who purchased the whole, has kindly given me three of the coins, and the particulars of the discovery. The workmen were removing a cairn from a field on the east side of the hill, and when near the bottom they came on a very large stone, placed on a circle of smaller stones, which, when removed, the coins, together with the bones of a man of gigantic size, were exposed to view. The bones appeared to have been partly burned.¹ The cairn, from time immemorial, was known by the name of the 'giant's grave.' An ancient pipe, with short shank, and rather smaller than our present smoking pipes, was found in the immediate vicinity of the cairn; and on the top of the hill may be seen the remains of some old forts. I send the three coins for the inspection of the Meeting. They appear to be of the class termed 'bracteate,' engravings of some of which may be seen in Dr. Petrie's work on the Round Towers.² The annexed accurate engraving represents the most remarkable of the three, it having been struck from a *single* die, the impression appearing reversed on the other side of the coin, and exhibiting a double cross. This coin weighs nine grains. A full account of the opening of the cairn on Scrabo Hill would be very acceptable to archæologists.³



"In January, 1855, about one hundred silver coins of EDWARD I. were discovered at Portrush, having been brought up by one blow of the pickaxe. They bore various legends and devices, and about eighty of them became the property of Mr. James Gilmour, Coleraine.

"In June, 1855, a silver coin of the reign of EDWARD I. was dug from a garden in Summer Hill, Nenagh.

"A number of silver coins of DAVID of Scotland and HENRY VI. of England were dug out of a bog in the county of Donegal. They must have been deposited at a comparatively modern date, as coins of ELIZABETH, the CHARLESSES, JAMESSES, and WILLIAM and MARY, were found along with them.

¹ Without intending to affect Mr. Patton's statement, I may remark, that human bones, when thus found, are almost always said to be of huge dimensions. Perhaps this curious fact may be explained by reference to our 'Transactions,' vol. i. p. 15. The calcined appearance of the bones may have arisen,

as it often does, from their extreme age.

² See also p. 180, *ante*.

³ A full and interesting account of the opening of the cairn, and of the discoveries made therein, with engravings of ten varieties of the coins, has since appeared in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. iii. pp. 315-21.

"Over one hundred gold coins, in excellent preservation, were discovered at Ballintogher, in the county of Sligo, by some persons who were digging up the roots of an old tree. The coins were of several reigns, CHARLES II., WILLIAM and MARY, ANNE, and the First GEORGE, and were doubtless placed at the foot of the tree for safety in some time of disturbance.

"A small brown lacquered jar, containing about 500 silver coins, was discovered by some labourers who were digging on the site of the new market, nearly opposite the Ordnance Barracks, Limerick. Amongst the pieces were dollars of the French, Spanish, and Austrian empires. One of LOUIS XIV., dated 1670, is in capital preservation; another was an ALBERT and ELIZABETH, dated 1619."¹

Mr. Robertson concurred in Mr. Hitchcock's remarks; and observed that Mr. Lindsay, in his "Coinage of Ireland," had given a list of finds up to a certain period, and probably still kept a record for future publication.

Mr. Edward B. Taylor, Gowran, communicated the following account of a county of Kilkenny find:—

"As Patrick Hanlon, a labourer, working in a cottage garden behind one of Lady Dover's cottages, on the Castle Ellis road, near Gowran, about the first week in June last, was deep-trenching potatoes, the spade struck a wooden box which was quite rotten. It broke to pieces, and the coins which it had contained were lifted in spades-full. The place is the property of Lord Clifden, but it was a field formerly belonging to the Corporation of Gowran. There are said to have been about five hundred coins found, but I only saw fifty. The portion of the find submitted to me consisted of twenty-six coins of Elizabeth, viz. twelve shillings not bearing any date, and fourteen six-pences bearing the dates 1561, 1563, 1565, 1569, 1571, 1575, 1581, 1587, 1592, and 1602; thirteen coins of James I., nine shillings undated, and four six-pences bearing the dates 1603, 1604, 1605, and 1611; nine shillings of Charles I., exhibiting four varieties, but without date; and two Spanish dollars; in all, fifty. The date afforded by the coinage of Charles I. would point to the troubled period of the Great Rebellion as the time when the treasure was buried."

Mr. Graves said, that Mr. J. Richardson Smith, who had already communicated to the Society the results of his explorations in the ancient Pagan cemetery on Ballon Hill, county of Carlow (see vol. ii. pp. 295-303), had sent a short journal of further proceedings. The result of his labours was not so rich in fictile vessels as on former occasions, but he (Mr. Graves) considered the discovery of an unburned and decapitated human skeleton a very curious fact. This interment would point to a still earlier period than that indicated by the burned remains and fictile vessels formerly turned up. Mr. Smith's communication was as follows:—

¹ Can this be the same discovery as the bottom of p. 62? But he gives that mentioned by Mr. Carruthers at "Kilkenny" as the locality.—Edg.

"July 21st, 1855. Commenced digging on the south side of the rath, on the top of the hill; found only dark soil and pieces of charcoal.

"23rd and 24th. Continued at the same place; then changed to the west side; found pits, small pieces of burnt bones; much charcoal in the pits.

"26th. Went near the top of the hill; tried many places; generally found the rock close beneath the sod; at last found a spot with deeper soil; there were relics of fires, large quantities of charcoal, pieces of burnt bone, and fragments of urns of three patterns; dug the place out, that is, to the part where the rock came close to the surface.

"28th. Tried many places; at last found a pit which seemed filled with charcoal; examined it completely; found two pieces of pottery of the same description as the urns formerly found.

"30th. Dug about ten yards from the masonry at the top of the hill; on the sod being removed, found a place which seemed filled in with small pieces of granite; sinking deeper, the man turned up with the spade a piece of bone, apparently not burned; had the stones picked out, and the soil scraped away carefully, and uncovered a skeleton, lying east and west, the feet towards the east. The body was laid on the rock and covered with granite sand, with small stones near the surface; it had been interred without the head, the shoulder joints coming close to an upright quarry-stone; the collar bones were in their places, and unbroken; the body was stretched out; found a cut, *upwards*, on the left thigh bone. It coming on to rain heavily in the afternoon, removed many of the bones; they were in a very fragile state, so I had a quantity of gelatine dissolved, and steeped them in it, and, on drying, found them quite hard. They are preserved at Ballykealy House, with the urns found on former occasions.

"31st, and two following days, tried on each side of the place where the skeleton was found, but discovered little to interest.

"The bones preserved are of a full size, while those found under the large stone on the hill, in 1853, are under the average size. I was told this by surgeons who have examined them.

"Although surrounded by pieces of burnt bones, there had clearly been no cremation. The thigh bone with the cut is well preserved; there is a small root or fibre grown in the place where the bone was splintered. It seems singular, there being an up-cut in the inside of the left thigh; it must have been done by a very sharp weapon, whether an axe or sword."

The Rev. George H. Reade communicated the following account of the principal antiquities of his parish:—

"Inniskeen is a small village in the barony of Farney, county of Monaghan, eight miles west of Dundalk, and contains many remains of antiquity of various epochs. The river Fane formerly divided here, and meeting again lower down, thus made *Innis Keene*, called by some, 'pleasing island;' but, as it was used as a burial-ground, may mean the island of keening or mourning.

"There is a large and very perfect moat or carn, composed of large stones, and covered with earth, containing very probably a chamber and passages like Dowth; a large quantity of treasure is reported to have been discovered in it a few years ago, but it is now covered up and planted, and the entrance is not known; a short time since, a man was raising stones on

the top with a crowbar, which suddenly disappeared from his grasp, or, as he reported, was pulled in from him. The date of this mound belongs to the Pagan era.

"There is also the foundation of a very small church, facing nearly S. E. by S., a portion of the cement of which I sent to the Society, formed of pounded lime-stone, sea-sand, shells, and charcoal, with a great proportion of lime. We have then the Round Tower, also of the early Christian period, and a bawn of some castle of the Norman period, the entrance gate to which is still perfect, with a hole running longitudinally through the wall for the bar to slide in; and the inner surface of the arched gateway bearing the marks of the osiers of which the centreing was made. Tulachs and 'giants' graves' of all sizes are very numerous, some having the drain or passage lined with flags. Several caves have been discovered also, which were once inhabited, having passages and chambers lined with flags. The raths or Danish forts are very many, and in one instance, at least, there is a cave covered with large stones, forming a passage or sally-port towards the entrance.

"Of the Round Tower there remain only 42 feet, but it must have been one of the highest when perfect, if built in the proportion of six diameters, as it is 51 feet in circumference four feet from the present surface, which has been raised many feet by interments; it is well and carefully built of very large stones, many of them nearly 4 feet long, and some 18 inches deep; they are of the hard porphyritic trap, and other stones, of igneous origin, abounding in the district, and which are so well exhibited in the cuttings of the Dundalk and Enniskillen Railway, alternating with the clay slate, in many spots altering the slates by their intense heat, and inclined with them at all angles up to the perpendicular.

"These large and very hard stones have been formed to the curve of the Tower by a heavy pick or some such instrument, the deep sharp marks of which are distinctly visible at each end of the stone, leaving the centre as in nature. The door, which is placed at the height of 14 feet 8 inches above the present surface, faces exactly the same point as the small old church, S. E. by S.; none of the original stones of the doorway remain except the sill-flag, which is of very large size, passing nearly through the entire breadth of the wall; there are two shallow drills cut across its depth in front, as if to fit a ladder; its dimensions are 4 feet 6 inches long, 12 inches thick, and 3 feet 6 inches broad; on the left side of its surface there is also a shallow groove or drill cut along its whole breadth, close to the jamb of the wall. The thickness of the wall at the height of the door is 4 feet, and the inside diameter of the Tower near the bottom is 8 feet 7 inches, diminishing to 7 feet 6 inches at the top of the second floor.

"The Tower is divided into three floors by a projection, of the building stones, of from 7 to 5 inches; the height of the first floor from the present bottom being 15 feet, and the height of the second floor 12 feet 6 inches above that. About thirty years ago there was erected on the top an arch for a belfry, a most inappropriate and unsightly appendage; in order to get a firmer foundation for that purpose, about four feet of the original building were then taken down; some glass beads of great thickness were found on the summit at that time. This belfry I caused to be removed a short time since, and have thereby probably saved the further dilapidation of

this venerable structure, as the upper part had bulged out considerably from the weight of the arch and bell. The whole building was originally coated with cement both inside and out; a small portion of the outside cement remains, of which I will forward a specimen, and it appears to be of a much harder nature than that within: it is composed of lime, sea-sand, sea-shells, small quartz pebbles, and also contains *charcoal*, which would go far to identify its age with that of the small church before mentioned, a portion of the cement of which I lately forwarded to the Society. One of the original stones, and only *one*, about one-third of the height, is of granite, which may have been a portion of a boulder from Slieve Gullion, or perhaps from Clermont Carn, about fourteen miles distant, as no granite is found in the neighbourhood. To my mind, this white stone, alone amid its dark companions, gives evidence of great antiquity, at least that those who erected this Tower were the first builders in stone and mortar in this locality, who naturally had appropriated the lone boulder of granite, a stone so much more easily wrought than the porphyritic whins of the country.

"About two years since, Mr. Grattan of Belfast was commissioned by some of the Ulster archæologists to examine the ground under the Tower, with the view (I believe) of proving it to be a place of Pagan sepulture—the monument of some famous Celt of the Druidical times. As that gentleman is about to publish an account of his discoveries on the subject, in this and other towers, I shall only say, that the sexton who was employed to dig *did* find a skeleton, without any flags or coffin, lying in the earth east and west, under a thin stratum of mortar; unfortunately, Mr. Grattan was not present at the moment, and the skull was broken to pieces, so that nothing could be determined from its shape; the portion of the bones which I saw, however, seemed too modern to bring conviction to my mind that they had lain there since before the introduction of Christianity, say 1300 years, without coffin or any other protection from the moist clay around. Some years ago, a road contractor made a great hole in the side of this Tower to obtain metal for the repairs of the bridge adjoining, but was fortunately prevented doing much mischief by Mr. Norman Steele. The breach has been repaired, and a door placed in it. There are no local traditions of any value connected with the Tower: the common legend is, that it was built in one night by a woman with three aprons-full of stones, an apron-full for each story, and that next morning some passers-by deriding her work, she leaped from the top into a pool in the river Fane, called 'the church pool,' and was drowned. At the foot of the Tower was found a very large stone of porphyry, with a hole in the centre large enough to thrust the arm through, and was, I believe, once used for superstitious purposes; in more modern times a pole was placed in the hole, up which the young country folk used to climb at Easter for some trifling prize.

"There are no windows whatever in the part remaining of this Tower. About two-thirds of the way up, the builders seem to have exhausted their supply of large stones, and then, after a few courses of inferior materials, to have again procured larger and better; a narrow ledge or eave-course at the top was placed there at the time of the erection of the belfry arch, which ill accords with the lichen-covered stones beneath. On some of the stones inside, the trickling of the rain-drops for long years has formed small marks not unlike Ogham of a coarse kind.

"In sinking the foundations of the new church adjoining, last year, a small kistvaen, lined with flags, lying nearly S. E. and N. W., was discovered, and also a bronze pin about 4 inches long, beautifully patinated. The tomb of the MacMahons, Captains of Farney, now much dilapidated, lies beneath the shadow of this Tower; it is a stone-roofed tomb or small chapel, and appears to be of earlier date than the inscription in front, A.D. 1672:—

THIS CHAPEL WAS BUILT BY ARD
COL MACMAHON FOR HIMSELF
AND FAMELLY ANNO DOM. 1672.

There is a way-side cross close by, erected by the 'MacMahon' also."

The Rev. Constantine Cosgrave communicated the following paper, descriptive of the natural beauties of the Hill of Keash, and the legends attaching to its celebrated caves:—

"The Hill of Keash, situated in the vicinity of Ballymote, county of Sligo, seems to me to deserve a larger amount of notice than has hitherto been bestowed upon it by topographers. When the interest which its natural beauties must awaken in the lover of what is grand in scenery is added to that which attaches to all that is romantic in legend, its very unmerited neglect must, indeed, be acknowledged as surprising. The fact of seeing places unpossessed of a tenth of its interest as regards its historical associations, its legendary romance, its scenic beauties, and its natural curiosities, extolled as so much worthy of the tourist's notice, induces me to make an effort to place it in that position amongst our sources of attraction to the antiquarian and the traveller which it certainly deserves.

"Its elevation above the level of the sea is about 1184 feet. Although in some degree detached from a lengthened range of hills connected with the celebrated Curlews, it may be considered their culminating point at one extremity, as the Curlews themselves are at the other. This connecting range is divided, in the direction of its length, into several ridges, by long, narrow valleys, bounded on either side by perpendicular cliffs, which inspire the beholder with a feeling of sublime insecurity, on account of their dizzy height, and apparently impending fall. In modern times, to the most remarkable of them has been assigned the name of Dunavaragh. It is well known in history as 'O'Donnell's Pass,' from the fact of that warlike race of princes having made it their route when obliged to travel southward to enforce payment of their Momonian tribute.

"The hill itself is about three miles in circumference, and all its sides rise so steeply that the plain which forms its summit is of almost equal extent with its base. A very remarkable feature about this elevated plain is, that it is covered with a peat bog of very unusual depth even at the lowest levels. This is again covered with a most luxuriant crop of heath, &c., which, although giving it a dreary sameness of aspect, renders it a most productive scene of attraction to the sportsman. But the peculiarities which render Keash pre-eminently worthy of a visit are, the immensity and number of its caves. Both its sides and summits are in many places reft into majestically yawning cavities, which almost rival, in their

labyrinthine intricacies, the famous Cretan curiosity. At one portion of its front, in particular, there is a magnificent range of them, whose stupendous entrances are hollowed from the perpendicular cliffs with a grandeur of effect which sets description at defiance. I know of nothing more calculated to inspire one with an idea of the extreme nothingness of man's works when compared with those of Nature, than a contemplation of these wonderful productions of the latter. Only those who have experienced the feeling can say to what an extent the artistic decorations of human architecture become tame, insignificant, and trivial, in the imagination which is elevated by a sight of their huge dimensions, increased in their magnificence of immensity by the very rudeness of their outline. It is a traditional belief, that they conduct to a subterranean lake which is supposed to occupy the interior of the hill. This supposition has been repeatedly re-asserted by those adventurous spirits who have braved the dangers of carrying their explorations farther than is usually considered prudent, on account of the very impure air to be found at even considerable distances from the entrances. Others, overlooking the physical impossibility in the case, and led away by that invariable accompaniment of defective information, credulity in the marvellous, are ready to affirm that this lake is characterized by the most luxuriant aquatic vegetation; and instances are even recorded of monster and unknown plants having been washed through these outlets during the occasional overflows of this imaginary subterranean reservoir.

"Connected with one of the caverns—called, from the circumstance, 'Cormac's Cave'—is a singular legend, which would have us believe that our well-known monarch of antiquity, Cormac Mac Art, was, in his early life, a troglodyte. However incompatible with the real facts of his history—and as much more improbable fables have been connected in historical treatise with his birth and career—it may not be uninteresting to give a brief account of the unusually strange and eventful incidents which he is represented as having experienced, in his youth, by our modern narrators of his fictitious history. It is as follows:—

"After the death of Art, his father, at the battle of *Mucruimhe*, A. D. 195, his mother, being then pregnant of him, was compelled to wander through the country in a state of the utmost destitution. During these peregrinations—purposeless, so far as destination was concerned—she was seized with the pains of childbirth in the immediate vicinity of Keash; and, going to quench her thirst at a well called, to this day, Tubber Cormac, she found herself unable to proceed further. Night coming on before she was relieved, she recollected a dream of hers which was interpreted as predictive of the fact, that if her son was born during the hours of darkness he would become eminent for his deeds at sea; but if during those of light, he was destined to be a ruler by land. Preferring that he should be favoured with the latter destiny, she pressed upon a stone, with intention of delaying the birth till morning. The voluntary suffering to which she thus exposed herself exhausted her to such a degree that she had barely time to guard against the possibility of personation, with regard to her offspring, by marking him with a certain mutilation, when she swooned away and became insensible. During this interval of insensibility, the future monarch was carried off, uninjured, by a wolf, whose den was in

the cave alluded to. Here he would appear to have been nurtured and forgotten, until his age enabled him to accompany his strange foster-mother in her predatory excursions. His appearance, of course, excited a desire of becoming more nearly acquainted with him, and many contrivances for entrapping him were accordingly resorted to. One of these having succeeded, his fame spread so as to reach the ears of the King of Connaught, who adopted and educated him after he had been recognised by his mother, on account of the mutilation before alluded to. After this, his bravery, and a variety of fortuitous circumstances, brought him to the enjoyment of that regal dignity to which his hereditary claims entitled him."¹

Mr. E. Fitzgerald, Local Secretary, Youghal, sent the following note of a discovery there :—

"John Burke, the sexton of St. Mary's, Youghal, seeing the great interest taken in ancient remains, has become quite enthusiastic in his endeavours to make discoveries, and store up odds and ends of antiquated grave-stones, &c., and makes, now, no bad attempt at deciphering the Longobardic Norman-French legends, in which the old church abounds, at the expense even of oft *endangering* the risibility of some sombre antiquarian visitor. However, to John's honour be it said, he has discovered two ancient inscriptions within these four months. One of these is of considerable interest, from the position in which it is found, as the stone forms part of the foundation of one of the piers in the north transept; a structure, undoubtedly, of the early part of the thirteenth century, different features in this part of the building being even of the Transition-Norman era. The inscription is incomplete, being partly covered by the pier; what can be seen runs as follows, the two first letters being supplied:—[DE]V : DE : TOVR : ALMES : GIE : MERCE :—that is, God on their souls have mercy: the names, being covered with the building, cannot be known. The second is a fine stone coffin-lid, but broken into two pieces. It is 6 feet 10 inches in length, 3 feet 2 inches broad at head, and 2 feet 9 inches at foot, with nearly a similar inscription to the other, and in Norman-French, as is usual on all stones of the same date. The legend commences at the corner of the head, and runs round the margin of the upper surface, beginning and ending with a small cross. It is nearly perfect, with the exception of the name, which is much defaced. It runs as follows:—
✠ AN[.....]VA[...] G[...]SE : ICE : DEY : DE : ALME
GIE AN[...]CE ✠"

The Rev. James Graves communicated a transcript made from an ancient charter preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle. Like most charters of great antiquity, it was written, fairly and distinctly, on a small piece of parchment measuring nearly

¹ The readers of the excellent work of Martin A. O'Brennan, Esq., just published, and entitled "Ancient Ireland," will see that I am fully borne out

by the learned author in saying that the Hill of Keash is one of the most romantic and historically interesting spots in Ireland.

8 inches square. The seal of Theobald Fitz Walter but a portion of the label to which it was attached. There were two endorsements on the back, in a modern hand: the first—"feodum quinque militum Theobald Walteri, pincernam Hibernie, Gilberto Kenlyohogerd;," the second, and more modern, ran so recently—"Kynelfenelgille et [] Eliogerty Theobald Pincerna to Cantwell." This Gilbert de K the head of the ancient Anglo-Norman house of the settled, as one of Theobald Fitz Walter's chief sub- on the territory of Ormond, as appears by this charter. branched, at an early period, into Kilkenny also, w them settled at Kilfane and Cantwell's Court (see "T. vol. ii. pp. 63-70). The charter was as follows:—

"Soiant presentes et futuri, quod ego Theobaldus Walt Pincerna Hibernie concessi et dedi, et hac presenti carta m Gileberto de Kentewell pro homagio et servicio suo feod militum cum in bosco tum in plano in Helyohokerdi;¹ Scili [Theod]² de Kennelfenelgille per istas divisas usque orient predictum Theodum extendit versus Theodum ubi Castellu situm est, et ita extendens versus le bernhely³ quantum predict [Theodū] extendit. Et ita de terra Gillissehoduly⁴ versus aqu tum predictum Theodum extendit versus Thenodum [sic] de ita ut plenarie habeat intra predictus divisas feodum quinqu Tenendum et habendum de me et heredibus meis, illi et heredib et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et plenarie et honorifice, plano, in pratis, in pascuis, in viis, et semitis, in stagnis, et lendlinis, et piscariis, in moris, et mariscis, et montanis, et tan

¹ *Theobaldus Walteri Pincerna Hibernie*. Much has been said (see Carte's "Ormonde," vol. i., Introduction, pp. i.-ix.) as to the original name of the first Butler of Ireland: here we have it plainly written, on unquestionable authority, Theobaldus Walteri (i. e. filius Walteri), and not Theobaldus Walterus, as it is usually given by Carte and others. It is pretty evident that Theobald had no family name, or surname, and that he was known first of all by the addition of his father's name, and afterwards by that of his office, Pincerna, or Butler of Ireland.

² *Helyohokerdi*, the territory of Eliogarty in the county of Tipperary.—J. O'Donovan.

³ *Theodum*, from the Saxon word *Theod*, meaning a people, tribe, or pro-

vince.—Spelman, "Gloss *Theoda*. The word is o quent use in Anglo-Nor and here means the *di* cineal, or kindred, of Fen seems to have been the n trict of Eliogarty adjoin Dr. O'Donovan supposes denomination to be Kinel ⁴ *Durles*, now Thurles, i lar.—J. O'D.

⁵ *Bernhely*, i. e. Bern: called the Devil's Bit.—J

⁶ *Gillissehoduly*, i. e. th Gilla-Iaa-O'Dooley on the c King's and Queen's Count

⁷ *Korketeni*, i. e. Corka- tory comprising the paris more. See "Annals of the F at the years 1548, 1580, 16

quam in sicco, cum Tol, et Theem, et Infongenthes, et cum judicio ignis, et aque, et belli, et in omnibus locis, et aliis libertatibus libere terre pertinentibus, per liberum servicium unius militis pro omnibus serviciis consuetudinibus et exactionibus. Et pretere nolo quod non remaneat pro ullo dono, quod dedi in predicto Thenodo, quin Gilebertus de Kentewell predictus plenarie habeat feodum quinque militum. Hiis Testibus Willielmo de Burgo,¹ Elia fil' Norman, Mauricio fil' [Mauric'], Almarico de Bellofago, J[] de Luske, Willielmo [sic], Ricardo de [], Martino de Blanchvill,² Ada de []lesden, Thoma de Kentewell,³ Huberto Walteri⁴ [Walt'j], et multis aliis."

The following observations were communicated by Mr. William Hackett, of Middleton :—

"As, at your Meeting of 2nd May, an excellent paper by Mr. Hitchcock was read on the subject of stone circles, and as a description of a circle at Tynrich, in Scotland, was then given, perhaps the following account of similar monuments in India may not be deemed out of place at your next sitting. In the 'Asiatic Journal,' No. 98, vol. xxv., N. S., will be found a minute of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, at a meeting held 6th January, 1838, when a paper was read 'on the Anti-Brahmanical Worship of the Hindus in the Dekhan,' by Dr. John Stevenson, of Bombay.

"The author's design was to prove that the Brahmanical religion was not the ancient and primitive faith of the people of India, but that a very different and more simple form of idolatry preceded it, and still prevails in many parts of the Dekhan and other districts of India. . . . Several of the gods worshipped by the common people are unknown in Hindu mythology, and one of the most decided ante-Brahmanical forms was that termed the worship of Vetāl, in the Dekhan, principally in the villages. The writer had seen no less than three erections to the honour of this demi-god in one small village; and in a large district of the Mahratta country scarcely a village is to be found that does not publicly testify its respect for him . . . In the Dekhan he is said to be an Avatar of Siva, but the Brahmins will not admit this. The place where Vetāl is worshipped is a kind of Stone-henge, or enclosure of stones, usually in a circle, varying from 15 to 40 feet in diameter; the number of stones generally consisting of twelve, or multiples of twelve. The principal figure where the worship of Vetāl is performed is a rough unhewn stone, having one of its sides facing the east. Some of the stones composing the circles had their tops painted red, which the writer supposes might indicate the worship of fire; and he also

¹ *Willielmo de Burgo*. William Fitz Adelm de Burgo died 1204.

² *Martino de Blanchvill*. Probably the founder of the ancient Kilkenny family of that name, long settled at Claragh.

³ *Thoma de Kentewell*. Thomas de Kentewell witnessed the charter granted by this same Theobald to his town of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny. He

probably was the founder of the Kilkenny branch of the De Kentewells.

⁴ *Huberto Walteri*. This was the second brother of Theobald: he was advanced to the See of Salisbury in 1180; and, as he is not dignified with that title here, it is probable that the charter dates between 1177, when Theobald was created Chief Butler of Ireland, and the former year.

supposes that the circle of twelve stones might indicate the signs of the zodiac. Vetāl is worshipped in sickness, and the offering is generally a cock, like that to Esculapius. No priest is required to make the offering, the afflicted person acting as his own priest.

"Note by Dr. John Wilson.—The worship of Vetāl is not confined to the Dekhan, but prevails in Konkan, Kanara, Gujarāt, and Cutch, probably in the other provinces . . . this form of religion is anti-Brahmanical, if not ante-Brahmanical.

"Professor Wilson remarked, that he coincided respecting the prevalence of a kind of worship different from Brahmanism in secluded villages. Brahmanism was confined principally to the larger towns. In the villages few traces are found of Vishnu, Krishna, or any of the other Hindu deities. The term Vetāl does not imply an individual deity, but is merely a generic term for spirits or demons; the worship of these is termed the worship of Vetāl.

"Colonel Briggs said that a religion different from Brahmanism existed in the country places about Bombay, but it was merely propitiatory; no gratitude for good received from the deity was expressed; evil was feared and deprecated; offerings were made to whatever in nature seemed to be the cause of evil,—thunder, lightning, snakes, tigers, imaginary demons, &c. . . .

"Although it might be wished that the description of the circles were more minute than that here given, yet there can be little doubt that they are of the same character as the circles which, in these islands, are termed Druidical temples; and the whole statement may be worth the attention of those archaeologists who, having ascertained that human remains are often found within, and adjacent to, such structures, have adopted an idea that they were not originally erected with reference to religious worship of any kind. That megalithic monuments containing human remains, urns, &c., and surrounded by circles, have been found on opening mounds, there are numerous instances to prove, yet it may be difficult to demonstrate that even these had not been originally constructed for the purposes of a worship which had ceased to exist before they were converted to sepulchral uses. To cover with earth a circle of 20 feet diameter would not involve a great amount of labour. Circles like those of Vetāl, though probably on a larger scale, are found in Persia, on Mount Ida, on Lebanon, and throughout Europe. But we had also circles of a different character, one of which still remains in this neighbourhood (Midleton, county of Cork), for instance, the circle of Kilacloyne. This has two, and probably had three, concentric rings. The inner ring consists of thirteen stones close together, leaving only one space of about 4 feet, as if for entrance; the diameter of this ring is merely 13 feet, in its centre is a stone 3 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ high. The second ring is 19 feet in diameter, and is formed of fifteen stones close together, as in the inner ring, but it would appear that seven or eight of the stones have been removed from one segment. If there were a third ring, only two stones now remain, but they are so placed as to leave little doubt that they formed parts of an outer ring, which would have been 25 feet in diameter. The stones, instead of standing on end, as in other circles, and detached from each other, are all imbedded horizontally and edgewise. Few of the stones are more than 9

inches higher than the level of the soil in which they are laid, and many of them are not above that level, being in some instances overgrown with grass. Except the centre stone, none are more than 2 feet in length, 1 foot in thickness, and from 1 foot to 1½ in depth. All the stones are rough throughout. This miniature circle was at first supposed to be unique, but when Mr. Windele came to inspect it, he pronounced it one of a type common in Kerry, and known by the term 'cealluragh' or 'caoluragh.' At such sites the peasantry of the present day are in the habit of burying children who die without having been baptized, but such is not the practice in this neighbourhood, and there is no tradition of its having been the custom at this circle. Nor have the peasantry any tradition respecting it further than that it is the old 'keel' which gives name to the townland of Kilacloyne, anciently Cilaghlusain. What renders this humble monument somewhat worthy of the notice of antiquaries, is the fact that it is erected upon one of those ancient Fenian cooking sites alluded to in a paper read at your Meeting of 15th March, 1854."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

THE CASTLES OF CORKAGUINY, COUNTY OF KERRY.—No. II.

BY RICHARD HITCHCOCK.

FERRITER'S.—Perhaps none of the Corkaguiny castles are more delightfully or romantically situated than Ferriter's. Whether from this circumstance, or from the numerous descriptions and legends of the castle which I have read and heard, or perhaps both, the place has always charmed me. The castle stands at the entrance of a long and beautifully green little promontory, from the steep and rocky end of which, washed by the ever restless Atlantic, there is a splendid view of the sea, the Blasket Islands, the adjacent and even some of the very distant mountains, including St. Brandon's, the Iveragh mountains, and The M'Gillicuddy's Reeks. A fosse, or ditch, appears to have been cut across the promontory, close by the castle, at the land side, and another farther out towards the sea.

The following notices of this castle may not be without some interest. "A ruined castle also stands here, called by the Irish Castle Sybil, which signifies Elizabeth Castle: it was built by a widow of one of the family of Ferriter."—Smith's "Kerry," p. 187. In December, 1641, we find Pierce Ferriter of Castle-Sybil, and Walter Hussey of Castle-Gregory, associating themselves with Florence M'Carthy, of Carrigprehane, who had assumed the title

¹ *Quære*.—Are such circles known by the name of 'cealluragh' in Kerry?—Eds.

of governor of Kerry in the Parliamentary wars. The Lord President having appointed Lord Kerry governor of the county for the King, the latter gave Pierce Ferriter and some others the command of his newly raised forces. These in a little time carried off the arms, and joined the Irish.—*Ib.* p. 300. In February, 1641–2, Captain Pierce Ferriter gave the following “furlow,” or pass, to Henry Lawrence, an English Catholic:—“I have employed this gentleman, Mr. Henry Lawrence, upon some special occasions, for the furthering and advancing Catholicism, to go to Tralee, and from thence to Castle-Drum, or at the camp; wherefore, I pray, the Irish and English not to molest or hinder him in body or goods. Given under my hand this 8th day of February, 1641–2. PIERCE FERRITER.” Lawrence having showed this furlow to some of his acquaintance in the “great castle” of Tralee, they laid it before Sir Thomas Harris, who dismissed Lawrence, without giving him any trouble. This Henry Lawrence spoke much of Ferriter’s strength, saying, “that he was much better furnished with arms and ammunition than any gentleman in Kerry; that he had 150 men, 60 or 70 of whom had good muskets, and the others excellent pikes, besides 60 more that wanted arms; and that he purposed to keep his *corps de guard* in the shire house of Tralee. To which the people of the castle answered, that they would make that place too hot for him; but Lawrence replied, that Ferriter was as good a subject as any of them all, although a Catholic.”¹—*Ib.* pp. 305–6. The family of Ferriter seem to have been formerly possessed of considerable power in these parts; they had also large possessions. The Blasket Islands “had belonged to the Earl of Desmond, who gave them to that family, from whence they got the name Ferriter’s Islands,” by which they are still sometimes called.—Seward’s “*Topographia Hibernica*,” art. “Blasques.” Ferriter’s Castle was the residence of the author of the *keen* on Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, who died in Flanders about the year 1642, which is given in the late lamented Crofton Croker’s specimens of “The Keen of the South of Ireland;” and in a note at p. 19 we are informed that “the point of this tongue of land [Corkaguiny], which is about four miles across, with the Blasket Islands, which lie immediately off it, were held by the Ferriter family under the earls of Desmond, upon condition of supplying a certain number of hawks annually.” Lewis, writing of the Blasket Islands in his “*Topographical Dictionary*,” says—“Here are also numbers of hawks and eagles, the former of which were once held in great esteem for sporting.” Lady Chatterton seems to have been much interested by Ferriter’s Castle, and devotes a chapter to a legend connected with it and Sybil Head, together with some account of the Ferriter

¹ The same may be said of the descendants at this day, of whom there are still many in Corkaguiny, all maintaining a sort of respectability in themselves.

family in the seventeenth century.¹ Mr. and Mrs. Hall mention the castle in their usual descriptive style, and give a pretty little engraving of the ruin, which reminds any one who has seen it of the wild and desolate beauty of the spot.² In a little volume of extremely interesting "Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry, in the year 1845," which, I believe, has not been published, and of which I have lately met with a copy in Dublin by chance, we have the following notice of the recent fall of Ferriter's Castle:—"Then we arrived at Ballyouter [Ballyoughteragh], which is close under Sybil Head; from hence a point of land runs out to sea, green and fertile, and ends in a high, abrupt, rocky point, near which stood, within the last six weeks, Ferritur's Castle [this was written in August, 1845]; but a tremendous western gale lately made sad havoc with the old fortalice, and it is now a heap of stones, and of mortar as firm and hard as stone. The people regret it very much, and declare that its fall portends some direful calamity to the neighbourhood."—pp. 55-6.

Only the north-west or sea angle, and immense masses of the fallen masonry, of this castle now remain. The stones, which seem as if amalgamated with the mortar, are curiously water-worn, in a great measure, probably, from the spray, which must very frequently be thrown up against the castle. The west side of what remains standing measures 22 feet, and the north side 12½ feet, in length. The north-west angle is bevelled off to a breadth of nearly 1 foot 10 inches, and so were probably the other three angles. Parts of these, still perfect in the fallen masses of masonry, measure only 1 foot 8 inches, and 1 foot 9 inches, in breadth; but the greater breadth of the bevelling of the standing angle is, doubtless, owing to its greater exposure to the sea and weather. Some of these masses also exhibit remains of spiral stone stairs. A narrow window near the ground, with a wide splay at the outside, and the greater part of another over it, at the top, still remain in the west side. There is no window in what remains of the north side. The inside is much filled with the fallen materials of the castle. The north side exhibits the remains of an arch in the wall, and over this is a small square recess. The inside facing of the west side is much peeled away. Under both walls, at the inside, the remains of recesses appear; but the place is so filled with rubbish that it is now impossible to say what they were. The north wall is 5½ feet thick, and the west one is about the same thickness. Sea-shells are visible in the mortar of this castle; and some of the facing stones present an apparently burnt appearance.

GALLERUS.—This castle, surrounded by the village of Gallerus, is situated at the head of Smerwick Harbour, in a low, marshy

¹ "Rambles in the South of Ireland," vol. i. pp. 192-213.

² "Ireland, its Scenery, Character," &c., vol. i. p. 273.

district; and, from its massive, dark form, has a very striking appearance, when seen between the spectator and the setting sun on a fine evening, and contrasted with the low-lying objects around. Dr. Smith, who wrote about a century ago, mentions a large fresh-water lake in the neighbourhood of the castle, which in his time was frequented in some winters by considerable flocks of wild swans. Very few or no traces of this lake now remain, owing, probably, to the encroachment of the sea and the advance of agriculture.

Smith barely mentions Gallerus Castle, and only tells us that it was built by the Fitzgeralds, Knights of Kerry—a rather vague expression as to its date. The castle, however, appears to have been built long before, and by another family of Fitzgeralds, who held in chief (for 5000 years!) under Boyle, Earl of Cork. Among the Crosbie MSS. is a petition from Maurice Fitzgerald of Gallerus to Richard Earl of Cork, craving leave to alienate the lands of Gallerus, because of his deep poverty, “without which allowance the petitioner would undoubtedly perish.” Annexed is the Earl of Cork’s consent to such alienation, dated 26th March, 1622. In the little volume of Kerry “Letters,” before mentioned, this castle is called “a fine old Norman ruin, in good preservation as to outward appearance.” Lady Chatterton (“Rambles in the South of Ireland,” vol. i.) has a very good description of the castle, to which I refer, and gives engravings of three of the little windows. Her description of the natural scene which presented itself after she had left the castle is truly characteristic of the place, and brings to mind many of my own visits to this delightful part of Kerry, than which I know of no place so full of deeply interesting associations—antiquarian and historical.

The castle itself is an unpicturesque-looking ruin, but more perfect than any I have yet seen in Kerry. Five little windows remain in the east side, three of which have pointed tops, and several other broken apertures. There are seven windows in the south side, the top centre one well shaped and pointed. Six windows remain in the west side, two of which are pointed. There are four windows in the north side, and some broken apertures, one of which appears to have been a doorway, at the height of about the third floor. Many of these windows bear some resemblance to the windows of the Round Towers, in the general form, sloping sides, and pointed top, formed of two stones, or round top, cut out of one stone (see Lady Chatterton’s engravings, above referred to). The north side of the castle measures 28 feet 4 inches in breadth at the bottom; but it narrows better than a foot at a height of six feet from the ground; and the thickness of the wall at this side is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The length of the castle, inside, from wall to wall, or from north to south, is 20 feet 6 inches, and the breadth, from east to west, is 14 feet. Three floors, besides the ground floor, appear to have been in the castle, seven

projecting stones or corbels for which still remain, at the east and west sides. Beams appear to have been laid across these corbels, and to have also rested in holes still visible in the end walls. Four large apertures are in the north wall inside, the lowest of which was probably the doorway. The aperture next above this one has an indented space in the side wall, as if to let a door open into it. Six apertures appear at the interior of the east side, seven at the south, and five at the west. Sea-shells exist in the mortar of this castle. I ascended to the top of the castle, which is covered with rank grass, by a very dangerous way, and obtained a fine view. I distinctly saw the top of Rahinnane Castle, and the country far around.

Gallerus Castle, unpicturesque though it now be, and situated amongst a group of miserable cabins, some of whose inmates lodge their cattle in it, is yet placed in a locality teeming with remains of a far higher interest to the antiquary than castle ruins. Cromlechs, stone cahers, cloghauns, raths, Ogham inscriptions,¹ early pillar-stones, oratories, and ancient churches, abound in the neighbourhood.

MINARD.—This castle is located close to the sea, about six miles to the east of Dingle, and so backed by the high ground that it is almost reached before seen. It is, therefore, not very picturesquely situated; and yet it is the largest and most beautiful in architecture in the barony. It is also the best preserved, so far as regards the arresting of any further work of destruction, none of the stones being pulled down or taken away; and the inside is clean and free from rubbish. Much of the good preservation of the castle ruin is, doubtless, the result of the care which is taken of it by the coast-guards of the adjacent station; and we shall, very probably, have to admire the fine ruins of Minard Castle when those of many others in the barony shall have been completely blotted out by man's destroying hand! Minard is now celebrated for its patron,² which is annually held on the 29th of August.

Smith merely informs us that Minard Castle was built by the "Knights of Kerry," which gives but a faint idea of its date. It has had, however, its part in history, which is thus noticed by Lewis, in his "Topographical Dictionary:"—"It was defended in 1650 [or 1649, as I find elsewhere] by its proprietor, Walter Hussey, against the parliamentary forces, under Cols. Le Hunt and Sadler, [who pursued him thither from Castle-Gregory, and] who, finding that they could not make much impression on the castle [Minard] by

¹ I cannot avoid noting, that several of these important inscriptions have been very wantonly removed from the coast of Smerwick Harbour almost to the eastern side of the county, where they appear quite out of place.


² Patron, or "pattern," an assemblage of the peasantry for religious purposes, in the neighbourhood of a holy well or ancient church, dedicated to the patron saint of the parish, in honour of whom those gatherings are held.

cannonading it from a fortification, said to have been erected for that purpose (and of which the remains still exist), sprung a mine in the vaults beneath, and blew it up.”—art. “Minard.” Smith adds, that the besieged made use of pewter bullets on this occasion. The following interesting description of the castle is supplied by the “Letters from Kerry,” before quoted:—“We visited Minard Castle, which was built, I believe, in Elizabeth’s time, by a Knight of Kerry; it is situated close to the sea, in a little cove between this [Foildar-rig] and Dingle harbour. It is now a beautiful ruin, wherefore we owe a debt of everlasting gratitude to old Oliver, that prince of caterers to the raptures of tourists, antiquarians, and lovers of the picturesque in Ireland. The castle faces the mountainous range which ends in Dowlas Head, and Valencia; it is backed by high ground, so that you do not see it from the land, until close to it. On a rising ground in the vicinity are the remains of a little church, honoured by the possession of a holy well, at which there are ‘patterns’ held twice a year. There are also traces of a Danish fort, so that the neighbourhood is rich in ‘relics of old decency;’ but the Dane, the monk, and the Norman lord who once kept this place astir, have all disappeared, and the patient cows seem at present to have sole possession, as, grazing down the glen, they add to the tranquillity of the whole scene.”—pp. 76–7. In a conversation which the writer of the “Letters” had with an old coast-guard of the adjacent station, we are informed that “in clearing the rubbish out of the castle, they had found a human skeleton of immense proportions, with a large sword beside it; he thinks the man was standing up close against a wall, when the castle was blown up. When they touched it, it crumbled to ashes [dust]. He also remarked that he believed the people in those times lived very much upon ‘bornocks,’ Anglicé, ‘limpets,’ for they had found waggon loads of these shells in one corner, under the rubbish of stones and mortar. Poor feeding for such giants! Perhaps the castle was besieged, that the defenders had only those shell-fish for food, and that, while they lasted, they held out against the foe till grim hunger carried the day; for he is more than a match for the stoutest garrison in the world. This is my explanation for these loads of limpets, since I am unable to penetrate through the mists of ages to arrive at the truth.”—pp. 77–8.

The north side of the castle measures 50 feet in length at the ground, and has four windows, and a fifth at the top of the north-west angle. The nearest to the ground of these windows splays considerably at the outside, and some of the others have pointed tops. There is also, towards the north-east angle, an aperture like a chimney flue, running up through the thickness of the wall. The east side is 40 feet in length, and is the most ruined of any, the entire of it, except the two angles, and a small portion near the ground, being battered down. The doorway appears in this side,

with the place for bolts and locks, and the recess for the door in the south wall; the doorway seems to have been arched, the lower stones of the arch still remaining. Portions of the jambs of one or two little windows may still be seen in what remains of this side. The south side, like the north, also measures 50 feet in length, and is a little ruined near the top. Six narrow loop-holes, or windows, and the side of a seventh, towards the top, still remain, that next the ground, like the corresponding one at the opposite side, being much splayed at the outside. The centre and largest one of these windows has either a pointed or round top, but it is so concealed by ivy that I could not ascertain. The west side measures 40 feet in length; but, owing to walls being built up to the south-east and south-west angles, it was not easy to measure the lengths of the east, south, and west sides, especially the latter; I believe, however, that my measurements are accurate. The west side has four windows and the side of a fifth, one of these, however, being part of the window in the north-west angle, already mentioned when describing the north side. The window next the ground is splayed at the outside, and has a space 10 feet in breadth white-washed around it, probably by the coast-guards of the station, whose signal pole stands on the top of the castle at this side. The length of each of the four sides of the castle diminishes about a foot at the angles, at a height of about nine feet from the ground.

We now come to the interior of the castle. At the south-east corner there is about half, up to the top, of the circular inside of a turret in the thickness of the wall, in which a spiral staircase appears to have existed, the ends or places for two flights of the steps being still visible. Besides two windows looking from this interior, and already mentioned at the south side, it has also the remains of a circular-headed doorway leading to the interior of the castle, and, over this, another perfect circular-headed doorway looking west. A space appears to have been walled off from the interior of the castle at the east side, but, as before stated, this side is unfortunately the most ruined. Remains, however, of two arched ceilings, and other accommodations, may still be seen in this part. The three windows next the ground at the south, west, and north sides have, at the inside, the form of large fire-places, each 5 feet 8 inches in breadth. One of the arch stones of the west recess has rudely carved on it the form of a human face; but it is probably a modern production. Similar recesses are at the insides of the two windows over these in the west and north sides, and another recess is at the inside of the centre window in the south side. This side of the castle, like the east, is walled off from the interior, and between the two walls are several small apartments, inaccessible, however, to me. Over the centre window in the south side, just mentioned, is a doorway leading into some of these chambers,

and it was probably into them that one of the circular-headed doorways at the south-east corner of the castle also led. All this side, however, under the first arch, as also the east side, under it, appears quite solid. Portions of two arched ceilings are to be seen in the castle, still exhibiting the marks of the hurdles on which they were turned, a few small examples of which I picked up and brought with me.¹ From the west wall, beneath the first or lowest arch, two stones, like corbels, project; but they do not seem to have been used for this purpose. The corresponding holes in the north and south walls, or similar projecting stones in the opposite east wall, do not appear; but the latter may have been pulled away. Between the two vaulted ceilings, and projecting from the north and south walls, are seventeen corbels, in two rows, one about three feet over the other, eight at the north side, and nine at the south. One from the upper row at the north side appears to have been broken off, which would make that side also to have had nine corbels. Some of the corbels are cut nearly thus , and two in the lower row at the south side are placed close to each other. Corresponding holes for the ends of the beams which rested on the corbels appear in the east and west walls. But why the space between the two rows of corbels should have been left so low as about three feet (less when the floor was on the lower row), it is difficult to say. Four square recesses appear between the two ceilings in the west wall, and close to the north and south walls; and the remains of another may be seen near the ground in the east wall, and close to the north side. Above the first ceiling at this side are the remains of a fireplace, still exhibiting some traces of ornament. The wall at the doorway in the east side measures 11 feet thick; but, as has been already stated, this wall is divided into small apartments at a little height over the doorway. The length of the castle inside is 29½ feet at either side, and the breadth is 21 feet 8 inches, which may give some idea of the thickness of the walls, which otherwise it is very difficult to ascertain; but they seem to be immensely thick, particularly up to the top of the first arch, or second floor, from which they lessen in thickness, except the east and south walls, which had small apartments in them.

On a rising ground opposite the east side of the castle, and at the other side of a little inlet of the sea, there is a large and rude caher, or circular enclosure of stones (evidently that above referred to by Lewis), from which, tradition says, the east side of the castle received the shots which have battered it down to its present condition. Whether this stone enclosure was one of the old Irish cahers,

¹In the Catalogue of Antiquities exhibited at Belfast in the year 1852, p. 51, mention is made of a portion of the roof of Trummery Round Tower, showing

the marks of the wattles on which it had been turned—proving, as I think, the antiquity of this mode of constructing the arch.

converted into a fortification for the demolition of the castle, or specially erected for this purpose, as is said, may be interesting to ascertain. On the Ordnance map it is named "*Cahernanackree*," which would seem to strengthen the former supposition.

MOORESTOWN.—This castle appears to have been once a fine structure, but is now much ruined by time and man. As usual with most of the castles, it is surrounded by a wretched village, dignified with the name of *Moorestown*, on the banks of the *Feohanagh* river, famed for its salmon, and at a short distance from *Duncann Bay*, a beautiful, but sometimes very boisterous little inlet from *Smerwick Harbour*; while the lofty *Brandon*, overlooking the whole scene, seems to keep watch over the castle ruins.

Very little appears recorded of *Moorestown Castle*, and the following bare mention of it by *Smith* is all that I have been able to find:—"There is another [castle] called *Castlemore* in these parts, said to be built by the *O'Moores*."—p. 196. *Lewis* does not take any notice of this fine castle.

A considerable portion of the castle yet remains, particularly of the south-west angle, or that next the village of *Feohanagh*, which is very high—indeed the highest I have yet seen. The south side measures 22 feet in length, to a projecting wall, forming a portion of the castle, and of which about nine feet remain, running at right angles from the south wall, which has in it two little windows, and a small portion of what would seem to have been a pointed window, higher up in the fallen part of the wall. Twenty-four feet of the west side of the castle remain, which has in its centre two windows, one over the other, and over these again a deep chasm or gap in the wall, in which there were probably other windows. The projecting wall before mentioned is pierced by two little windows, close to the south wall of the castle tower, and the east side exhibits the remains of two arches, one over the other, showing the marks of the hurdles on which they were turned. In this side are also four recesses, one of which, next the ground, seems to run through the wall, and, as I was told, far out at the other side. The angle or turret of the castle, of which the remaining wall forms a part, appears to have had communication with the interior by means of two doorways, the upper one of which is still very perfect. The greater part of the other, and all the part under it, is entirely fallen or pulled away, as is also the greater part of the east side, and the whole of the north side of the castle. What remains of the east wall measures about sixteen feet in length, but all the lower part of the facing is peeled away. Portions of two windows, and one perhaps near where the upper doorway led from the projecting turret before mentioned, are, however, still visible. We now come to the inside of the castle, beginning with the south wall, which is the most perfect of any. Besides the three windows before noticed, as seen from the outside, three

recesses appear at the inside of this wall, one of them (the nearest to the ground) occupying part of the west wall. Two ranges of corbels for the floor beams, each consisting of three stones, remain in the south wall, and corresponding holes for the ends of the beams are in the east and west walls (see Gallerus, p. 388). The holes for one end of the beams at the north side may be also seen in the portion remaining of the west wall. The only other feature to be noticed at the inside of this wall is a recess and a piece of the perforated stone, probably for a door which opened from the north side of the castle. There is nothing to be noticed at the inside of the east wall, except further evidences of where the two doorways from the outside, already noticed, led to the interior. A portion of the arched roof of the castle may still be seen, issuing from the south wall, and exhibiting abundant marks of the hurdles on which it was turned. I picked up and brought with me a few small specimens of the mortar having the impressions of the hurdles in them, some still holding the decayed rods. I found it difficult to ascertain the thickness of the walls of this castle; but from three or four measurements, through windows and elsewhere, I found them to be about six feet thick. An immense mass of one of the fallen walls lies at the foot of the ruins, which, as it exhibited the two faces, I measured, and found it also to be six feet thick. All the stones of the other fallen portions of the castle have been removed, and may be seen forming the adjacent fences, and in many of the cabins in Moorestown and the next villages. Moorestown Castle, in consequence, as I was informed, of the additional angle before described, was known by the name of *caisleán na g-cúig g-cúine*—the five-cornered castle; and is said to be the only one (I suppose in the district) with this peculiarity.¹ There is a tradition that the castle was first intended to be built nearer to the foot of Brandon Hill. Mr. Frederick G. Hutchinson, from whom I derived much of the above information, told me that this castle was very perfect about thirteen years ago (I write in 1854). During the time I was writing my notes at the castle, the robin, the sparrow, and other charming little birds, kept up their melody on the old walls.

RAHINNANE.—This is the most picturesque castle ruin in the barony; and, standing in one of the old Irish *raths*, on the side of a mountain, which, seen as a back-ground, gives the ruin a rather gloomy appearance, yet adds to the effect, perhaps it is also the most picturesquely situated. The hill and castle overlook the beautiful harbour and strand of Ventry; and when we include in the landscape Marhin Peak and Mount Eagle, and the less elevated hills above the village of Ventry, the whole forming a crescent-shaped

¹ Judging from their remains, Minard to have had similar additions.—See pp. 390 and 396.

range at the head of the harbour, we have, I believe, as magnificent a picture as any I know of in the south of Ireland. I regret much that my pencil could not do justice to this scene, or I would have as gladly introduced it as the accompanying lithograph of the castle and its old rath, which has been carefully executed by Mr. O'Driscoll, of Cork, from a sketch which I made when passing the castle, in August, 1854. Indeed, on consideration, perhaps the omission from the lithograph of the mountains and other scenery is the less to be regretted, as, if they had been introduced, of course the castle and rath should be much reduced in size, which was not my object for a notice of both. The interesting and picturesque appearance of Rahinnane Castle did not escape the notice of the writer of the "Letters from Kerry," already referred to, and the castle ruin and its associations are thus spoken of in that pleasing little volume:—"As we ascended the side of Maran's Reeks from Ventry, we passed Rathanane Castle, a most picturesque ruin, seated in the centre of a moated mound. It seemed to me the Norman noble had chosen an old Danish 'fort' or 'rath' for the site of his abode; and where erst the Danes had assembled their councils of war, the Normans afterwards held their revels high; and now, in a later day, it is the haunt of the most timid of God's creatures, for

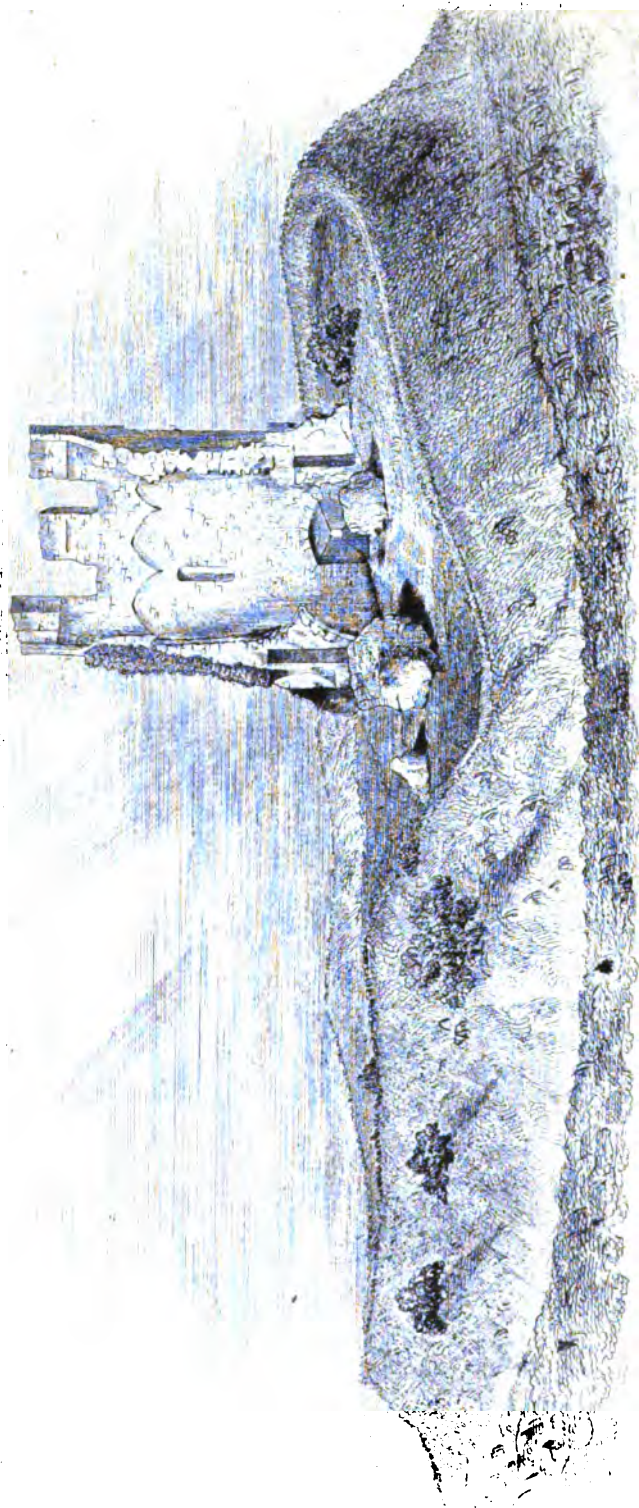
'Leverets pass the wardless gate,
Where heroes once essayed and perished!'

while the birds of the air and the winds of Heaven alone disturb its deep silence. It is indeed a singularly beautiful ruin, thus placed in the former Danish intrenchment, backed by mountains, and looking down upon the sea. The ancients had fine taste. This castle belongs to the Knight of Kerry."—pp. 54-5.

The castle was erected in one of the old *Irish* raths, or circular earthen enclosures—hence the name—the fosse or ditch of which was evidently much deepened and the embankment strengthened for the use of the castle.¹ A little causeway across the ditch at the west side still remains, leading towards Ballineanig, Gallerus, and Moorestown castles. Another opening in the embankment, but wanting the causeway, appears at the east side of the enclosure. Setting out from one side of the causeway, the fosse measured 210 paces, each pace about 2½ feet, till I walked round to the other side, the causeway itself being about five paces broad. This calculation makes the circumference of the fosse to be about 484 feet, which will give some idea of the size of the rath. At the south side of the deep ditch which surrounds the rath is the entrance to an underground

¹ There is another Rahanane Castle about a mile and a half to the west of Ardferf; but I am not aware whether it is built in a rath, or not—from the

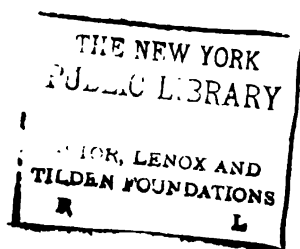
name, most probably it is. It was formerly the residence of the bishops of Ardferf.—See Ordnance Survey of Kerry, sheet 20.



R. H. M.

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From the East

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chamber, said to have formerly had subterranean communication with the castle of Ballineanig, about two miles off! Much against the wish of those of the villagers who knew of my intention, and some of whom feared for my safe return, I explored this wonderful souterrain in August, 1848, both for the purpose of ascertaining its extent, and also in the hope of finding an Ogham inscription. It certainly extends far under ground, and branches off in several directions. All the passages are hollowed out of the hard clay, there being no stone work in them. I found bones in every part of this cave, and in the outer passage a small smooth stone, somewhat like an unfinished stone hatchet. It is worthy of remark, that this rath is mentioned in the romantic story of the Battle of Ventry, fought in the third century. In the commonly used and badly printed account of the battle which I have (p. 22) it is spelled *Rathnaspana*.

Very few historical notices of Rahinnane Castle have turned up to me in my reading. Smith only mentions it as "a ruined castle belonging to the knight of Kerry."—p. 181. He tells us, however, of a circumstance, which may have given rise to the tradition above alluded to, respecting the subterranean communication between this castle and that of Ballineanig. He says that the Irish have a tradition that the narrow isthmus between the harbours of Ventry and Dingle was the last ground in Ireland that was possessed by the Danes, which might have been easily defended by an handful of men, who were also masters at sea, against a multitude; and he mentions the "Danish" intrenchments at Caheratrant and Rahinnane; besides which, however, there are several other raths in the neighbourhood. Smith further states, that the broader isthmus between the harbours of Smerwick and Ventry, being for a great part bog and mountain, might also be easily defended, especially by a chain of forts, within call of each other, which the Danes had between Rahinnane and Gallerus, and of which the remains may still be seen. It is probable that this tradition may have changed into that above mentioned, in relation to the castle, which stood in one of those so-called "Danish" intrenchments.¹ In the "*Pacata Hibernia*," "the Rahane" (Rahinnane Castle) is mentioned as the "chiefe

¹ I need scarcely say, that the "Danish" theory of these earthworks has been completely refuted by our eminent antiquaries, Drs. Petrie and O'Donovan, and others. The raths are much older than the time of the Danes in Ireland; while some few of them appear to be of a later date. They are now to be classed amongst the most important and interesting of our primeval remains, from the fact of numerous Ogham inscriptions being found buried within their

dark and silent chambers—each telling its own story!

To the many instances already on record may now be added, the recent discovery (see pp. 402–8, *post*) of two fine Ogham monuments in the fosse of the remarkable rath of Dunbel in the county of Kilkenny, and under circumstances of a very interesting nature. I look upon this discovery as one of much value in its bearing on the celebrated Ogham question.

mannor house" of the Knight of Kerry, and said to have been taken from him by Sir Charles Wilmot on the 5th of March, 1602. In a general pardon to inhabitants of these parts, in the Patent Rolls of 1st James I. (1603), p. 31, No. lxvi., the first name that occurs is — "General pardon to William Fitzgerald, of Rahannane, in Kerry and Desmond county, otherwise called the Knight of Kerry." This was William Fitzgerald, a son-in-law of Lord Kerry, who, often pardoned, as often rebelled. Rahinnane Castle was destroyed during the wars of the Commonwealth.

The most perfect side of the castle is the west, which measures 28 feet in length at the base; this side is also very high. The other three sides are much ruined, the whole of the east side, or that facing the present village of Ventry, being gone, so that their exact dimensions cannot now be ascertained. Immense and solid masses of masonry lie scattered about and deeply embedded in the ground, particularly at the east side, from which probably most of them have fallen. These ponderous and firmly cemented masses, together with the shattered state of the castle, its situation, and the circumstances connected with its history and that of the surrounding district, all add much to the picturesque appearance of the ruin. Numerous small windows, or loop-holes, are still to be seen in the walls of the castle, splaying considerably at the inside, most of them, however, broken, and the form lost. Remains of nine may be seen in the south wall, three in the west, and two in the north; one of the latter, however, looks more like a doorway. A portion of a wing remaining at this side of the castle has also another little window in it. Only two of these windows were visible from where I made my sketch. The most perfect doorway is in the south wall, measuring 3 feet 10 inches broad, and 5 feet 2 inches in height from the present floor to the top of the arch. The wall measures 8 feet thick at the bottom of this doorway, but it narrows about one foot at a height of five feet from the ground. Two stone staircases are visible in the thickness of the north and south walls, running up from the doorways, one measuring 2 feet 4 inches in breadth, and the other so narrow as 1 foot 4 inches. Ten steps of the broader, and nine of the narrower stairs, still remain. Some of the arch on which the second floor rested yet remains at the inside of the castle, the mortar on which exhibits remarkably plain impressions of the hurdles on which the arch was turned. I picked up two or three small specimens of this mortar, one of them containing a portion of a sea-shell, showing that it was with sea-sand the mortar had been mixed. A tradition connected with many of the Irish castles, and with this one of Rahinnane in particular, is, that blood had been mixed with the mortar, which imparted to it the hardness and tenacity which we now so very often remark. The remains of walls, like those of a house, are to be seen in the enclosure at the

south side of the castle. Rahinnane Castle is said to be the haunt of an apparition, and many of the peasantry fear to pass the place after nightfall. I have had related to me some stories concerning the pranks of this supernatural being, all apparently having their origin in some dark deed committed here in times of old; while, at the same time, they may be traced to the loneliness of the ruin, and its effect on a weak and unenlightened mind.

I have now completed my description of the Castles of Corkaguiny. Some of it may be considered rather tedious and minute; but when we bear in mind that in a few years, or perhaps sooner, many of the features which I have endeavoured to describe may no longer exist, the architectural antiquary will not, I am sure, blame me. Every Irish antiquary, I hope, takes some interest in the old castles of Ireland, closely and inseparably connected as they are with the history of his native country.¹

ON THE DISCOVERY OF OGHAM MONUMENTS AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES IN THE RATHS OF DUNBEL, COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

IN the year 1852 I brought under the notice of the Society the results of some explorations in a rath at Dunbel, in the county of Kilkenny; and the description then given of the various objects of antiquity turned up in the course of the operations seemed to excite a very considerable amount of interest amongst archæologists, as the kind of domestic utensils, the weapons, and ornaments which were discovered served to throw not a little light on the *vie privé* and

¹ It may interest some of the readers of the statement respecting the probable number of old castles in Kerry, at p. 346, to be informed, that having, since that page was printed, gone over the Ordnance index map of the county, I find the number of castles marked thereon to amount to *sixty-four*; and of course this map does not show all the castles, many being omitted from want of room, and others, whose "sites" are carefully marked in the six-inch maps, do not appear in the index, while there are many very important castle sites—as Tralee, Dingle, &c.—not marked in any of the maps. I believe, however, that a careful examina-

tion of the six-inch Ordnance maps, aided by a little local knowledge, would prove that my rough calculation of about *ninety* castles for the county of Kerry, existing or known to have formerly existed, is not far from being correct. The Ordnance map of Kerry consists of one hundred and eleven sheets, represented by corresponding compartments in the index map; and it is remarkable, that the first fifty sheets, or northern half of the county, contain the greatest number of the castles—these sheets showing forty; while on the remaining sixty-one sheets of south Kerry there are marked but twenty-four.

internal arrangements of the residences of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. At that time Mr. White, the tenant of the lands, had employed two men to trench the central area of one of a group of raths upon his farm, and the account which I was enabled to supply to the Society was devoted to a consideration of the discoveries made within that space. However, some time after that work had been concluded, the same men were engaged to make a partial examination of another rath—the largest of the group; and they also, on their own account, carried on some searches into another of those ancient earthworks, for many years nearly obliterated, situated near the former. Mr. White's object in directing their operations was merely to ascertain whether the earth composing these structures might not be such as would be valuable to him for purposes of tillage, whilst the workmen found it their interest to extend their researches further, in order to earn the rewards which the Committee of this Society deemed it proper to afford them for the discovery of any objects of interest calculated to form a valuable addition to the Museum. In this way remains of antiquity have continued to be found from time to time in the Dunbel raths, and to be lodged in the Museum, since I first called the attention of the Society to the locality, in the year 1852; and at the July Meeting of last year, I brought under notice, in a few very brief observations, such additional objects as had, up to that time, come into our possession. Since then, however, Mr. White caused his workmen to try back upon the first rath which he had got trenched, and which had been found to be not alone composed of the best materials for agricultural purposes, but had also proved the richest mine of archaeological remains. Thus the fosses and embankments, which were previously left almost untouched, having been during the present year subjected to the same process of trenching and turning which had been before carried out in the inner area, so many more objects of interest were brought to light, that my brother Secretary and I have deemed it proper that a detailed account should be laid before the Society of all the remains which we have been enabled to secure for the Museum from the Dunbel raths, since I drew up the catalogue of those previously found in 1852. I shall now, therefore, proceed to lay the list before the Society, classifying the objects, as on the former occasion, according to the material of which they are respectively composed.

STONE ARTICLES.—1. Four additional querns or hand-mills have been found, possessing no peculiar feature worthy of being described. They had been almost all broken, like those previously turned up.

2. Hones and sharpening stones continue to be found in great numbers, all showing evidence of having been used for whetting the rude knives and javelins of the ancient residents of the raths. One

of these sharpening stones, now in the Museum, exhibits some ornamentation, besides having a portion carved into a handle. It is 4 inches long, of which the handle forms 1 inch; its width is three-fourths, and its thickness half an inch. Amongst these hones may also be classed a piece of hard green-stone, with a regular circular depression at one side, polished like glass. It has been conjectured to have been used for burnishing round bone or stone ornaments, or it might, perhaps, have formed a portion of a rude lathe, answering the purpose of a socket in which the spindle turned.

3. Several of the small rounded stones, termed by the peasantry "fairy mill-stones," have been added to our collection. Most of them, like those already described, have only a single hole drilled in the centre of the disk; but there are two which differ materially from the others, one having two holes, the other three. I before intimated an opinion that these "fairy mill-stones" were used as buttons, and I conceive the circumstance of finding two or more holes, obviously for the purpose of better securing them by stitching them to the garment, goes far to confirm this view, if it may not be taken as putting the matter out of dispute altogether. One of these antique stone buttons, with but one hole, is square in shape, and has an incised ornamental pattern round the orifice.

4. A flatted pebble, smoothed and polished, with a cross, enclosed in a parallelogram, incised on one side, the ornament being dotted in with a sharp-pointed instrument. It bears a general resemblance to the stone previously described as having been found, bearing upon it an indented elliptical ornament, and which I supposed might have been a child's toy. The latter, however, was perforated at one end, as if to be suspended by a string, which does not occur in the present instance (see the plate at page 124, vol. ii. fig. p). They may, perhaps, have been amulets.

5. A small stone, carved in the form of a minie rifle ball, and the exact shape and size of such a missile. It is impossible to conjecture its use.

6. Six more fragments of jet circlets, of the class termed in England "Kimmeridge coal-money," have been placed in the Museum. A perfect specimen has not yet been found in the Dunbel excavations, although the fragments have been so numerous.

BONE ARTICLES.—1. A large quantity of bone pins have been turned up by the workmen, in addition to those already in the Museum. They seem to have been almost all formed from the leg-bones of fowl, sharpened at one end, and having a hole drilled at the broad part, in which probably a ring of bronze or iron wire was originally inserted.

2. A gouge, rudely formed, somewhat after the fashion of a child's apple-scoop. It is pierced at the handle end, as if to be suspended on a string. It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

3. A bone harp-pin(?), 3 inches long, skilfully turned in a lathe, with a handsomely ornamented head.

4. Some additional bone beads, previously described as resembling the "fairy mill-stones," and used, no doubt, as buttons, although all having but a single hole pierced in the centre. There are four specimens exhibiting the peculiarity of being flat on one side and convex on the other, the flat side of three of them being unornamented; but one of them, which measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, bears incised circles both on the flat and convex sides, and all were evidently turned in a lathe. One of those with the flat side plain, has an iron rivet through the hole in its centre, by which it appears to have been originally attached as an ornament to something.

5. A piercer, exactly resembling that figured at page 124, vol. ii. fig. o, except that it has no spike for going into a handle.

6. A bone ring, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter. It seems too clumsy to have ever been intended as a finger-ring.

7. Fragments of three additional combs. One a single comb, the sides ornamented by cross hatchings, bearing a general resemblance to figure f at page 124, vol. ii. The two others are double combs, one of which is ornamented with incised roundels, and is a perfect fac-simile of that described in the "Archæologia," vol. xxxiii. p. 332, as having been discovered amongst the Saxon remains in the Barrow Furlong excavation. It is imperfect, the fragment remaining being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The fragment of the second double comb is even smaller; but one end is elegantly ornamented with perforations surrounded by an incised pattern, chiefly composed of circles.

8. A great number of additional knife-handles, all formed rudely of the tines of deers' horns. A cut on one of them serves to prove that those engaged in fashioning them were acquainted with the use of the saw.

9. A boar's tusk, pierced in the centre, apparently intended to be suspended round the neck as a child's ornament.

BRONZE ARTICLES.—1. Several bronze pins, perfect and imperfect. One of the former has a coil of wire inserted in the head as a ring; and the head is ornamented similarly to a bronze pin lately found in the Cathedral of St. Canice, in digging the new vault of the Ormonde family, and presented at the last Meeting of the Society by Lord James Butler. It is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, the ring being half an inch in diameter. Another is a pin with a nail-head and incised ornaments, but without a ring; it is the same length as the former, and resembles in size and shape a large corking pin. There are also four detached bronze rings which had belonged to pins. One of them bears a general resemblance to that figured in the Proceedings of the last Meeting of the Society, as having been found at the Island of Mull, except that it is much smaller in its dimensions, and has no slit across the broad part, in place of which a hole was bored.

2. A bronze finger-ring, of small size, with a disk on one side, unengraved.

3. A small, flat, round box, about the substance of a half-crown, consisting of two parts, hinged together, and showing the remains of eyes for fastenings. It has been conjectured to have been a pyx, and it is difficult to assign any other possible use for it, although it would appear rather small even for that purpose.

4. A long, narrow strip of bronze, showing some trace of an illegible medieval inscription, the letters being apparently in the Roman character.

5. A bronze corner of a book-cover, of very small size.

6. A small coil of bronze or copper wire, silvered over. There were also several nondescript pieces of bronze, of various shapes and sizes, and two rather modern-looking buttons.

IRON ARTICLES.—1. A great number of iron fibulæ, perfect and imperfect, but all very much eaten by rust. The pin of one is nearly six inches long. The rings are all very small.

2. An iron shears, six inches long, and exactly resembling, except that it is somewhat larger, a similar implement dug up in a rath at Seskin, county of Kilkenny, along with three bronze pins, all of which were presented to the Society's Museum in 1849, by Edmund Staunton, Esq. This was the scissors (no doubt a much prized implement) of the mistress of the rath. These small iron shears are frequently found in Saxon barrows in England.

3. A small and extremely curious key, of considerable antiquity. There is a peculiar feature in this object, inasmuch as that, where the pipe is in ordinary keys, there is here a cut or opening, running up towards the ring.

4. Another of those objects which I have already, in my paper of 1852, conjectured to be a goad for driving cattle. It differs, however, in one respect from that previously described, inasmuch as the former contained a hollow pipe at one end, for the apparent purpose of being placed on the top of a staff; that more recently found has a spike at the end, for running into a hole in the staff-end.

5. Two more narrow iron chisels, but both square, whilst that previously found was round, except at the edge.

6. Another and more perfect specimen of an ancient Irish horse-shoe, very small and light, and quite different in its fashion from modern specimens.

7. A small spur-shaped ornament, intended to be pendent from the bridle, exactly similar in shape, although much smaller in size than the bronze bridle ornaments of which there are so many in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, as well as a good specimen in our own Museum, which was found at Coolgrany, on the John's Well Hills, county of Kilkenny.

8. A small cutting implement, similar to that placed by smiths in the hole of an anvil, on which to cut iron bars when heated.

9. A large increase in the number of small iron knife-blades previously discovered. Amongst them is a skean which, when perfect, was 7 inches in length, irrespective of the spike intended to run into the handle, and 1 inch wide near the haft.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.—1. The soles of a pair of peaked shoes, of well tanned leather, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and of very peculiar shape and construction. The heels are very small; from these the sole runs in a long narrow neck, and suddenly swells out at the broad part of the foot to a considerable width, when it again suddenly tapers to a point. The peak was added by a separate piece of leather, sewed to the toe. The sewing throughout is effected by means of a long thong of leather, after the fashion of the modern Irish brogue, but executed with a degree of neatness and regularity which cannot fail of exciting the attention of the observer. There can be no doubt that these shoe-soles are medieval remains. They were turned up in the nearly obliterated earthwork near the great rath.

2. A few pieces of thick greenish glass, much decomposed.

3. A flint, obviously used by the inhabitants for striking a light.

4. A small clay tobacco pipe, resembling those dug up at the restorations in Youghal Church, and engraved at page 304, *ante*.

5. Some small pieces of coal, or culm, being the anthracite of the county of Kilkenny, and serving to show that the use of this kind of fuel was known in the locality earlier than has been hitherto supposed.

6. A piece of crystallized quartz.

7. A large barnacle shell, very much disintegrated, and thus showing that it is of considerable age. It is extremely curious that a sea-shell should have found its way so far inland in times so remote, when the means of communicating with the coast must have been limited indeed.

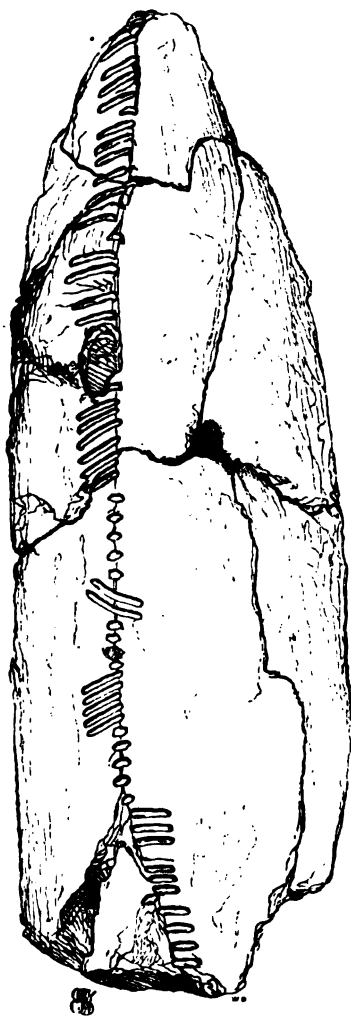
It is worthy of remark that no further traces of pottery ware of any kind have been discovered in any of the Dunbel raths since 1852, when I had only to report the finding of a few small fragments of a single vessel.

I have now to report the most important, if not the most interesting, discovery in connexion with the Dunbel raths. In the spring of the present year, Mr. White having caused his labourers to try back on the rath first trenched, for the purpose of raising earth from the north-eastern portion of the inner fosse and embankment, which had not been previously disturbed, the workmen were instructed by the Honorary Secretaries of this Society to report to them from time to time any indication which they might observe worthy of particular attention; and they were in the habit of bringing in weekly such

objects of antiquity as they had turned up since their previous visit. One of these men was possessed of more than ordinary intelligence, and was capable of making the most shrewd and pertinent observations with respect to everything which was met with in the course of the "diggings." On the evening of the 1st of June last, this man came into town to report that they had lighted on the entrance to an artificial cave, in the inner fosse of the rath. This, of course, was a matter requiring our personal inspection, and, accordingly, on Saturday, the 2nd of June last, the Rev. James Graves and I proceeded to the rath, accompanied by the Rev. Henry B. Farmer, when we found that there were certainly some grounds for the report made by our delving antiquary, although his conclusions were not fully borne out. On the north-east side there was an aperture in the inner face of the outer embankment, opening on the fosse which surrounds the central mound of the rath. This was formed by three flag-stones, two serving as sides, with one at top, the height being 2 feet 4 inches, by 1 foot 8 inches in width, and at first sight it had all the appearance of a "creep" forming the entrance to a cave; it was, however, obvious that it narrowed inwards so quickly and to so great a degree, that the human body could not be forced forward more than three or four feet, for the passage soon assumed the dimensions of a small sewer. By excavating about it, we quickly found that its entire length was but 13 feet 6 inches, and that it terminated abruptly, without leading to any chamber, or leaving any indication of the purpose for which it was constructed. Its course was parallel with the embankment, so that, independent of its having no vent, it could not have been intended as a sewer to carry off water from the fosse. Under these circumstances there could be no suggestion offered by those who were present, as to its probable use, except by adopting the view put forward by Mr. W. Hackett at the May Meeting of last year (see p. 85, *ante*), and arriving at the conclusion that it was designed as a place to deposit secret boundary marks. The labourers stoutly declared that nothing whatever but the common clay used in the construction of the rath had been found in this "drain," as they called it; but we observed some very slight indications of charcoal, having picked up two extremely small lumps inside the aperture; and these, small as they were, must be taken as tending to sustain Mr. Hackett's opinion.

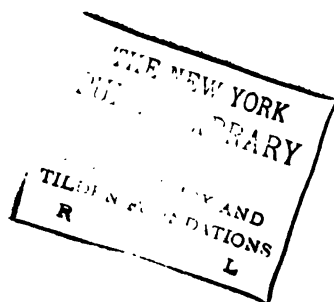
Whilst cross-questioning the labourers on the subject of the appearances in connexion with the opening of this passage, before the removal of the earth which had closed it up, we ascertained that near it had been found what they called "a wall of dry stones," rudely built across the middle of the fosse; and that between this wall and the entrance to the "drain," bearing about N.N.E., they found two very large, long stones, standing nearly upright, but both inclining outwards from the mound of the rath; but for this inclina-

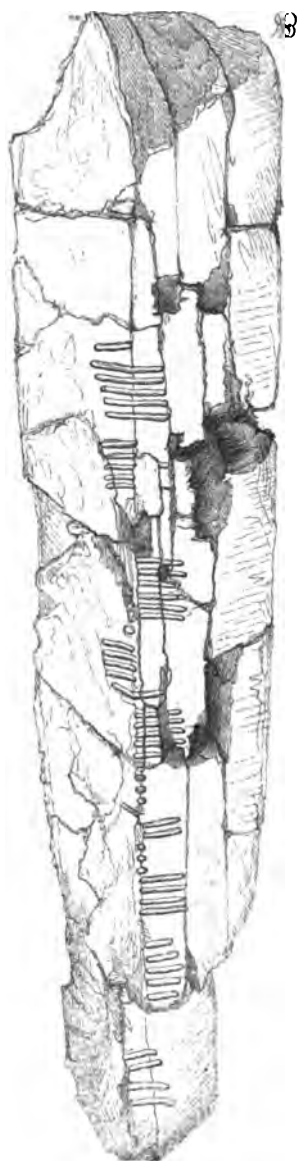
tion, the men said, these stones would look like the piers of a gate, and their distance apart was between 3 and 4 feet. We immediately inquired what had become of these stones, as we wished to examine them. The workmen said that the stones were so large that they were in their way, and, therefore, they had borrowed a sledge-hammer and smashed them to pieces. My colleague at once proceeded to lecture the most intelligent of the labourers on the impropriety of acting with such precipitancy, remarking, that they little knew what mischief they might have done, as it was more than probable that the stones which they had broken were inscribed with Oghams. He had scarcely spoken when the justice of his anticipations was fully proved. A small stone, about 3 inches square, lay at my feet, and as it showed evidence of having been recently broken from a larger mass, I stooped to pick it up, and was at once struck by the appearance of two unmistakeable Ogham scores on its edge. We now saw clearly that the men had done great mischief, indeed. But what was to be done to remedy the misfortune? That portion of the fosse was now one immense heap of stones, all those which had been found in other parts of the excavation having been recently conveyed to this spot, and here piled together. To look for the fragments of the Ogham stones in such a chaos, at first sight appeared to be something like the proverbial absurdity of searching for a needle in a bundle of hay. But upon attentively observing the fragment which I had picked up, we found a clue, which, followed out with persevering industry, soon overcame the difficulty. The small stone containing the Ogham scores was of the old red sand-stone. All the stone of the locality was blue lime-stone. We soon had the labourers hard at work, turning over the huge carn which they had so recently piled up on the spot, and carefully laying to one side every particle of sand-stone which they could detect. We had little hope that the monuments, which evidently had been broken into minute particles, could ever be put together again, or anything like a restoration such as would lead to the reading of one letter of the inscriptions be effected; but our persevering industry was rewarded vastly beyond any result which we could have looked for, and after three or four hours' patient labour in turning over the heap of stones, we were first enabled to put together the entire fragments of one Ogham stone; and subsequently to obtain nearly all those of the other. The accompanying engravings, drawn to scale, one inch to a foot, will sufficiently explain the difficulty which we encountered, and the success with which our exertions were crowned. No. 1 was first put together, as it had been broken into a less number of fragments, and the consequent difficulty of matching the pieces was less felt. Its original dimensions, as represented in the cut, were—length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet; width, in the middle, 2 feet, tapering at either end to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was broken into six pieces, and as the inscription



OGHAM MONUMENT, FOUND IN A RATH AT DUNBEL, COUNTY OF KILKENNY, No. 1.

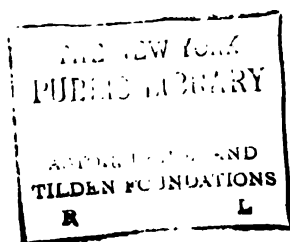
Scale, 1 inch to a foot.





OGHAM MONUMENT, FOUND IN A RATH AT DUNBEL, COUNTY OF KILKENNY, No. II.

Scale, 1 inch to a foot.



only ran along the verge of three of these, we deemed it unnecessary to preserve more than those three fragments, making the present



No. 1.

dimensions, as it appears in the Society's Museum, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches square throughout. The inscription, of which there are only a very few scores defaced, runs from one end to the other, and if the stone were originally placed in a standing position, some portion of the inscription must have been, of necessity, covered by the earth. No. 2 had suffered far greater injury than the first. Some of the fragments were minute in the extreme, and portions had been literally pulverized, so that it was impossible to recover them. We, however, obtained no fewer than *forty-four* pieces, which have been put together in the Museum, as they appear in the engraving,—a labour which none but those who witnessed it in the course of being carried out could possibly appreciate the difficulty of, as the matching and fitting of the fragments required an amount of ingenuity far exceeding that requisite for arranging a Chinese puzzle. The stone, thus reconstructed, measures, in length, 6 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; in width 1 foot 1 inch at one end, narrowing to 11 inches, to where there is a step within $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches of the top, at which point the width decreases to $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, again enlarging at the top to 9 inches. The depth is 11 inches at one end, gradually diminishing to 8 inches at the other. The inscription commences at 1 foot 10 inches from the larger end, and extends to the other extremity. The frequent occurrence of the fractures has injured the scores in several, and obliterated them in a few places. The diagrams on this page represent the number of scores and the *lacuna* on the monuments, but they are not given as exact fac-similes of the originals, which will be best understood by the very accurate engravings facing p. 404.



No. 2.

I have already observed that the material of these monuments is sand-stone. It is of a purplish-gray colour, the bed from which

it was obtained not being found nearer to Dunbel than Thomastown, distant seven miles. The inscriptions in each case were roughly picked with a sharp-pointed tool. The scores of No. 2 are smaller, and not as deeply sunk as those of No. 1, so that they may not have been cut at the same time or by the same person. The fact of both having been carried hither from Thomastown may give room for speculation as to the carving of Ogham stones having formed a trade pursued in different localities, to which those requiring such monuments had recourse from the surrounding district. There are two other Ogham stones known to exist in the same district, one in the church-yard of Gowran, more than three miles distant,¹ the other somewhat nearer, in the church-yard of Tullaherin (see p. 86, *ante*). It is an interesting circumstance that both those monuments are formed of sand-stone, similar to that which composes the Dunbel Ogham stones. The labourers say that the tops of the two inscribed stones at Dunbel were visible above the surface at the bottom of the fosse before they commenced to clear away the earth from around them. If this statement be correct, it is most probable that originally, before the rath was abandoned as a place of residence, and the fosse partially filled by accumulations of rubbish, the Ogham stones were not intended to be covered, but were to be seen and the inscriptions read by every one. However, as I mentioned before, the inscription on the stone, No. 1, must have been partially covered by the earth under any circumstances.

It may be right to report to the Society, that the difficulty of putting together the fragments of these much injured monuments was not the only one which we experienced in preserving them from all danger of further injury. Broken in fragments as they were, it was obvious that they could not be left in the place where they were found, and where, doubtless, the largest degree of interest would attach to them; for they never could be kept together, and the loss of a single fragment would render the whole of little value. We, therefore, determined that they should be conveyed to the Museum of this Society, where they would be secure from all danger of further injury, and be always open to the inspection of the archaeological inquirer. But to this the workmen demurred. Seeing our anxiety to collect together even the smallest particles of the fractured stones, the fellows took it into their heads that the money value of the monuments must have been very great, and they immediately inquired what reward they were to receive *for making the discovery for us*. We had already paid them pretty liberally for their day's work, and considering that they had ruthlessly broken and injured the monuments, of the value of which they had been totally unaware, it appeared to us rather cool to demand a reward

¹ See vol. i. p. 145, and p. 204, *ante*. been engraved for the Society.—See The Tullaherin Ogham monument has page above referred to.

for "the discovery." However, we named a sum we be willing to pay them for the safe conveyance of the stones to Kilkenny, and after some grumbling to the terms, promising that the stones should be brought to the Museum next day. But the next day passed, no sign of the arrival of our newly found archæology. We proceeded to Dunbel to ascertain the cause of this to our chagrin found that our scheming delvers had slipped off and secreted in some inaccessible repository every Ogham monument, which they declined to bring to light were handsomely paid for compliance; such a sum as £100 at as being pretty much about the amount that would be a fair recompense for parting with these valuable fragile blocks of stone. We saw that there was here a temptation to impose upon us which should be determinedly resisted that if we paid any exorbitant sum—no matter how tempted we were to lower their expectations from the weight of £30—the price of all objects of antiquity discovered it would be advanced vastly beyond their value from which they would be lost to our Museum. We, therefore, told them we would give nothing more for the monuments than what they had already offered, and that if they lost a fragment of the stones, we would give them nothing at all. They answered us superciliously that if we did not come up to their price they did not want the stones,—in fact, they had rather keep them in a private museum for themselves! Very much disappointed at the same time not a little amused at the chicanery of the delvers, we firmly resolved not to allow them to suppose we would be for a moment to impose upon us, we went away. For some time we heard nothing of the Oghams, and had some misgivings for their safety, although we felt certain that, ultimately, they would be obliged to accept our terms. At length, the labourers brought in the stones; we were glad to get for them the sum which we had originally offered, and which, considering the manner in which the monuments had been injured, was a very handsome recompense for any loss they had in the discovery.

It is not at all unlikely that further discoveries will be made in the Dunbel raths, as only one of them has had a general search made in its area and trenches. However it may, sufficient has already been placed on record concerning this locality to render it one of much interest to archæologists; therefore, the derivation of the name of the townland, which was passingly alluded to on a former occasion, may not be unworthy of being again referred to. Dr. O'Donovan, the authority on such a subject, having been consulted, of

"The derivation of Dunbel is rather doubtful. To General Vallancey it would have been very plain, namely, the *don* or fort of *Bel*, the god of fire. But my opinion is that it means the fort of the *beile* (the Ossorian and Decian form of *bile*), the *aged tree*. We have the word *bel*, or *beul*, which means a mouth, orifice, or opening; but there are very many hilla, holy wells, and other localities in Ireland, called after the *bile*, or old tree, and I think that this fort is one of them."

If there ever was a remarkable old tree on any of the raths at Dunbel, it has long since disappeared. The site of the group of raths on Mr. White's land is known as "the old deer-park," and it is to the present day surrounded by high stone walls, as if enclosed for such a purpose.

The drawings which illustrate this paper were made with the most scrupulous care by the Rev. James Graves, and they have been faithfully transferred to wood and engraved by Oldham of Dublin. The monogram of the draughtsman is attached to what is supposed to be the lower end of each monument. The scores on No. 1 run from end to end of the stone, and as it seems not to have lost anything at either extremity, we may conjecture that at the thicker of the two the inscription commences,—the smaller end naturally forming the top of the pillar when erect.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTION

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Tholsel Rooms,
Wednesday, November 7th, 1855,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGH
in the Chair.

Present, the following members :—

Robert Curtis, Esq., C. I.	Thomas B. M'C
Abraham Denroche, Esq.	Rev. James Mca
John Fitzsimons, Esq.	John G. A. Pri
Rev. W. C. Gorman.	R. Smithwick, E
Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec.	J. M. Tidmarsh,
John James, Esq., L.R.C.S.I.	Kilkenny.
Z. Johnson, Esq., F.R.C.S.I.	Richard Wheeler

The following new members were elected :—

The Right Hon. Lord Dungannon, F. S. A
Brynkinalt, Chirk, Denbighshire; Beauchamp Co
Wexford Militia, George's-street, Wexford; and M
M.D., Portarlinton: proposed by the Rev. James
Joseph Dickinson, M. A. and M. D., F. R. S
President of the Liverpool Literary and Philoso
Great George-square, Liverpool; Joseph Mayer, .
Lord-street, Liverpool;¹ Edward Benn, Esq., Vaux
Liverpool; and Mr. William M. Hennessy, 2, Crow-
proposed by R. Hitchcock, Esq.

James M. Kennedy, Esq., 47, Gloucester-terrace
posed by Henry O'Neill, Esq.

Mr. P. Ellis, Christian Brothers' Schools, Water
by Mr. P. Reardon.

¹ Mr. Mayer is the purchaser of the
celebrated Faussett collection of Anglo-
Saxon antiquities and manuscripts,
the offer of which had been rejected by
the Trustees of the British Museum,

and which he has th
persion. We believ
presented this invalt
the public of Liverp
"Collectanea Antiqu

Mr. Patrick Kennedy, 6, Anglesea-street, Dublin : proposed by Mr. J. O'Daly.

Rev. Thomas Greene, R.C.C., Athy : proposed by Robert B. Wright, Esq.

John Rees, Esq., 2, Millfield-lane, Highgate Rise, London : proposed by William O'Connor, Esq., M.D.

H. H. Boxwell, Esq., M.D., Wexford; and John Murphy, Esq., Mount Loftus, Goresbridge : proposed by Robert Cane, Esq., M.D.

James O'Flynn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 16, Nelson-street, Dublin : proposed by Edward Fitzgerald, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By Hodder Westropp, Esq. : a gutta percha impression from a fragment of the original matrix of an ecclesiastical seal in his possession. A part of the figure of a bishop, seated, and a small portion of the inscription, were visible. The inscription read ARDMACHAENSIS EPI The form of the letters indicated an early date, probably the beginning of the thirteenth century.

By Edward Benn, Esq. : a coloured plate of various glass beads found in Ireland, being a copy of that used to illustrate a paper contributed by him to the "Transactions" of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. vii. p. 97. Mr. Benn wished to draw the attention of members to this much neglected branch of Irish antiquities. From the small intrinsic value of such things, they were seldom preserved when found.

By the Rev. James Graves : a carved domino box with cribbage table on the sides, made by the French prisoners confined in Kilkenny during the Peninsular war. The box was made from the bones of the beef which they received as rations.

By John Turner, Esq., Principal of the Dundalk Institution : a Cingalese book, composed of a number of pieces of the leaves of a tree of the palm tribe, written over, and *strung* on two cords of catgut between two pieces of wood.¹

By Lieut. William P. Hyland, Tower Hamlet's Militia : a large collection of modern half-penny tokens, and some ancient coins.

By the Royal Society of Antiquaries of the North : a selection from their publications, mentioned in the accompanying communications addressed to the Secretary by Prof. Rafn :—

"TO THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

"Copenhague le 25 juillet, 1855.

"La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord a vu avec satisfaction que les faits que présentent l'histoire, la langue, la littérature et les rap-

¹ See an engraving of a Cingalese book in the "Penny Magazine" for 1833, p. 216.

ports ethnographiques du Nord de l'Europe, ont été reconnus de quelque importance aussi pour les pays étrangers.

"C'est en considérant cette circonstance qu'elle a cru devoir adresser les Mémoires ou Rapports qu'elle publie, à celles des institutions scientifiques auxquelles elle attribue l'intention d'en vouloir mettre à profit les recherches qu'elle a entreprises ou les résultats qu'elle en a obtenus.

"Le désir d'être utile est donc le but qu'elle espère atteindre par ces envois, mais craignant d'imposer par là au receveur l'obligation d'en accuser réception, elle le pria de s'en dispenser comme d'un moyen d'éviter réciproquement toute espèce de dépense inutile.

"Je saisis cette occasion pour vous prier d'agréer l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

"Le Secrétaire de la Société

"CHAS. C. RAFFN.

" 'Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord,' 1845-1849.

" 'Saga Játvardar Konungs hins Helga' (The Saga of St. Edward; the original text edited from an Icelandic codex in the Royal Library of Stockholm, by C. C. Raffn and John Sigurdsson).

" 'Antiquarisk Tidsskrift,' 1852-1853.

" 'Nordboernes Forbindelser med Østen i det niende og nærmest følgende Aarhundreder, af Carl Christian Raffn.'

" 'Ejusdem, 'The Discovery of America by the Northmen,' and 'Connection of the Northmen with the East.'

"Des exemplaires de ces deux résumés pour les membres de la direction et les collaborateurs de votre institut."

"TO THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

"Copenhagen le 25 juillet, 1855.

"MONSIEUR,—La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord vous accuse réception de votre offre de vouloir bien nous envoyer vos Transactions que vous avez bien voulu lui adresser.

"Je vous prie de la part de la Société d'en agréer l'expression de ses remerciements.

"Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

"Le Secrétaire de la Société

"CHAS. C. RAFFN."

By the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, United States :—

"Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.—The Antiquities of Wisconsin, as surveyed and described; by I. A. Lapham, Civil Engineer, &c.; on behalf of the American Antiquarian Society."

"Appendix.—Publications of Learned Societies and Periodicals in the Library of the Smithsonian Institution," part 1.

"Eighth and Ninth Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution." 2 Vols.

The Secretary congratulated the Meeting on the friendly relations entered into with these distinguished foreign Societies.

By the Society of Antiquaries of London: "Archæologia," Vol. XXXVI. part 1; "Proceedings," Nos. 41-2; and "List of Fellows," for 1855.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. I. part 3.

By the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society: their first annual volume, comprising "A Selection of Papers read before the Society since its Formation;" also several "Reports."

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Third Series, No. 4.

By Robert MacAdam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 12.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 659 to 665, inclusive.

By the Author, William Kelly, Esq.: "Ancient Records of Leicester."

By the Translator, Hodder Westropp, Esq.: "Lectures on Ancient Art," by Raoul Rochette.

By the Author: "Legends of Mount Leinster."

Archdeacon Cotton forwarded for exhibition the ancient stone cross discovered by him in the course of excavations at Lismore Cathedral (see p. 223, *ante*); he also had presented to the Society the wood engraving on the opposite page, which accurately represented this very curious memorial cross, supposed to be the smallest specimen of so very ancient a date known to exist. The cross had been cut in compact sand-stone, and was very much mutilated. Of the legend, *OR. OO. CORMAC*—a prayer for Cormac—was plainly legible; but there remained indications of a further inscription, of which p only seemed decipherable. Dr. Cotton intended finally to restore the cross to its proper locality.

Mr. Lawless, Rose-Inn-street, Kilkenny, sent for exhibition a silver cross of ancient date—probably belonging to the fifteenth century. It had been gilt, and consisted of four Maltese-shaped crosses, set round a fifth of the same form, and somewhat larger than the others; the workmanship was elegant, the projections being worked into clusters of grapes. In the centre cross was set a garnet, a smaller stone of the same kind in the lower limb, and two turquoise (?) at each side. The stone which had ornamented the upper limb was lost. On the back was engraved, in extremely low relief, the Crucifixion, surrounded by the emblems of the Evangelists,—all much worn. The cross measured two inches and two-tenths across the arms.

Mr. Robertson exhibited a fine specimen of the medal struck in commemoration of the late well-known archæologist, Dean Dawson; obverse, the Dean's bust, in the exergue, *THE VERY REV^d. HENRY*



ANCIENT IRISH CROSS.

DISCOVERED AT LISMORE CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 3-10ths of an inch to one inch.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

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RICHARD DAWSON, D. S. P. D.—reverse, a design representing the widow, the fatherless, the aged destitute, and the genius of antiquity, weeping over a tomb, and, underneath, the record, OB. OCT. XXIV. M.DCCC.XL. The medal was engraved by Woodhouse. Dean Dawson was for a long time a resident of the county of Kilkenny, where he held several ecclesiastical preferments. Had he been spared, his countenance and aid would not have been wanting to the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

The Rev. George H. Reade communicated the discovery, near Inniskeen, Dundalk, of a specimen of the so-called “ring-money,” unique as being composed of 64 plates of dark and pale gold alternating, the plates most beautifully joined so as to form a continuous bar. As usual, the ring was not soldered where the ends met. It had been purchased by Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., M. P.

Mr. James F. Ferguson¹ sent a transcript of a letter, throwing some light on electioneering practices in the county of Kilkenny more than a century ago. The writer was an ancestor of the present Sir R. Langrishe of Knocktopher; the letter had probably been addressed to Baron Worth, and so came to remain in the Irish Exchequer, where it was found amongst that Judge’s papers. It was as follows:—

“[] Carrick Sep^r 7th 1715.

“[] was wth Coll: Ponsonby [] him y^r lett^r hee is very stedfast in his promise to serve M^r Worth² in y^e Ellection of Knocktopher and it is to bee next fryday & M^r Wall will joine wth M^r Worth in y^e Expences Equall shares, the same day the Knights of the shiere will bee chosen at Knocktopher & y^e Coll: thinks y^e will bee y^e best time for to choose members for y^e Burrow of Knocktopher because most of y^e Coll^r & M^r Walls ten^{ts} are freeholders of y^e County as well as Ellect^{rs} for y^e Burrow; there is a Hogshead of Wine provided & I will provide Cold meate. If M^r Worth has any Comands for mee let him direct to mee to Knocktopher near Killkenny. I hope M^r Worth will contribute something towards bringing a horse Barrack to []ktopher. The post is j[] to give my service to [] coz Dolly & Jane.

“D^r. S.

“If M^r Worth cannot bee at Knocktopher I doubt not but to carry his Ellection in his absence.”

“Yo^r most aff^r coz & most humble serv^t

“JO LANGRISHE.

The seal bore a chevron between three boars’ heads.

¹ Since the above was put in type, this Society, no less than the public generally, has suffered an irreparable loss in the removal by death of Mr. Ferguson.—Eds.

² M^r Worth. — Edward Worth, of Blanchfield, Rathfarnham, was elected to represent Knocktopher in the Irish Parliament, A. D. 1695, 1703, 1713, 1715, and 1727.—Lib. Muner. Hibn.

The Rev. James Graves contributed a transcript of an ancient charter, the original of which was preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle. In addition to some other interesting peculiarities, it was connected with the name of Clyn, at a period when the annalist Clyn was alive, and, it might be fairly presumed, with a member of the same family. The researches of Dean Butler, the writer of the admirable introduction to Clyn's and Dowling's Annals, as published by the Irish Archæological Society, have not brought to light much connected with this eminent historian. That he was a native of Kilkenny has been presumed from the importance given to Kilkenny matters in his annals; but, except that a person of a somewhat similar name was parson of the Church of the Holy Cross of Castlecomer in the fifteenth century,¹ nothing further had hitherto been ascertained. This charter, however, proved that Nicholas de Clyn was the husband of Margaret de Pembroke, and had certain rights of property in the county of Kilkenny in 1331. The charter was as follows:—

"Sciunt presentes et futuri, quod ego Rogerus de Pembrok miles² dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Nicholao de Clyn,³ et Margarete uxori ejus filie mee, et heredibus eorum communam pasture [sic] in omnibus terris et tenementis meis de cappagh,⁴ balibrenan,⁵ et

¹ *Fifteenth century.* "Bex statum Walteri Clyng parsonis ecclesie sancte crucis de Castlecomer Ossoriensis Diocesis ratificat, Kilkennie, 12 Maii."—Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV., m. 76.

² *Rogerus de Pembrok miles.* It appears by the Patent Roll of the 11th year of Edward II., that Roger, son of Roger de Pembrok, was, in consideration of services done, forgiven by the King £115, due by the former as sheriff of Tipperary; and by the Patent Roll of the 18th year of the same King, that Roger de Pembrok, Knight, was bound, along with other persons connected with Kilkenny, in the sum of £1000, to Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory. The latter entry connects Sir Roger de Pembroke with the celebrated prosecution for witchcraft got up by the Bishop against Dame Alice Kyteler. The connexion of the Clyn, by marriage, with the knightly family of De Pembrok is an interesting fact. The name Pembroke still exists in Kilkenny, but, like the names of others of the proudest of the early Anglo-Norman settlers, it

has descended to the humbler ranks of society. Attached to the deed is an impression, in brown wax, of Sir Roger de Pembrok's seal: it is circular, about 1½ inches in diameter, and bears on a heater-shaped shield, a chevron between three crescents. The shield seems also to be divided per pale. Burke in his "General Armory" gives —Pembroke, per pale argent and or a chevron between three crescents gulcs. Round the edge of the seal runs the legend, in Lombardic capitals, **SEIGILL : ROGERI : DE PEM- BROKE**. The spaces between the sides and top of the shield and the outer circle are filled in by three dragons.

³ *Clyn.* Walter Clyng served on a jury in the Court of the Liberty of Kilkenny, held by Arnold le Poer, Seneschal, A.D. 1324.—"Liber Primus" of the Corporation of Kilkenny, p. 6, col. a.

⁴ *Cappagh.* A townland situate in the parish of St. Canice, to the north-west of Kilkenny, near Bonnetstown.

⁵ *Balibrenan.* I have not been able to identify this denomination.

balyfynan,¹ cum pertinenciis, et vbique alibi in Slilylkir,² ad omnia et omnimoda animalia ipsorum Nicholai et Margarete et heredum eorum omni tempore anni, exceptis capris:³ vna cum libero ingressu, exitu, et regressu vibiusque dicta animalia existant vel morantur. Dedi eciam et concessi predictis Nicholao, et Margarete, et heredibus eorum vbicunque infra vel extra terram meam manserunt, seu locum vel domicilium habuerint, husbote, heybote, et ffyrbote in bosco meo de Kynebolle⁴ et alrene-wood⁵ et ubi [ali]bi in boscis et grauibus meis, excepta precipua graua mea iuxta domum immediate iacentem de Capagh. Habendum et tenendum predictis Nicholao, et Margarete, et heredibus eorum dictam communam pasture [sic] vna cum husbote, heybote, et ffyrbote bene et in pace, &c. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum presenti carte apposui hiis testibus, Fulcone de la ffrene Senescallo tunc Kyleneie, Reymundo Lercedekne, et Johanne blancheuyl Militibus et aliis. Datum Kyleneie sexto die Novembris anno domini M^o coc^o xxxi^o, et anno Regni Regis Edwardi post conquestum quinto.”

Mr. Patrick Kennedy, the author of “Legends of Mount Leinster,” elected a member on this day, contributed a legend (which has been told in a different form in that work) as related by the peasantry of the district lying on the Wexford slopes of the Mount Leinster range. It was as follows:—

“A long time ago, the valleys on the south-eastern side of Mount Leinster were laid waste by a terrible animal, whose haunt was in a pool near the bridge of Thuar. It is indifferently called by the names of serpent, dragon, eel, and elephant.

“At last a deputation was sent to the court of the King of Munster, begging that some knight of prowess might be sent to destroy the pest; and three warriors were selected for the enterprise.

“One of these did not cease to boast from the beginning, that he himself alone was worthy of achieving the exploit; but, when the day of departure drew near, his heart failed him, and he insisted on renouncing the dangerous honour. However, a big, simple, quiet brother of his, who, to this time, had never done anything more remarkable than hold the plough or drive home the cows, started up from the ash-corner on hearing his brother’s profession of fear, and vowed that he would devote himself for

¹ *Balyfynan*. The monument of James Sent Leger of Ballefennon, who died in 1597, is in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny; and by an inquiry taken at Kilkenny, 16th January, 1634, Robert St. Leager was found in his lifetime to have been seised of the towns, hamlets, and lands of Fennors-town, alias Ballyfennor, and Keilenebolle, alias Kiltreanel. The mode in which the St. Legers came into possession of these lands I have not been able to ascertain.

² *Slilylkir*. Now the barony of Shillelogher, in the county of Kilkenny.

³ *Exceptis capris*. This exception is curious.

⁴ *Kynebolle*. Now Kyleneaboul, or Woodlands, in the parish of St. Patrick. It is singular that these lands are still entirely clothed with natural wood.

⁵ *Alrene-wood*. Name now obsolete; perhaps it means the alder-wood. There is a marsh near Kyleneaboul well suited for the growth of alders, but at present bare of timber.

the honour of the family. So the three set forward, and arrived safely at the top of Mount Leinster, the nearest point from which they could get a glimpse of the enemy with any safety, for he had the undesirable power (as far as his neighbours were concerned) of sucking into his throat any living object that had the ill luck to come within three miles of his hold.

"Having taken a peep at the black pool lying far below them, and the terrible 'piast' lying in a state of coma at its side, for he was now in a stupid condition after a huge meal in which he had lately indulged, they cast lots, and our big 'omadhan' was pointed out for the first trial. Telling his comrades that if he escaped alive he would light a fire at the edge of the pool, he got himself carefully inserted into a big sack of charcoal, and, being provided with a trusty sharp skene, he had himself conveyed to the neighbouring hill of Coolgarrow to abide the awakening of the dragon. This revival taking place in the usual course, the monster turned himself round, and getting scent of flesh in the southern direction, he began to exhaust the air on that side, and the sack and its contents were soon in his gullet. Feeling the hard charcoal under his tusks, he concluded that they were bones, and swallowed his prize without any misgivings. When the champion judged that he had got well inside, he began to use his weapon underneath; and the 'piast' finding something uncomfortable going on inside, rushed into his pool with all the speed he could make, and just as he was taking the plunge, our brave and cautious Munsterman had cleared his passage, and was left high and dry on the bank. After thanking heaven devoutly, he lighted the fire, and soon the whole country was in a blaze of joy. The three warriors were granted the whole Duffrey district for their services, and the successful champion determined to raise a splendid church near the pool in memory of the thing, and to show gratitude to God for his mercy; but he was warned in a dream to follow the first living things he would meet next morning, and build wherever they would rest. At sunrise he came out, and the first objects that met his sight were a duck and drake, which flew easily before him, a mile or so, and then alighted on each side of the stream, where the church and church-yard of Templeshanbo now stand. He raised a monastery on one side, and a nunnery on the other, and I believe became prior himself. The O'Farrells, the O'Briens, and O'Kennedys boast themselves the descendants of the three Munster heroes; and for hundreds of years back men only were buried on the east side of the brook, the women being laid on the side where the nunnery was built.

"Mr. Hackett, who has kindly taken an interest in the 'Leinster Legends,' suggests that this one is a recollection of dragon or devil worship of the Pagan times; the name of the old church of Kilmeashel in the neighbourhood being probably a corruption of *Kil Michel*, and St. Michael being the successful dragon antagonist of sacred and legendary lore.

"The county of Wexford being one of the earliest places brought within the English Pale, its genuine Celtic legends are comparatively rare. I have embodied in my little book nearly all the local ones that were current in the north-west of the county some thirty or forty years since.

"Being of the opinion of the gentleman mentioned above, that all these legends and customs arising from them date back from Pagan times, and would, if rightly interpreted, throw great light on the peculiar form of

Irish Paganism, whether the objects were the heavenly host, or attributes of the Deity, represented under the form of the cow, or the boar, or other animals.—I would be glad to see some signs of life among the archæologists of Wexford; for unless some exertion is made, their oral legends and traditions will be completely lost in that half-English portion of the island."

Mr. Henry O'Neill sent the following observations on the true reading of the inscriptions to be found on the Cross of Cong, an ancient Irish work in metal, preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy:—

"Through the munificence of the late lamented Dr. M'Cullagh, the Royal Irish Academy has, for some years, possessed a specimen of ancient Irish art, known as the Cross of Cong. This cross is of oak, covered with ornaments in gold, silver, niello, or black silver, enamel, coloured glass, &c., the whole forming an elaborate, artistic, and very beautiful example of the taste and skill of the ancient Irish. The work was evidently intended to be placed on a staff and borne in solemn religious processions. It is two and a half feet high.

"I have made drawings of both sides of the cross, the full size, for both sides are richly ornamented. All who have seen the drawings, or the original, must fully concur in the general opinion as to the high artistic merits of the Cross of Cong.

"This cross has inscriptions on it, versions of which have already appeared in the 'Proceedings' of the Royal Irish Academy for the 10th of June, 1850, Dr. Petrie having then read a paper called 'An Account of the Cross of Cong.' His versions purport to be accurate, being printed in Irish letters, and having also the marks of quotation (inverted commas). As they are far from being strictly accurate, no apology is necessary for laying correct versions of these inscriptions before the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society. The mistakes into which Dr. Petrie has fallen are the more surprising, because the cross was in the Royal Irish Academy at the time he read his paper, and the originals are as legible as one could desire, nearly as much so as a printed book; hence, accurate versions are so easily made, that I claim for mine no further merit than what is due to ordinary care, and am happy in having an opportunity of making known correct versions of inscriptions which, for their length, the monument on which they occur, and the period to which they belong, are deeply interesting to Irish archæologists.

"I have before mentioned that the cross is richly ornamented; this is the case on the front and back: the sides are plainer, and on the unornamented parts of the sides of the shaft—the ends and tops of the cross arms—the top and sides of the upper arm—and one of the upper curves, are the inscriptions. They are in the Irish character, and all, with one exception, in the Irish language. The exception is the following Latin sentence,—

✠ haccrucecruxtegiturquapahusconditororbis

'With this cross is covered the cross on which suffered the Maker of the World.'

"This sentence occurs twice, being on each side of the shaft; in one

case the letters of the sixth word are pahus, and in the other, pasus; it should be PASSUS.

"The remaining inscriptions are in the Irish language; I avail myself of the translations given in Dr. Petrie's paper:—

ORDOMUREBUCHUBUBTHAIGTOOSENOIREREND

'A prayer for Muireadach O'Duffy, the senior of Ireland.'

"Dr. Petrie makes the OR into OROIT, and puts an l between the U and the R in MUREUCH. This inscription, Dr. Petrie says, 'is mutilated by the loss of a part of the moulding which contained three or four words.' There is not a letter of the inscription lost.

ORDOCHERRDELUCHONCHODORIGERENDLASANDERRNAD
INGRESSA

'A prayer for Turlough O'Connor, for the King of Ireland, for whom [that is, at whose desire or expense] this shrine was made.'

"Dr. Petrie has changed OR into OROIT, has only put one R into cherrDEL, and has added bach to it; has made an G of the second O in chonchO and has added bhAR to it; he has also omitted the three horizontal lines.

ORDOBOMNUllmCPLANNACANUBUBDENITUPCONNACHT
DOCHOMARBACHOMMANACUSCHIARANICANERRNAD
INGRESSA

'A prayer for Donnel, the son of Flannagan O'Duffy, Bishop of Connaught, and coarb [or representative] of St. Comman and St. Ciaran, under whose superintendence this shrine was made.'

"Though this translation expresses the sense of the above inscription, Dr. Petrie has not stuck close to his text; it should rather be—A prayer for Donnell, the son of Flannagan O'Dubdenit, for the successor of Chomman and Chiaran, &c. Dr. Petrie has also changed OR into OROIT, mC into mAC, DUBDENIT into DUBTHAIGH, and UP into EPSCOP; he has also omitted the two horizontal lines. I am uncertain as to the word UP; Dr. Petrie makes it stand for EPSCOP, 'bishop,' and I have so rendered it on his authority.

ORDOMaelisumCbratobanuechANDORIGNIINGRESSA

'A prayer for Maelisa, the son of Braddan O'Echan, who made this shrine.'

"In this inscription Dr. Petrie changes the OR into OROIT, and the mC into mAC.

"1st. Throughout the inscriptions, Dr. Petrie has introduced spaces between the words, and stops also, for which there is no authority in the originals.

"2nd. We also see that he has added *thirty letters* which are not, nor ever could have been, in the originals.

"3rd. He has omitted one letter (R).

"4th. He has put an G for an O, an E for a U, and THAIGH for DENIT.

"5th. He has omitted the horizontal lines which mark abbreviation.

"These errors show that a correct version of the interesting inscriptions on the Cross of Cong is a want in archæology.

"The abbreviations in the proper names, which occur in the third inscription, are very remarkable. The letters seem to have been marked on the metal (silver) by pressure, for, at the letters RU in the word CRUCE in the first inscription, the thin silver plate is gone, exposing the copper beneath on which the two letters are distinctly impressed; yet it is remarkable that no two letters seem to be exactly similar.

"To those who are not already familiar with the Cross of Cong, it may be well to state, that the inscriptions show it to have been made for Turlough O'Connor, who reigned monarch of Ireland from the year 1106 to 1156. He was a munificent patron of art; it was for him that the cathedral, and the cross of Tuam were constructed; of the latter I have given representations, with fac-similes of the inscriptions, in my work on the 'Ancient Crosses of Ireland.'"

The Rev. James Graves communicated, by permission of Archdeacon Cotton, the substance of a note which he had received from that gentleman, giving an account of some further proceedings respecting the Ogham monument which had been found built up in the wall of St. Declan's house at Ardmore (see Mr. Fitzgerald's paper on the subject, p. 223, *ante*), and which resulted in the discovery of two new Oghams; one of them on the stone alluded to, the other in the church-yard. Dr. Cotton stated that he had forwarded to Dr. Graves a rubbing from the former stone more than a year ago, but which was of course imperfect, as the stone was then embedded in the wall. On the occasion of his (Dr. Cotton's) last visit to Ardmore, in company with Richard Chearnley, Esq., he stated that he had secured proper help and tackle, and stood on the building whilst the Ogham stone was carefully disengaged, lowered to the ground, and conveyed by *ten men* into the chancel of the old church; they then washed its several sides, and took careful rubbings, and copies in small, comparing these again with the stone to see that all was correct. These rubbings and copies were subsequently forwarded to Dr. Graves. They found the stone to have been inscribed on *three of its edges*, so that one of the lines of inscription had been completely hidden in the masonry, and consequently before unknown.

The second inscription they discovered in the open church-yard. The stone on which it was cut was of great weight, and very hard, being composed of quartz rock. It bore but six or seven scores, and these were wide and coarse. It would seem that the tools of those who cut them could make but little impression on the stone, it was so hard. Near one end (the top as it originally stood) was a cross, inscribed in a circle, shallow and rudely cut, or rather ground, into the stone. This monument was also carried into the church, and a rubbing taken from it, which had likewise been transmitted to

Dr. Graves. Both stones are now open to public inspection in the church; but, at the same time, secure from chance of damage, being under lock and key.

The two stones are, respectively, 4 feet 9 inches, and 4 feet 10 inches in length. That which was taken from the gable of Declan's house was found to have *had a few inches knocked off its smaller end by the mason who built it into the wall, because otherwise it would have protruded beyond the line of his gable, and interfered with the slate or stone covering of the church.* This, observed Mr. Graves, proves the important fact, that the Ogham monument was earlier than the church, and had been used merely as a building stone, and not erected as a record of any fact connected with the church or its builders. Dr. Cotton also stated another fact, which it is well to place on record at once, viz. that a plain stone, answering in size to the Ogham stone removed from the building, was raised to the spot where the other had been, and the old stones of the gable replaced over it one by one; so that a non-learned or not very clear-sighted person, from below, would suppose that the Ogham was still there, and might even fancy that he saw the cuts on the edges of it.

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting.

THE ULSTER CREAGHTS.¹

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century Ulster presented as marked a difference from the rest of Ireland as it has done in later times; but instead of being, as now, the most English part of Ireland, it was the most Irish. In other words, it remained in possession of the native race, free from admixture with any other except a few Scotch from the western highlands and isles, that in early times had made settlements and built castles in the northern and eastern coasts of Antrim.

In the earlier days of the English Conquest, Ulster and Down, to the east at least of the river Bann, had been colonized by the followers of De Courcy. But these settlers, consisting of the families of the Savages, Jordans, Fitzsimons, Chamberlains, Russells, Ben-

¹ A paper on this subject was read by Mr. Prendergast at the Meeting held July 19, 1853. For the reason stated, vol. ii. page 368, it was not printed in

the "Transactions" of the Society for that year. The paper has been since re-written, and contains much matter not before given.—EDS.

sons, Whites, Audleys, and Fitzursules, had all been driven out in the general insurrection of the Irish on the invasion of Robert Bruce in King Edward the Second's day, and, if we may believe Spenser, there remained only of all these families, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the representative of the Savages, who, with great difficulty, kept his possessions in the Ardes.

It was only in the reign of James I., upon the conclusion of the war carried on by Queen Elizabeth's forces under Lord Mountjoy against the Earl of Tyrone, that the country was opened up for a general plantation, and that it became colonized by the ancestors of the present settlers.

Among the chief causes that enabled the O'Nials to sustain their independence so long after the rest of the island had been reduced and colonized, was the extraordinary strength of the frontier of Ulster, and the circumstance of this province lying so near Scotland, long a kingdom hostile to England, and ever ready to afford secret aid to the O'Nials; added to which, these Ulster chiefs, by their policy, kept the population of their territories to a pastoral life of the rudest kind, as being at once the most antagonistic to the habits of the English, and the best suited to maintain the warlike spirit of their followers.

A glance at the map will show that this province is three parts surrounded by sea, and that the remaining boundary or land frontier of Ulster, which may be roughly defined by a line drawn from Dundalk to Ballyshannon, on the bay of Donegal, gives the shortest traverse from sea to sea. The western half of this line is occupied by the waters of Lough Erne, which form a complete defence from Ballyshannon to Belturbet, a distance of nearly fifty miles; while the chain of the Fewa mountains, rising in front of Dundalk, long the outmost post of the Pale, covered a considerable portion of the other or eastern half. The interval in the centre was protected by the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, a district of low wooded hills, interlaced with a perfect net-work of bogs and lakes, through which there was but one road, that by Carrickmacross in the barony of Farney, which thence came to be called "The Gap of the North." To the rere of the province lay Scotland, from whence they had often much to hope, nothing ever to fear. So that Ulster, which is now the securest part of Ireland, geographically considered, was styled in Queen Elizabeth's day, as may be seen in the Act of Parliament for extinguishing the name of O'Nial, passed in the eleventh year of her reign, "the most perilous place in all the isle." For their greater security, the O'Nials, with much shrewdness and policy, instead of attempting to strengthen their country with castles, forbade any to be built. And, carrying out this plan of rendering their country untenable to an invader, for want of cover and supplies, they discouraged agriculture, and kept their people to a

wandering pastoral life. Hence the well-known imprecation of Con O'Nial, of Henry the Eighth's day, who cursed all his posterity in case that they either learned the English language, sowed wheat, or built them houses. Speed, the old chronicler, who records the saying, assigns the motive, "least the first should breed conversation, the second commerce of sustenance, and with the last they should speede as the crowe that buildeth her nest to bee beaten out by the hawke."¹

The State Papers of Henry the Eighth's reign give us an insight into some of the difficulties of a military expedition into Ulster. O'Nial, if unsuccessful in defending the entry into his territory, endeavoured to draw his opponents into the wilds of Tyrone and Donegal, whence the army, lost among the bogs, and without shelter and bread corn, which their own defective commissariat did not supply, was soon forced to retire.

From the Moyry pass,² as the entry to that valley is called, which lies under Slieve Gullion, and through which the line of railway, after leaving Dundalk, enters the Fews, he retreated to the Blackwater, and if unsuccessful also in maintaining that line of defence, he retired into the woods and bogs of Tyrone and the mountain ranges of Donegal. But the building of the two forts of Culmore in Derry and Ballyshannon in Donegal in his rear, by Lord Mountjoy, by the orders of Queen Elizabeth's counsellors in 1600, defeated this method of defence; which would soon, however, have become unavailing from another cause, viz. the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, from which latter he must thenceforth have expected to be invaded.

When Ulster, south and west of Lough Neagh, came to be finally subdued by Queen Elizabeth's forces under Lord Mountjoy in 1603, and that James I. resolved to effect the plantation of it with colonists from Scotland and England, one of the greatest difficulties met with was, how to fix and render amenable to law and order the pastoral population which, from early ages, had been accustomed to wander without any fixed habitation after their herds of cattle, living almost solely on white meats, as the produce of their cows was called. At this period there was not one fixed village in all the country, a circumstance we learn incidentally from Sir John Davis' letter to the Earl of Salisbury, written during the first circuit ever held in Fermanagh, where he mentions that "the fixing a site for a Jail and Sessions House had been delayed until my Lord Deputy had resolved on a fit place for a market and corporate town; for" (he adds) "the habitations of this people are so wild and transitory, as there is not one fixed village in all this country."

¹ "Speed," chapter xxiv. p. 837.

² A little to the south of the railway

may be seen the castle built by Lord Mountjoy in 1601, to secure the pass.

Their dwellings are described as made of wattles or boughs of trees, covered with long turves or sods of grass, which they could easily remove and put up as they wandered from place to place in search of pasture,¹ following their vast herds of cattle with their wives and children, and removing still to fresh lands as they had depastured the former, and living chiefly on the milk of their cows.² The aggregate of families that in one body followed a herd was called a "Creaght."

In other parts of Ireland there was much of strictly pastoral life, in many respects similar, which was called "Boolying," in which the owners of cattle and their families passed much of the year in the wilds and mountains with their cows, but they seem to have had fixed habitations to return to. But in Ulster, north and west of Lough Neagh, it seems that the whole population was formed of "Creaghts," living this wild and nomade life.

The dress for both sexes seems to have been nothing but a shaggy cloak, and at night they slept under the canopy of heaven, or in cabins wattled and covered with turf.³ In colder weather they lay, men and women, in a circle round the fire, with their feet towards it, having their heads and the upper parts of their bodies folded in their woollen mantles, first steeped in water to keep them warm, finding, as they said, that woollen cloth wetted preserved the heat when the smoke of their bodies had warmed the cloth.⁴

The same writer, who had expressly come over with Lord Mountjoy, as his secretary, to write the history of the war (for which he was well qualified, having been travelling bachelor of Cambridge, and written his travels through twelve kingdoms of Europe), gives many other very curious details of the wild Irish, as these wandering inhabitants of Ulster were called, which may be omitted, in order to pass to their herds of cattle, which he describes as multitudinous. They were, however, very small-sized, presenting therein a strong contrast to the men and greyhounds, which he says were of large stature.⁵

In the heat of the rebellion (he is speaking of the Earl of Tyrone's war), he describes how they still drove their vast herds before them wherever they were themselves driven, and fought for them as for religion and life.⁶ In fact, their life was wrapped up in their cows, so much so that, when almost starved, they would not kill a cow, but open a vein like the Scythians, he adds, who let their horses' blood under their ears, and drink it.⁷ This and other habits of their wandering life, so like that of Tartars, led Spenser into the notion of a Scythian origin for the Irish, in aid of which he adduces the name of Scoti, belonging to the ancient Irish, as synonymous with

¹ Fynes Moryson, p. 164.

² Spenser's "State of Ireland," p. 35.

³ Fynes Moryson, p. 74. ⁴ *Id.* p. 180. ⁵ *Id.* p. 160. ⁶ *Id.* p. 163. ⁷ *Id.* p. 163.

Scythi. He might also have adduced their readiness to eat horse-flesh, from which taste some of the Scythian tribes were called by the ancients, Hippophagi.

There is an anecdote in Moryson of Lord Mountjoy's finding one of the Irish soldiers in his pay eating a dead horse, and being ready to blame the commissariat officer whose neglect he supposed must have reduced him to this food, but finding that it was the soldier's own taste, he threw him a doubloon to get some *aquæ vitæ* to aid his digestion.¹ But there was another practice peculiar to the Irish Creaghts, which, curiously enough, is reported of the Tartars at this day. Moryson says that, when a cow, upon her calf being taken away from her, refused to give her milk, they used to stuff the skin of the calf with hay and set it before the cow, who would smell it and lick it, and, when so doing, would give down her milk. In Tartary, as appears from the late curious Travels of Monsieur Huc, they have the very same practice.²

The evils flowing from this unfixed wandering life of the Creaghts must be very evident. It induced, of course, a natural indisposition to submit to positive regulations. It was difficult to make wandering bodies responsible for offences or amenable to justice; and they afforded harbour and succour to outlaws and fugitives.

These inconveniences are fully and graphically set forth by Edmund Spenser, when describing the dangers of permitting the "Boolying" of the south of Ireland. One of the first steps, there-

¹ Fynes Moryson, p. 162.

² Huc's "Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China," vol. ii. p. 81, Lond. 1852.

This practice afforded Sir Audley Mervyn, then Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, himself a Fermanagh man, a curious illustration. In his speech (small 4to. Dublin, 1662), on presenting the desires of the House of Commons to the Duke of Ormond, complaining of the proceedings of the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, and suggesting (amongst other propositions) that where any of the ancient proprietors had a decree against them in the Court of Claims, they should be bound to surrender their ancient title deeds at the same moment that the estate was for ever decreed away,—he thus enforces the proposition:—

"As to that part that desires the writings of the nocent persons to be left in the Court, it cannot work a prejudice to them: for the lands being adjudged against them, to what purpose

will the writings operate in their hands?

"But, Sir, I correct myself—they will have an operation; and this puts me in mind of a plain but apt similitude.

"Sir, in the north of Ireland the Irish have a custom in the winter when the milk is scarce to kill the calf and reserve the skin, and stuffing it with straw they set it upon four wooden feet, which they call a *puckawn*, and the cow will be as fond of this as she was of the living calf. She will low over it, and lick it, and give her milk down so it stand but by her.

"Sir, these writings will have the operation of this *puckawn*, for, wanting the lands to which they relate, they are but skin stuffed with straw! Yes, Sir, they will low after them, lick them over and over again in their thoughts, and teach their children to read by them instead of horn-books; and, if any venom be left, they will give it down upon the sight of these *puckawn*-writings, and entail a memory of revenge, though the estate-tail be cut off."

fore, of King James the First's Government, preparatory to the plantation of Ulster, was to take measures for reducing the Creaghts to a settled mode of life. And amongst other directions in the Commission issued for the Survey of Ulster, on the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, dated July 16, 1605, the Commissioners are directed to take order for building several towns and villages for settling such subjects as have no certain habitation; "by reason whereof, the inhabitants of same doe for the most parte wander upp and downe loose-lie, followinge their heardes of cattle without anie certen habitation."¹ There is another public document of the same period, that presents a very curious picture of the state of Ulster at the time of the plantation, and gives an insight into social life, in its lowest stage, in Tyrone's territories. It is the account rendered into the Exchequer by Sir Tobias Caulfield, of his receivership of the rents of O'Nial's territories for the three years which elapsed from his flight in 1607, until the allotting of his lands to the purposes of the plantation in 1610.²

The account is a very voluminous one, and is prefaced by Sir Tobias with a slight sketch of the state of that territory when he undertook the charge, in order to explain the nature of the duty and the difficulties of the collection. It may serve towards furnishing

¹ Erck's "Patent Rolls," Jac. 1st, p. 182.

² "The Account of Sir Tobie Caulfield, Knt., for all such sum and sums of money as have come to his hands and are any way chargeable upon him for all manner Rents whatsoever payable in money, corne, and other provisions and victuals in the Counties of Tirone, Armagh, and Colerain for the escheated Lands fallen to His Majesty by the attainder of the Traitor, the Earle of Tirone, as well for a remainder of the said Rente due for haff a year ended at Hollontide 1607 left untaken up by the said traitor at the tyme of his flight, as also for the growing rent of the said lands for 3 whole years beginning at Hollontide aforesaid 1607 and ended at the same feast 1610, from which tyme the said Sir Tobias hath given up his charge of receipte, in regard the said escheated Lands are graunted away from His Majesty free from paying anie rente for 4 years then next ensuing.—As likewise for the goods of the said traitor and other fugitives that went with him which were seized on by this Account to His Highness's use;—And for a fine imposed on the said Counties

of Tirone and Armagh for relieving of traitors after the revolt of O'Dogherty which was levied by this accomptant together with the payment of part thereof and the remainder resting in this accomptant's hands or this accompte to be paide to His Majestie's use, the particulars whereof hereafter do ensue.

"Before the charge of this accompt be examined consideration is to be had of the manner of the charge of these Irish Rents and Duties which are as follows:—

"First—There is no certain portion of Land sett by the traitor Tyrone to any of his tenants that paid him rents.

"Secondly—Such rents as he reserved were paid to him partly in money and partly in provisions, as oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs, and muttons.

"Thirdly—The money rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all the Cows that were milche or in calf which grazed on his lands after the rate of 7d. (seven pence) a quarter le year, which cows were to be numbered but twice in the year by Tirone's officers, viz.: at May and Hollontide, and so the rents were levied and taken up as the said rate for all the cows that were

a picture of the country which the new planters from England and Scotland found on their arrival in this and the three following years, during which, as appears from the title of the account, they were to be rent free, in consequence, of course, of their charges on first settling.

The difficulties, however, of abolishing this mode of life were great. The freedom of the woods and wilds has charms which even those who have left civilization to taste of find it difficult to abandon, and are known often to have preferred to all the luxury of settled life. How hard, then, to change the native and inveterate habits of a whole people! They considered the confinement of a fixed life to be a kind of slavery; and their feelings, perhaps, are nowhere better expressed than by the Earl of Chichester. In a letter to the King, complaining of some of the difficulties of the plantation, he says that, though the Irish of this territory had plentifully tasted of his Majesty's clemency and happy government to their great profit and comfort, yet, to alter their rude and uncivil customs, and to bring them to live by their labours or on small portions of land by manuring and stocking it with goods of their own, was as grievous unto them as to be made bond-slaves.¹ It is probable that nothing but the appropriation of the lands among the new settlers, leading to

so numbered, except only the Heads and principal men of the Creaghts, who in regard of their enabling to live better than the common multitude under them whom they caused willingly to pay the said rent, were usually allowed as followeth; parts of the whole rents which rise to £700 Irish a year, or thereabouts, communibus annis, which they retained in their own hands by directions from the Lord Deputy, and so was never received, and for the butter and other victualling provisions they were only paid by such as they termed Horsemen called the Quinns, Hangans, Conelands, and Devlins, which were rather at the discretion of the givers, who strove who should give most to gain Tirone's favour than for any due claim he had to demand the same.

"Fourthly — All those Cows for which those rents are to be levied must be counted at one day in the whole country, which requires much travel and labour, and many men to be put in trust with that accompt, so as that country which is replenished with woods doe greatly advantage the tenants that are to paie their rents to rid away their

cows from that reckoning,—and also to such overseers to be corrupted by the tenants to mitigate their rents by lessening the true number of their cattle which must needs be conceived, they will all endeavour to the uttermost being men as it were without conscience and of poor estate, apt to be corrupted for such bribes which they may the more easily do in regard that the bordering Lords adjoining are ready to shelter their cows that should pay those rents whereby they may gain those demands to live under them.

"Fifthly.—This rent is uncertain, because by the custom of the country the tenants may remove from one Lord to another every half year as usually they do, which custom is allowed by authority from the State."—"Mem. Roll of the Irish Exchequer," 9th year of James I. This curious enrolment has been published in full by Mr. James F. Ferguson in the "Topographer and Genealogist," vol. iii.

¹ Letter from Lord Deputy Chichester to James I., dated Dublin Castle, last of October, 1610.—MS. State Paper Office, London.

the complete occupation of them, put an end to this system, by fixing limits to the wanderings of these families and their herds, and thus gradually reduced them each to their respective holdings.

At the period of the Commonwealth the Ulster Creaghts still, however, subsisted in considerable numbers, and were a source of anxiety and of some legislation to the Government of that day. During the war they became a kind of commissariat to the Irish troops, whom they followed in their flight to their mountain fastnesses, as described by Moryson in the wars of Queen Elizabeth, and there afforded them support. And the army, being too small for the reduction of so large and so difficult a country as Ireland, could not follow them to their retreats.¹ Hence their only method was to guard all the passes, and wait till, the pasture being consumed, the enemy should be reduced by starvation. When the war was over, and the country came to be distributed amongst the adventurers and soldiers, they became the source of another danger, affording relief to the discontented and desperate, who were so numerous that, for the same cause, orders were made against farmers or others dwelling out of the precincts of a town or village, as is shown by the following order :²—

“Whereas many murthers, robberies, spoyles, and other mischiefs are dayly committed by Tories and other loose and idle persons in severall parts of this nation upon the English and Protestants and other good people of this land, by reason such Tories and other evil persons are sheltered by the Irish that live scatteringly up and down the severall counties whereby no notice can be taken of such evil practises, upon consideration had thereof and to the end that such mischiefs may be prevented for the future, it is hereby ordered and declared that the governors within the respective precincts in Ireland do take especiall care that such Irish as are not comprehended in the rule for transplantation, and that live scatteringly in the severall counties in Ireland (and thereby can make no resistance against the Tories, but rather are a relief to them, and hold correspondence with such bloody persons and others) doe at or before the

¹ There is the following curious notice of a Creaght in 1650, in Ludlow's Memoirs :—

“We continued our march to Monaghan, and so to Agher, where we cast up some works, and left a garrison to defend it. Near this place lay the Creaght of Lient-General O'Neal, son to that O'Neal who after several years imprisonment in the Tower of London died there. He came over from the service of the King of Spain to be Lieutenant-General of the army of Owen Roe O'Neal; but upon some jealousy or particular discontent was laid aside.

This man with his wife (who he said was niece to the Dutchess of Artois) and some children, removed, as the Irish do generally in those parts, with their tenants and cattle, from one place to another, where there is conveniency of grass, water, and wood; and there having built a house, which they do completely in an hour or two, they stay till they want grass, and then dislodge to another station.”—“Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow,” vol. i. p. 365, 12mo. Edinburgh, 1751.

² Manuscript Orders of Council, Dublin Castle.

twentyeth day of August next draw themselves into villages and townships, and cohabit together in families, and that every such village and township shall consist of at least 30 families, and shall not stand or be placed within half a mile of any fastness, whether it be wood, bog, or mountain, that may be adjudged a shelter for Tories or other enemies of the Commonwealth's. And it is further ordered and declared that in each of the said townships there must bee appointed a headman, constable, or tithing man who is to take care that from time to time the cattle belonging to that village bee brought together every night, and that he see a watch sett in convenient places, and cause at least thirty men to be at every watch, to the end that such mischiefs as is above mentioned for the future may be prevented, and the thieves, tories, and other loose persons the better discovered and apprehended.

"Dated at Dublin Castle, 16th August, 1655."

The Creaghts, of course, were still more liable to minister aid to the discontented and outlawed; accordingly, the war was no sooner over than an order was made to fix them. The Commissioners for the Government of Ireland, complaining that their order had not been executed, write thus to their officers at Belturbet. The letter is dated January 26, 1653 :—

"Upon serious consideration had of the inconveniency of permitting the Irish to live in Creaghts after a loose and disorderly manner, whereby the enemy comes to be relieved and sustained, and the contribution oft damaged; we issued our order dated the 11th of October last for the fixing such persons upon lands proportionable to their respective stock and enjoining them to betake themselves to tillage and husbandry, and in case of refusal to seize upon the cattle and stock of such persons, and appraising them upon oath to expose them to sale for the best advantage of the Commonwealth."

The Commissioners go on to complain of want of intelligence, and require their officers to report how far they have gone in the execution of it, and order that in the fixing all such Creaghts, they be careful that they be disposed at most distance from their friends and relations, to the end all relief may be the better debarred from the enemy.¹ It may be observed, that in the above letter there are two inconveniences mentioned, the relief given by the Creaghts to the enemy, and the damage sustained by the contribution, that is, to the monthly assessment or taxation, which had become a matter of the utmost importance. The army had to depend for their support on the supply thus raised, which was assessed on the several counties in a gross sum, and then apportioned on the inhabitants according to their several stocks and crops. It was no easy matter to assess the cattle of such wanderers as were the Creaghts, or to make them pay if assessed. This inconvenience is set forth in ano-

¹ Manuscript Orders of Council, Dublin Castle.

ther order, and fresh measures directed for extinguishing them by "unheading the Creaghts," as it was called, that is, imprisoning the chief man of the Creaght until the rest of the Creaght were certified to have transplanted themselves and taken up a fixed abode in Connaught.¹

"29 August, 1656.—Whereas the Lord Deputy has been informed by his Council that at this present there are some Creaghts that have removed out of Ulster who, according to an ancient but barbarous manner of life, have no fixt place of habitation, but wander up and down with their families and substance to the prejudice and just offence of divers people, and to the defrauding of the public of the cess and duty which is legally due: His Excellency Lord Henry Cromwell thereby appoints persons to enquire what Creaghts are in Meath or thereabouts, how long they have continued there, how called, from whence and by whose encouragement they came thither, and by what authority they practice that vagrant and savage life so contrary to Christian usage: And to the end such a lewd custom may be duly discountenanced and made exemplary, His Excellency thereby orders that the heads or chief persons of those Creaghts be secured in some safe place, and the persons of the rest of the said wanderers kept likewise in restrain, until they shall give security for their speedy transplanting into Connaught. The heads of the said Creaghts to remain in custody until the return of a certificate from the Commissioners at Loghrea that the said Creaghts are actually removed with their stock and substance, and settled there. The persons who are to execute this order to take the names of the said Creaghts and an inventory of such of their stock and goods as shall be judged fitt to be reserved for the maintenance of such chiefe person secured as aforesaid."

In conclusion, it may be stated that traces of the Creaghts are to be found down to the middle of the last century; not perhaps that the practice or mode of life continued to prevail to so late a period, but the term was still known and in use to describe the little huts and cabins in which many of the lower classes of the Irish still continued to dwell, no better, or scarce better, than those of the Creaghts. Thus Story, the historian of King William's Irish war, speaking of the "wild Irish," some of whom he first saw near Newry, on his march to the Boyne, says:—"Some call them Creaghts, from the little huts they live in, which they build so conveniently with hurdles and long turf, that they can remove them in summer towards the mountains, and bring them down to the valleys in winter." From this passage it is plain that the writer confounds the Irish term "creaght" with the English word "crate," hurdle or wicker work, from the similarity of sound—an error easily accounted for, inasmuch as the term was applied to an Irish village or collection of these frail habitations, even though they were not intended to be moved.

¹ MS. Orders of Council, Dublin Castle.

² Story's "Wars" (1698), p. 16.

In this sense is the term used in the following order of the Commissioners of the Commonwealth,¹ occasioned by the number of unfortunates that crowded during the period of the transplantation to Athlone, awaiting their sentence from the Commissioners of Qualifications, who held their court there :—

“Whereas great numbers of the Transplanted Irish and other Irish that have formerly lived in Athlone and its neighbourhood have built Houses, Cabins, and Creaghts to inhabit in on each side of Athlone, and more especially at Ballagh, a place adjacent to the said town, and the only considerable pass into Connaught; it is ordered that Sir Charles Coote, President of Connaught, Colonel Stubbers, Governor of Galway, Lieut.-Colonel Brayfeild, Governor of Athlone, Capt. Charles Holcroft, and Capt. Haydon, or any three or more of them, do give notice thereof to the Irish and other Popish persons that have, &c. requiring them to remove themselves, their habitations and goods, from thence, within such time as they shall judge convenient, into some other parts of the Province of Connaught to inhabit in; and in default . . . to cause all such cabins and Creaghts to be taken down. And the said Sir C. Coote, &c. are ordered to take care that for the future no such town or cabins be built or continued standing within the compass of 5 English miles of the town of Athlone.

“The Commissioners at Loughrea to provide for the accommodation of those removed.

“T. HERBERT, *Clerk of the Council.*

“*Dublin, March 31, 1655.*”

In the same sense is the term used in the Down Survey of Wexford, made A.D. 1654, where the barony of Ballaghkeene is said to be overgrown with furze and heath by the extraordinary waste occasioned by the resort of Tories there, so as no English dare plant as yet therein, “nor any Irish, saveinge on the borders of the barroney, and the nearest to our garrizons, which live in small crates.”² And in a survey of the Salters’ proportion of the Plantation of Londonderry (one of the London Companies among whom that county was divided, of which Magherafelt is the chief town), made so late as the year 1752, such entries as the following are frequent—“One good farm, and some poor Irish creats on this land;” “all poor creats on this;” “one good farm house, the rest cabins and Irish creats.”³

¹ Manuscript Orders of Council, Dublin Castle.

² Petty’s “History of the Down Survey,” by Major Larcom, Appendix xii.

p. 396; Irish Archæol. Society, 1851.

³ Survey of the Manor of Sal, printed for the Salters’ Company, but not published.

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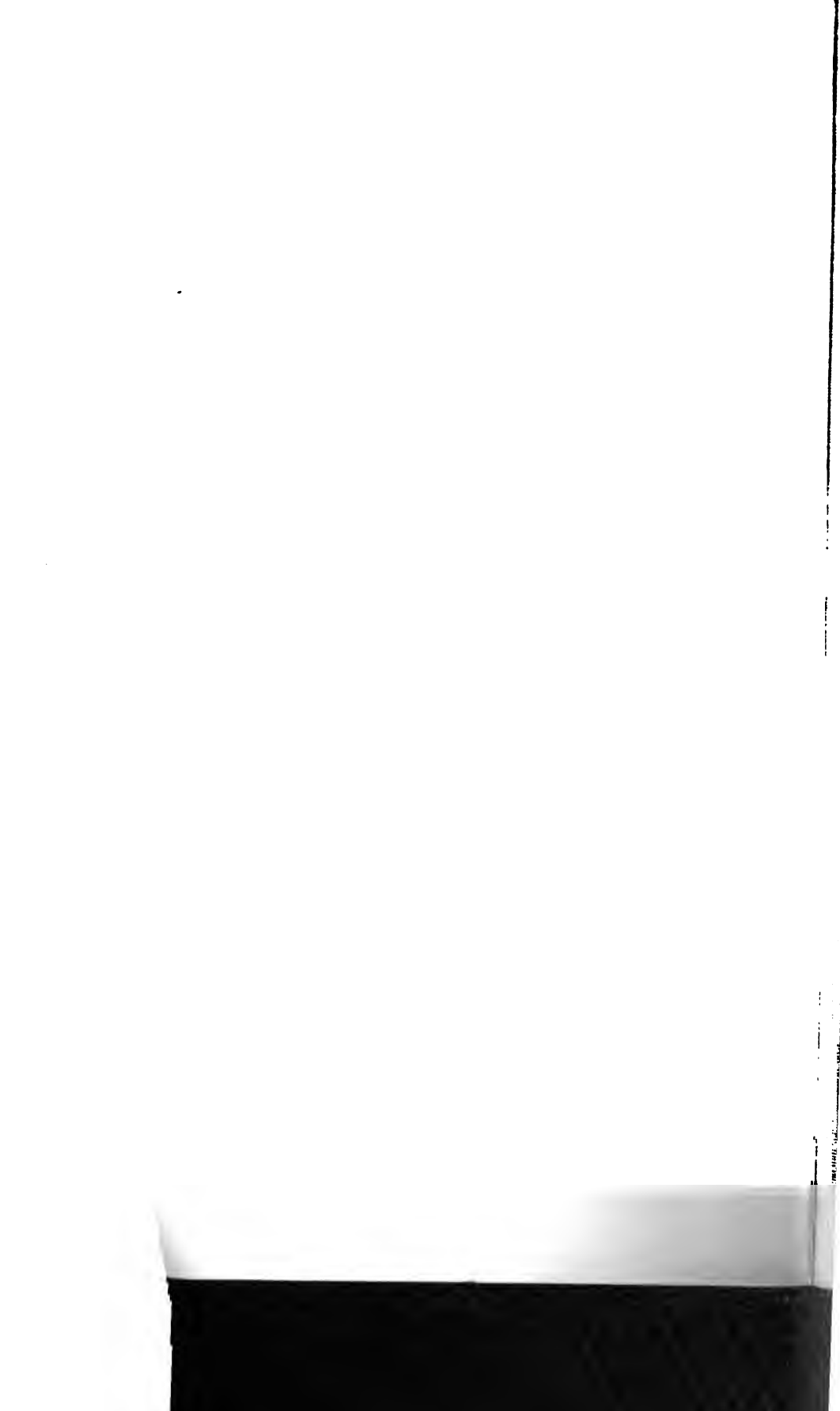
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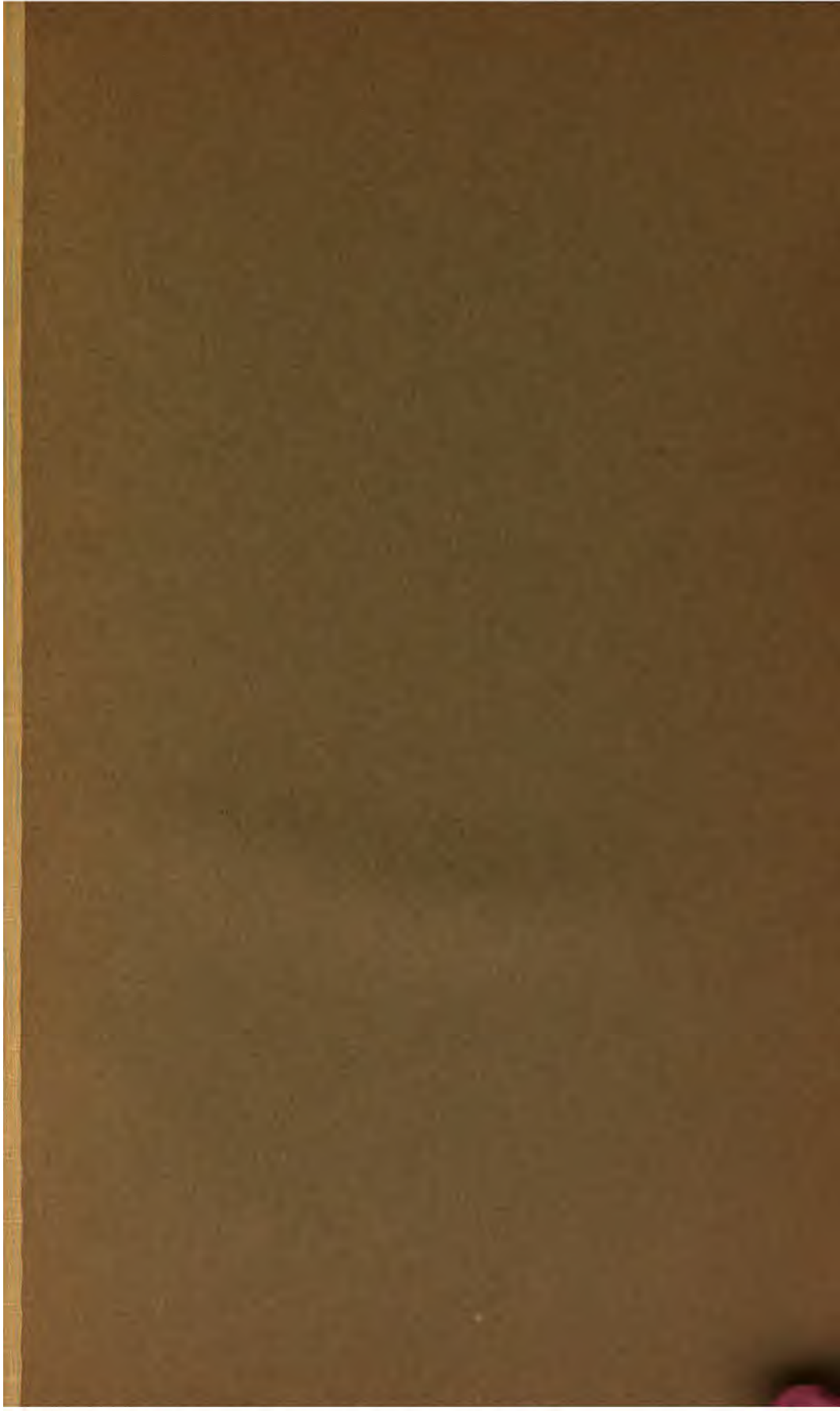
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